

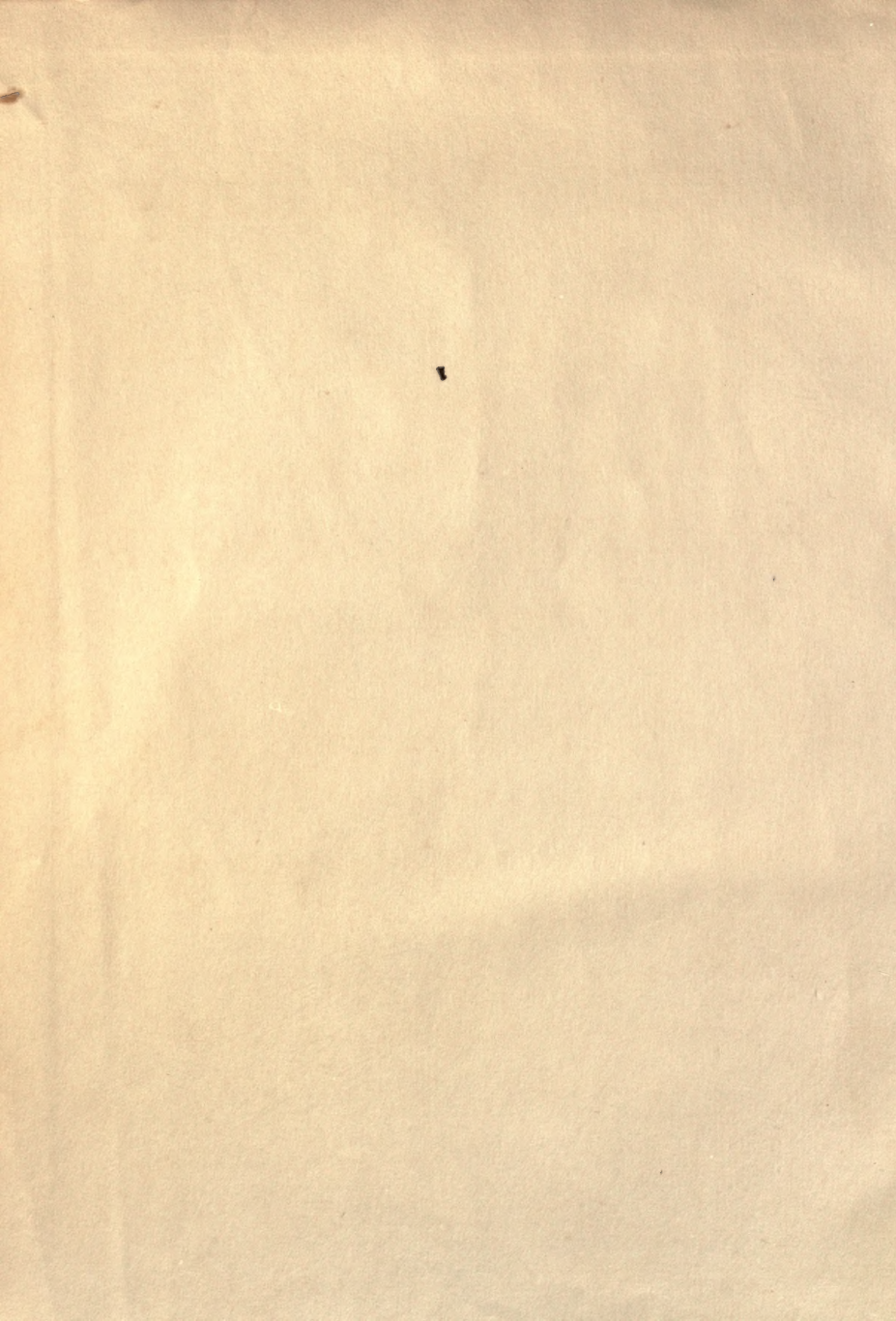
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- A** True Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all *Italy*, orderly set down, and in sure Manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee or neglect any Thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reasonable Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many Miles from one Place to another as followeth: *First*, what is to be seen principally in *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and until you come to *Malta*, from thence back again another Way to *Genoa*, and *Milan*. MS. Page 1
- An honourable Speech made in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by the Earl of *Argyle* (being now Competitor with Earl *Morton* for the Chancellorship) the Thirtieth of *September*, 1641, touching the Prevention of National Dissension, and Perpetuating the happy Peace and Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, by the frequent Holding of Parliaments. *London*, Printed by *A. N.* for *J. M.* at the *George* in *Fleetstreet*, Anno 1641. Quarto, containing six Pages 39
- Copies of two Papers written by the late King *Charles the Second*, of blessed Memory. Folio, containing four Pages 40
- A Copy of a Paper, written by the late *Duchess of York*. Folio, containing two Pages 42
- The Earl of *Stratford* Characterised, in a Letter sent to a Friend in the Country. Printed in 1641. Octavo, containing eight Pages 43
- The *Jacobite's* Hopes frustrated, Or, the History of the Calamities attending the *French* Conquest. Licensed November 29. *J. Fraser*, 1690. *London*, printed for *Jeremiah Wilkins*, near the *Green-Dragon* Tavern, in *Fleetstreet*, 1690. Quarto, containing twenty Pages 46
- Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Ghost: Or, *England's* Fore-warner. Discovering a secret Consultation, newly holden in the Court of *Spain*. Together with his Tormenting of Count de *Gondomar*; and his strange Affrightment, Confession, and publick Recantation. Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subversion of *England*. Cresce, cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce, Quod spero sitio, vob sitio, sitio. Destruction and Unhappiness is in their Ways, and the Way of Peace have they not known; there is no Fear of God before their Eyes, Psal. xiv. 7. Utrecht, Printed by *John Schellem*. 1626. Quarto, containing forty-four Pages 52
- The Qualifications of Persons, declared capable by the Rump-Parliament, to elect, or be elected, Members to supply their House. Printed in the Year 1660. Quarto, containing sixteen Pages 65
- The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be used. Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of *John Bill*, 1633. Quarto, containing twenty Pages 70
- A worthy Speech, spoken in the honourable House of Commons, by Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, for Accommodation, betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament. July the Ninth, 1642. July 18. Printed for *Richard Lowndes*, 1642. Quarto, containing eight Pages 73
- A Discourse, shewing in what State the three Kingdoms are in at this present. Printed in the Year 1641. Quarto, containing eight Pages 74
- Considerations touching a War with *Spain*. Written by the Right Honourable *Francis Lord Verulam*, Viscount of *St. Albans*. Imprinted, 1629. Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages 76
- The Assembly-man. Written in the Year 1647. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΕΤ. Χαράδ. ὡς παρ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΤΙΑΣ. Διηγέμεν τὸς μαχομένους, καὶ ὅς ἐν συνόχῃσι ἀπαρτὺν ἡγιστοῦσιν καὶ ἀνδράσι μέλλουσιν, εἰμὲν παρὸς τὸς παρρησιότας, ὅτι τὸν πότμον ποδοῖουσιν ἐκαστοί, ἰ. ε. He seditionously stirs up Men to fight: He will teach others the Way whereof himself is most ignorant; and persuades Men to take an Oath, because himself had sworn it before.

- London*, Printed for *Richard Marriott*, and are to be So'd at his Shop under *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*, 1662-3. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 93
- Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, humbly submitted to the most Noble Assembly of Lords and Commons at the great Convention at *Westminster*. *London*, printed for *Joseph Watts*, at the Angel in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 99
- A true and most exact Relation of the Taking of the goodly Ship, called, *The Saint Esprit*, belonging unto the *French King*; which was built in *Holland*, and furnished with fifty-four Pieces of great Ordnance; was surpris'd on the twenty-eighth Day of *September*, by *Sir Sackville Trevor*, Knight, and since brought over, by him, to *Harwich* in *Essex*. Likewise, the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham's Grace*, in the Isle of *Ree*; the Killing of the base Brother of the *French King*, at the new Fort before *Rochelle*, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and also the appointed Place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet threatened from Foreign Parts to raise the Siege at the Isle of *Ree*: With many other Particulars. Published by Authority. *London*: Printed by *A. M. for Thomas Walkley*; and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Eagle and Child, in *Britain's Barfe*. 1627. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 102
- News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, or *Oxford Manchestered*, by *Michael Oldsworth* and his Lord, who fware he was Chancellor of *Oxford*. And proved it in a Speech made to the new Visitors in their new Convocation, *April 11*, 1648. As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath. Printed at *Montgomery*, 1648. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 105
- The Parable of three Jackdaws, &c. Printed in the Year 1696. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 107
- Two Speeches spoken by the Earl of *Manchester*, and *John Pym*, Esq; as a Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the City of *London's* Petition, sent from his Majesty. By *Capt. Hearne*, and read at the Common-hall, on *Friday* the Thirteenth of *January*, 1642. Also, a true Narration of the Passages of that Day.
- Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that these Speeches be forthwith printed and published.
- H. Elsing*, Cler. Parl. D. Com. *London*, printed for *John Norman*, for the Good of the Commonwealt, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 111
- The Negotiations of *Thomas Wolsey*, the great Cardinal of *England*, containing his Life and Death, viz. 1. The Original of his Promotion. 2. The Continuance in his Magnificence. 3. His Fall, Death, and Burial. Composed by
- Mr. Cavendish*, one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman-Usher. *London*, Printed by *William Sheers*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred twenty-five Pages 115
- A Speech made by *Alderman Garroway*, at a Common Hall, on *Tuesday* the Seventeenth of *January*, upon Occasion of a Speech, delivered there the *Friday* before, by *Mr. Pym*, at the Reading of his Majesty's Answer to the late Petition. Printed in the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 166
- The Humble Petition and Address of *Edward*, Earl of *Clarendon*. MS. 172
- The Parable of the Bear-baiting. *London*, Printed for *J. Johnson*, 1691. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 175
- The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellor of State, and a Justice of Peace. Written by the worthy Knight, *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Dedicated to the King's Majesty, and to the House of Parliament now assembled. Preserved to be now happily, in these distracted Times, published, and printed 1640. *Quarto*, containing Seventy-four Pages 180
- The Method of passing Bills in Parliament. Written by *Henry Elsing*, Cler. Parl. Now Printed from the original Manuscript, under these Heads, viz. 1. Proceedings upon Bills. 2. The Commitment of Bills. 3. Manner how Committees are named. 4. Who may not be of a Committee, and who ought to be. 5. Council heard at the Committee. 6. A Bill re-committed. 7. The third Reading. 8. *Novæ Billa*. 9. Amendments and Additions, or Proviso's added afterwards, how lawful. 10. Amendments of Amendments how lawful. 11. A Proviso added after a third Reading, not usual. 12. A Proviso added by the one House, and desired to be taken by the other House, whether lawful. *London*, printed by *F. L. for Matt. Gilliflower*, at the Spread-Eagle and Crown in *Westminster-Hall*, 1685. *Twelves*, containing thirty-six Pages 211
- Robert* Earl of *Essex's* Ghost; sent from *Elysium*, to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*.
- Virtutum Comes Invidia*.
Printed in *Paradise*, 1624. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages 218
- A true Copy of a Letter, from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Mulgrave*, to *Dr. Tillotson*, Dean of *Canterbury*. *Folio*, containing four Pages. 228
- The last Memorial of the *Spanish* Ambassador. Faithfully Translated into *English*. *London*, Printed for *Francis Smith*, at the Elephant and Castle, near the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages 230
- An Answer to the Propositions made by the *English* Ambassadors, as they stile themselves, the Nineteenth

- Nineteenth of *March*, in the great Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States-General* of the United Provinces. As also, to their Memorials of the Sixteenth of *April*, and the Ninth of *May*, 1651, respectively. And likewise, to the thirty-sixth Articles of the desired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir *William Macdowal*, Knight, Resident for his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, after his Return to *Holland*, in the said Great Assembly. *June* the Seventeenth, 1651. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change. For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them?* Prov. xxiv. 21. 22. Printed at the *Hague*, by *Samuel Brown*, *English Bookseller*. 1651. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages. 233
- The Orders, Proceedings, Punishments, and Privileges of the Commons House of Parliament in *England*. Printed Anno Dom. 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages. 240
- The Protector's Declaration against the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, and the true Worship of the Church of *England*. Printed and published by his Highness's special Commandment. *London*, printed by *Henry Hills* and *John Field*, Printers to his Highness. From a *Folio* Page 249
- An honourable and worthy Speech, spoken in the High Court of Parliament, by Mr. *Smith* of the *Middle-Temple*, October 28, 1641, concerning the Regulating of the King's Majesty's Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subjects. With a Motion for the speedy Redress of all Grievances, under which the Church and State do lie. *London*, printed by *Bernard Alsop*. 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages. 250
- A compendious History of the Taxes of *France*, and of the oppressive Methods of raising them. *London*, Printed by *J. M.* and *B. B.* for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms*, in *Warwick-Lane*, 1694. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages. 252
- A Catalogue of Books, of the newest Fashion, to be sold by Auction, at the *Whigs Coffee-House*, at the Sign of the *Jackanapes*, in *Prinking-Alley*, near the *Deanery* of *St. Paul's*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages. 267
- A short Account of the Siege of *Bantam* — And its Surrender to the Rebels, who were assisted by the *Dutch*, and their Fleet, in the *East-Indies*. In a Letter from an *English* Factor to a Merchant of *London*. *London*, printed for *John Smith*, 1683. *Folio*, containing two Pages. 271
- The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner, made by the most vertuous and right gracious Ladie, *Queene Catherine*, bewailing the Ignorance of his blind Life, led in Superstition; verie profitable to the Amendment of our Lives. *Quarto*, containing Forty-seven Pages. 277
- Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing*, in a Game at *Picquet*: Being acted from the Year 1653, to 1658, by O. P. and others, with great Applause. *Tempora mutantur, & nos* — Printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages. 298
- Cases of Treason. Written by Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knight, His Majesty's Solicitor-General. Printed at *London*, by the Assigns of *John More*, and are sold by *Matthew Walkenck*, and *William Coke*, Anno 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages. 301
- The last Will and Testament of Father *Peters*: As it was found quilted into my Lord Chancellor's Cap, with a Letter directed to his Lordship, &c. and his Prayer to the Blessed Virgin of *Loretto*. *Quarto*, containing four Pages. 313
- An Expedient for the Preventing any Difference between his Highness and the Parliament. About the Recognition, the Negative Voice, and the Militia. By a Lover of his Country, that desires, at this Time, to be nameless. *London*, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black-spread-Eagle*, at the Well-end of *St. Paul's*, 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages. 317
- A Relation of the Execution of *James Grabam*, late Marquis of *Montrose*, at *Edinburgh*, on Tuesday the Twenty-first of May Instant. With his last Speech, Carriage, and most remarkable Passages upon the Scaffold. Also a Letter out of *Ireland*, more fully, concerning the Taking of *Clonmell*. *London*, printed by *E. Griffin*, in the *Old-Bailey*. May Twenty-eighth, 1650. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages. 319
- The Continuation of the Travels of three *English* Gentlemen. Sect. V. 321
- A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of *Mustapha*, Prince of *Turkey*, eldest Son of *Mahomet*, present Emperor of the *Turks*: Together with an Account of the Marriage of his Daughter to his great Favourite *Musfaip*, at *Adrianople*, as it was sent in a Letter to a Person of Honour. By Mr. *Coke*, Secretary of the *Turky* Company; being in Company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Sir *John Finch*. Licensed, January 10, 1675-6. *Roger L'Esfrange*. *London*: Printed by *J. C.* for *William Crook*, at the *Green-Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*. 1676. *Folio*, containing eight Pages. 345
- A brief Account of many memorable Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, sometime Lord High-Chancellor of *England*; who departed this Life the twenty-first Day of *December*, 1683; giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majesty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours, he used, to bring in the King into *England*; unto his just Rights, in Peace and Safety; with his Majesty's grateful Acknowledgments of these his Kindnesses to him, in preferring him to several eminent Places

- Places of Honour and Trust; together with his great Patience under the Loss of the same. Also, his twice Imprisonment in the *Tower*, and his witty Answer to one of the Popish Lords upon his Imprisonment; his Release; and several Plots and Sham-Plots of the Papists, used to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Protestant Religion, and their Disappointments. Of his Arrival in *Holland*, and his kind Entertainment there. Together with his Sickness, and worthy Speeches a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer worthy of the Perusal of all Persons. Printed for *J. Conyers* in *Duck-Lane*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 348
- A Speech of a Fellow-Commoner of *England*, to his Fellow-Commoners of the Convention. Printed in the Year 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 352
- A Philosophical Essay, treating of the most probable Cause of that grand Mystery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea. *London*, Printed by *T. M.* for *T. Passinger*, at the *Three Bibles*, on the Middle of *London-Bridge*, 1673. *Quarto*, containing eighteen Pages 354
- Brief Notes on the Creed of *St. Athanasius*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 359
- A Description of the most glorious and most magnificent Arches erected at the *Hague*, for the Reception of *William the Third*, King of *Great-Britain*. With all the Motto's and Latin Inscriptions that were written upon every one of the said Arches. Translated into *English* from the *Dutch*. *London*: Printed for *F. S.* and are to be sold by *Richard Baldwin*, at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1691. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 366
- > A Quip for an ypocrit Courtier: Or, a quaint Dispute between *Velvet-breeches* and *Cloth-breeches*. Wherein is plainly set downe the Disorders in all Estates and Trades. *London*: Imprinted by *Iohn Wolfe*, and are to bee sold at his Shop at *Pauls Chayne*, 1592. In black Letter, *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages 371
- The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament: Or, a Collection of the Acts, Orders, Votes, and Resolves, that have passed in the House. By *Samuel Butler*, Author of *Hudibras*. *London*, Printed according to Order, 1659. And reprinted in this Year 1710. And sold by *J. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-noster-Row*. *Octavo*, containing sixteen Pages 396
- A farther brief and true Narration of the late Wars risen in *New-England*, occasioned by the quarrellsome Disposition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous and savage *Indian* Natives there; with an Account of the Fight, the 19th of *December* last, 1675. *London*, February 17th, 1675-6. Licensed, *Henry Oldenburgh*. *London*, Printed by *J. D.* for *M. K.* and are to be sold by the Bookellers, 1676. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 400
- Providence displayed: Or, a very surprizing Account of one *Mr. Alexander Selkirk*, Master of a Merchant-Man called, *The Cinque Ports*; who dreaming that the Ship would soon after be lost, he desired to be left on a desolate Island in the *South-Sea*, where he lived Four Years and Four Months, without seeing the Face of Man, the Ship being afterwards cast away as he dreamed. As also, How he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal Place, by two *Bristol* Privateers, called, *The Duke and Duchs*; that took the rich *Aquapulco* Ship, worth one-hundred Ton of Gold, and brought it to *England*. To which is added, An Account of his Birth and Education. His Description of the Island where he was cast; how he subsisted; the several strange Things he saw; and how he used to spend his Time. With some pious Ejaculations that he used, composed during his melancholy Residence there. Written by his own Hand, and attested by most of the eminent Merchants upon the *Royal-Exchange*. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 403
- Sir Robert Sherley, sent Ambassadour, in the Name of the King of *Persia*, to *Sigismund the Third*, King of *Poland* and *Swecia*, and to other Princes of *Europe*. His Royall Entertainment into *Cracovia*, the chiefe Citie of *Poland*, with his pretended Comming into *England*. Also, the honorable Praises of the same Sir Robert Sherley, given unto him in that Kingdom, are here likewise inserted. *London*: Printed by *I. Windet*, for *Iohn Budge*, and are to be Sold at his Shop, at the great South Doore of *Pauls*, 1609. (In Black Letter.) *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 407
- The Speech of the Lord Digby, in the High Court of Parliament, concerning Grievances. Printed for *Thomas Walkely*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 414
- The Levellers: A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony, proposing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing single Persons. With the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. *London*, Printed and Sold by *J. How*, at the *Seven Stars* in *Talbot-Court*, in *Grace-church-street*, 1703. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 416
- A Continuation of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of Don Sebastian, King of *Portugal*. With a Declaration of all his Time employed since the Battle in *Africa* against the Infidels, 1578, until this present Year 1603. *London*: Printed for *James Shaw*, and are to be Sold at his Shop near *Ludgate*, 1603. *Quarto*, containing sixty-eight Pages 433

The Judges Judgment. A Speech penned in the Beginning of the Parliament against the Judges
Per ignotum quendam.
Printed for John Ashton, 1641. Quarto, containing twelve Pages 466

The Character of an Oxford Incendiary. Printed for Robert White, in 1643. Quarto, containing eight Pages 469

The Life of Henry the Second, King of England. Shewing what Troubles beset in his Reign, concerning the Wars between him and his Subjects; and also the Manner how he set up his Standard near Rutland, Henry of Essex being General, and the Manner how he left his Crown; necessary to be observed in these dangerous and distracted Times of ours. Printed at London for H. B. 1642. Quarto, containing eight Pages 475

A perfect Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Confession of the Five several Persons that were Confederates in stealing the Mace and the two Privy Purse from the Lord High Chancellor of England. As it was attested at the Sessions held at Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailie, the Seventh and Eight of March, Anno 1676-7. With Permission. Quarto, containing eight Pages 477

The Parlement of Byrdes. Imprinted at London, in Pauls Church-yard, at the Sygne of the Lamb, by Abraham Uele. In Black Letter. Quarto, containing fourteen Pages 479

Aphorisms of State: Or, Certain secret Articles for the Re-edifying of the Romish Church, agreed upon, and approved in Council by the College of Cardinals in Rome, shewed and delivered unto Pope Gregory the Fifteenth, a little before his Death. Whereunto is annexed a Censure upon the chief Points of that which the Cardinals had concluded. By Thomas Scott. Very needful and profitable for all those, who are desirous to understand the Event of the Restoration of the Palatinate, and of the State of the Princes Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in the Behalf of the Clergy in Rome. Fit for the British Nation especially to take Notice of, that they may evidently see the Issue of all our Treaties, Ambassages, and Promises, with other Hopes depending; wherein we have been long held in Suspence, and are still like to be, to our irrecoverable Loss. Faithfully translated, according to the Latin and Netherlands Dutch, into English. Printed at Utrecht, 1624. Quarto, containing thirty Pages 483

A Vision, concerning his late pretended Highness Cromwell, the Wicked; Containing a Discourse in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the Confutation thereof, by the Author, Abraham Cowley.
— *Sua cuque Deus fit dira Lido.* Virgil.
London, Printed for Henry Herringman, at the Anchor in the Lower-walk in the New-Exchange, 1661. Twelve, containing ninety Pages 495

The Marquis of Huntley's Reply to certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, Covenanters of Scotland: Sent from their Associates, to signify unto him, that it behoved him either to assist their Designs, or to be carried to Prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, the 20th of April, 1639. Now published, because of a false Copy thereof lately Printed without Authority, or his own Consent. Quarto, containing four Pages 513

The Lieutenant of the Tower's Speech and Repentance, at the Time of his Death, who was executed upon Tower-bill, on the 20th Day of November, 1615, for the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

London, printed by G. Eld for Na. Butter, and are to be Sold at his Shop near St. Austins Gate. Quarto, containing thirty-six Pages 514

A Discourse touching Tangier. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. To which is added, The Interest of Tangier. By another Hand. London, printed in the Year 1680. Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages 519

The Accusation and Impeachment of John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, by the House of Commons. Printed Anno Domini 1640. Quarto, containing twelve Pages 532

The true Copy of a Letter, sent from the most Reverend William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to the University of Oxford, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor. Published, by Occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And also the Answer of the University to the said Letter. Oxford, Printed by Leonard Litchfield, Printer to the University, Anno Dom. 1641. Quarto, containing twelve Pages 535

A Letter to the Earl of Shaftsbury, this 9th of July, 1680. From Tom Tell-Troth, a down-right Englishman. Folio, containing four Pages 536

Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long-Parliament and Assembly of Divines, in 1641. Omitted in his other Works, and never before printed, and very seasonable for these Times. London, Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun at the West-end of St. Paul's, 1681. Quarto, containing sixteen Pages

An Essay on the Theatres: Or, the Art of Acting. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry. MS. Never before Printed.
Ex Noto Fictum Carmen. Hor.

The Cuckows Nest at Westminster: Or, The Parliament between the two Lady-Birds, Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell, concerning Negotiations of State, and their several Interests in the Kingdom; sadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer and ab-horred Husbands.

- Who buys a Cuckow's Nest, hatch'd in an Air
That's not far distant from *Westminster-Fair*?
The Hedge-Sparrow, that fed her 't'other
Day,
Is, for her Kindness, now become her Prey;
O'tis a precious Bird, we't in a Cage,
'Twould please both King and People; cure
this Age
That surfeits with Rebellion, and can have
No Help to keep her from Destruction's Grave.
She cuckows Treasons, Strifes, causes great
Stir,
But must pack hence 'twixt this and Mid-
summer:
Though *Goatham* hedge her in with Pikes and
Gun,
She shall not 'scape us, though she flies, or runs;
For all the Birds with one Consent agree,
To spring her for base Disloyalty.
- By *Mercurius Melancholicus*. Printed in Cuc-
kow-time in a Hollow-tree, 1648. *Quarto*,
containing ten Pages. 550
- A Nest of perfidious Vipers: Or, The Second
Part of the Parliament's Calendar of black
Saints. Pictured forth in a Second Arraign-
ment, or Gaol-delivery of Malignants, Jesuits,
Arminians, and Cabinet-Counsellors, being the
fatal Engineers, Plotters, and Contrivers of
Treasons against the Parliament, our Relig-
ion, Laws, and Lives. Condemned according
to their several Crimes. *London*, Printed ac-
cording to Order, for G. Bishop, September 21,
1644. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages. 553
- Historical Collections of the Church of *Ireland*,
during the Reigns of King *Henry VIII*, *Edward*
VI, and Queen *Mary*: Wherein are several
material Passages, omitted by other Historians,
concerning the Manner how that Kingdom was
first converted to the Protestant Religion; and
how, by the special Providence of God, *Dr.*
Cole, a bloody Agent of Queen *Mary*, was pre-
vented in his Designs against the Protestants
there: Set forth in the Life and Death of *George*
Browne, sometime Archbishop of *Dublin*, who
was the first of the *Romish* Clergy in *Ireland*
that threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and for-
sook the Idolatrous Worship of *Rome*; with a
Sermon of his on that Subject. Printed at *Lon-*
don, and sold by *Randal Taylor*, 1681. *Quarto*,
containing twenty Pages. 558
- A Word for the Army. And two Words to the
Kingdom. To clear the one, and cure the o-
ther. Forced in much Plainness and Brevity
from their faithful Servant, *Hugh Peters*.
— Nunc nunc properandus est acri
Fingendus sine fine rotar. —
London, Printed by *M. Simmons*, for *Giles Cal-*
vert, at the *Black Spread-Eagle* at the West End
of *Pauls*. 1647. *Quarto*, containing 14 Pages. 569
- The Character of *Holland*. *London*, Printed by *T.*
Mabb, for *Robert Horn*, at the *Angel* in *Pope's-*
head-alley, 1665. *Folio*, containing 8 Pages. 575

A true Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all *Italy*, orderly set down, and in sure Manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee or neglect any Thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reasonable Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many Miles from one Place to another as followeth : *First*, what is to be seen principally in *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and until you come to *Malta*, from thence back again another Way to *Genoa*, and *Milan*. MS.

V E N I C E.

THE City of *Venice* hath sixty-two Parish Churches, and forty-one Monasteries of Friars and Nuns : There are, in *Venice*, as many Channels as Streets, over which there are eight-hundred open Bridges to pass.

The City of *Venice* is, in Circuit, eight *Italian* Miles ; and, although it lies in the Sea, yet, nevertheless, it is defended from the raging Waves thereof, by a natural Bank under the Water, compassing the City round about, like unto a constant Wall, which repels the Storms of the Sea, that they cannot assail the City ; there are about the City twenty-five Islands inhabited by spiritual Persons.

When you come to *Venice*, enquire for the *White Lion*, or *Black Cattle*, or else for the *Wletta*, where (in my Time being there) dwelt an Host, named Signior *Bongratz*, which is the chiefest of the Three : There you shall have one appointed to go with you, or else take a Gondola, and row to the *Arsenal*, or House of Artillery.

The House of Artillery.

BEFORE you go to the *Arsenal*, or House of Artillery, you must crave Licence to see the same, of certain particular Gentlemen.

men, deputed to have the Custody thereof ; and, as then, you must leave your Weapons in the Porter's Lodge, until you come out again.

When you are within, there will be one appointed to go about with you ; but my Counsel is, that you provide yourself with single Money, to bestow here and there, according to the Custom. First you go over a Bridge, through which the Ships and Gallies do pass, which are to go to Sea ; over-against that, there is a House, wherein are two-hundred Persons daily, who do nothing else but make Corsets and Harness, that are used in the Ships and Gallies.

Another House, hard by that, wherein there are daily working two-hundred Persons, making nothing but Anchors, and other Irons, for the Gallies and great Ships. A little farther, you shall be led into a Cellar, wherein are sixty great Vessels, filled with Wine, which they give to the Workmen, as much as they desire to drink, every Day, and you also may drink as much as you please.

Moreover, there are six extraordinary great Galleasses, which have been in the Battle of *Lepanto*.

There are also forty-six Galleasses, all ready furnished, save only two, laying the Ordinance thereupon. Right over-against that, you shall be led into a Gallery, about five-hundred Paces long ; therein are made the

A

Cables

Cables and Ropes for the Ships and Gallies; hard by that, is another House, in which are forty Kettles and Ovens, to make Salt-petre; bestow there to drink.

Then, a little back again, there is a great House, in which there are two Rooms; in the First, is all Manner of Furniture to arm seventy-four Thousand Men into the Field; here also give to drink. In the other Room, there are long Guns, Pikes, and other Armour, to furnish into the Field one-hundred seventy-four Thousand Men; give to drink. Coming down again, you shall see, in another Room, six-hundred Pieces of great Ordnance, lying on Wheels; also, hard by, a Mortar, that carries a Bullet of six-hundred Pounds Weight.

Hard by that Room, there is another, wherein do lie as many Bullets and Ordnance, as will serve for two-hundred Gallies, which are all ready to be used; Drink-money more; there are Bullets and Ordnance to furnish thirty-six Galleasses, there pertaining to every Galeass forty-eight Pieces of Ordnance. Drink-money.

A little further, there is another House, wherein are three-hundred Pieces of Ordnance, which were won from the *Turks* in the Armada, together with the Colours, and twenty-four Bells of the *Low-Countries*, Drink-money.

The Galleasses are in Length thirty-seven Paces, and the Gallies thirty.

When you have gone about, and seen the Gallies, you shall come to the extraordinary brave Ship, called *Bucentauro*, which is painted within and without, and richly overgilded: Therein are excellent fine Benches made, on which may easily sit two-hundred Persons. In that Ship doth the Duke of *Venice*, together with the whole Signiora, or Council, go, in long Crimson-velvet Gowns, every Year on the *Ascension-day*, in great Triumph, and princely State, to the Sea, to a Port near a strong Fort called *Alio*: And there the Duke doth wed himself to the Sea with a very rich and costly Ring, for an established Dominion; the Ring is given to a Page of Honour, who casteth it into the Sea, and, as then, the Duke returns Home again, and, from the two strong Forts, is rung a main Peal of Ordnance for Joy. When a Duke is chosen, no Man can know to whom the E-

lection will fall, for it is done by Lots, and, therefore, bootless for any covetous Man to strive for it, by Bribing or Gifts.

As you go forwards, you shall see a great House, under which are three Rooms; therein may easily be made ready two-hundred Ships and Gallies with Sails. Drink-money.

Go up the Stairs, and you shall come into a Room, wherein are two hundred old Women, daily mending old Sails; and sometimes, when Need requires, there are seven-hundred daily working.

Further, there are three Rooms, one above another; therein may be furnished and armed twenty-thousand Men to Sea, and there you shall see an admirable Number of old Harnefs, used in former Times.

Then enquire for the great Hall, called *Real*, in which the Lords, in Times past, did use to sit in Council, but now used for stately Banquets and Feasts, when some great Potentate or Prince comes thither.

In the said Hall, you shall see Flitz-bows, Corsets, and broad Rapiers, together with other Weapons, sufficient to arm two-hundred-thousand Men; and also, you shall see the Colours, which were gotten from the common Enemies of *Christendom*, the *Turks*.

Not far from thence is a House, wherein do lie so many Oars, ready made, as will serve for eighty Gallies.

Further, another House, wherein are Oars, ready made, for above one-hundred Gallies, which were used in the Armada aforesaid; on every Oar must row eight or nine Persons. In the same House, the Signiora did sit in Council, because the Duke's Palace was set on Fire, by Lightning, or a Thunder-bolt.

There are two-hundred good and sound Gallies, all ready furnished, save only the Ordnance to be laid therein, and so put out to Sea; and also about two-hundred and fifty, which are daily repaired, and made ready. Drink-money.

In this House of Artillery, are twelve great Towers, upon which there is kept the Watch every Night; and, every Hour, there goeth a Gentleman (appointed by the Lords) the Round, with thirty-six sufficient armed Men, about the House of Artillery, to visit the Sentinel. This House of Artillery is compassed round

round about with Walls, and other Buildings, like unto a strong Town.

In the same, there are four-hundred Masters and Servants, who continually do make great Ships, and prepare them to be ready. There are belonging to this House of Artillery eight thousand Persons, fit for all Manner of Trades. This House of Artillery, in my Opinion, is as big as the City *Canterbury*. Now it will be Time for you to go Home to your Lodgings, friendly taking Leave at the Gates, and, with Thanks, bestowing some such reasonable Reward, as to the Company of Gentlemen-travellers, who went in with you; may be found fitting. And thus much concerning the incomparable House of Artillery in *Venice*.

Hereafter follows what is chiefly to be seen within the City of Venice.

GO forward from the House of Artillery to the Water, or Channel, and there you shall see many brave and great Ships of War.

Not far from thence, a great House, built only to make Biskets for the Gallies. Therein are fifty Ovens, and all *Dutch* Bakers; there pertain to these Ovens fifty Bakers, but, if it be needful to set out Gallies with Bread, then there must be one-hundred of them.

Further you will see a new Monastery, named *Santo Sepulchro*, which is naturally like to the holy Grave in *Jerusalem*.

Then you shall come to the Duke's Palace; there take a Gondola, and row over to St. *George's* Monastery, which is built so pleasantly, and with such various Cloisters and Gardens (which remain Winter and Summer) as that you have not seen the like; especially the Convent-Hall, wherein the Monks do dine and sup. This Monastery hath as great a Circuit about it, as a reasonable Town.

Over-against that is yellow Wax bleached, worthy the Seeing. Drink-money.

Then you shall go to the Capuchins Monastery, which, in Times past, was built in perpetual Memory, at the Charge of Prince *Nichola di Ponte*, ordered on the Day of his Death; upon which Day, there is yearly made a great Ship-bridge, that the People may not be troubled to go so far about thither in Pilgrimage to offer.

Then row over the Channel to St. *Stephen's*, where you shall see a great spacious Place, and there all Duels are fought, being a privileged Place, where no Serjeant or Officer dare meddle with them; and also, hard by the Church, there is a Stable, besides which there is not one Stable more within the whole City of *Venice*.

After which, going Homewards, you may ascend up to St. *Mark's* Steeple, from whence you may very pleasantly behold the whole City. As the King of *France* came thither out of *Poland*, he rid up this Steeple, with his Horse, as high as the Bells do hang: It was built Anno 1146, at which Time the *Paduans* and *Venetians* were at Wars. The Ships may be seen from this Steeple thirty Miles. After, go into the Minting-house, which is hard thereby, as also the Library, which you shall take great Delight to see. Coming out thence, you will see two great Pillars erected, which are cast; between those the Malefactors are executed.

Also, just thereby is an extraordinary great House, wherein is kept in Store double-baked Bisket, ready for any Armada which is to be set out to Sea; and hard by that House is the Place, whereout are delivered all their Billets, or Passes, that intend to travel.

Then go to the Duke's Palace, and up the Stairs you shall see two great Statues, or Pictures of *Adam* and *Eve*, of white Marble-stone; and, when you come to the Top, there is, on your left Hand, a Quader-piece, over-gilded and fastened into the Wall, on which is written or engraven the Manner, Day, and Hour of the King of *France's* Coming thither out of *Poland*. Go up higher the Stairs, towards the great Chamber, wherein is usually held a General Council; which, being complete, consists of sixteen-hundred Lords and Counsellors, all from the most ancient Nobility descended; where they sit in comely Order, the Duke sitting uppermost, and on each Side of him twenty-four *Clarissimi*, or Lords, all in long red Velvet Gowns; out of which one is elected, when the Duke dies, and they cast Lots for the Election.

The upper Cieling of this Council-chamber is of Wood most excellently carved, and richly gilded with pure *Zeebini* Gold; the Histories and artificial Pictures are wrought upon very costly Linnen, with Oil Colours. They do constantly affirm, that this Chamber cost

above four Tons of Gold, which, in *English* Money, is above one hundred-thousand Pounds Sterling. Hard by the same is another Chamber, almost like unto it, which sometimes is used for a Council-chamber.

This Palace of the Duke's, about thirty-two Years past, was set on Fire by a fiery Squall, and burnt; it was covered with Lead at that Time, but now with Copper; for Furnishing of which, there were sent for very artificial Masters out of *Germany*. They say, that the Covering of this Palace cost three hundred-thousand Crowns.

When you come out of the Palace, you shall see, on *St. Mark's* Place, two Columns or Pillars of Marble-stone erected, which *Emmanuel*, Emperor of *Greece*, sent thither for a Present; for, at such Time as the *Venetians* made an Agreement with the King of *Sicily*, the said Emperor was much displeased therewith, but afterwards, they having pacified his Anger, he presented them with three Columns or Pillars, two of which stand on *St. Mark's* Place; the third miscarried, and fell into the Water, which could never be recovered again. And, as concerning the other two, there was at that Time no Man to be found in all their Dominions, that could set them up on End; wherefore they made Proclamation, That, whosoever could erect them, he should be well rewarded for his Pains: Upon which, one came out of *Lombardy*, who told them, that he would venture his Head, that he would set them up on End, if they would let him have such Things as were necessary for that Purpose; which he had, and did effect it accordingly: And, for his Reward, he did desire, That it might be lawful for any Man, that would, to play at Dice between the said Pillars, notwithstanding the Dice were false; and also, That the *Venetians* would give him free Dwelling amongst them, with a competent Living; all which was granted unto him. If it chanceth, that any Man in their Jurisdiction doth raise a Mutiny with the *Turks*, or doth attempt any Treachery against the City, then there is a gilded Pole laid overthwart the two Pillars, and a gilded Halter put about the Offender's Neck, and he hanged thereupon.

Here I will relate a strange Kind of Theft, which was done in former Times at *Venice*:

When *Borfus*, Brother to the Duke of

Ferrara, came to *Venice*, and went to see the Treasure at *St. Mark's*, there was a certain *Candiot*, named *Sammatus Scario*, who, being appointed to wait on the Duke, went in also to see the Treasure; and, when he saw the Riches thereof, he thought with himself by what Means he might come secretly unto it, and for that Purpose suffered himself to be locked in the Treasury; and, making loose a Marble-stone in the Wall, behind the Altar of the innocent Children, he carried the Dust in his Lap, and laid it behind a little Pair of dark Stairs in the Church. By Day he went always away, and came again towards Evening, so long, until he had made a Hole into the Treasury-chamber; and, in the Day-time, he fastened the Stone so cunningly into the Wall, that no Man could mark it: He carried out one rich Jewel after another, six Nights together, and at last was resolved to take away the Duke's Hat, esteemed at two Millions of *Zechins*, which make, in *English* Money, more than seven-hundred Thousand Pounds. Now there was another *Candiot*, named *Zacharias Cerio*, to whom *Sammatus* opened his Business, and shewed him the Treasure, and admonished him in any Case to keep it close, saying their Lives stood upon it. *Cerio* being at the Sight thereof sore astonished, *Sammatus* stabbed him; but, before, he demanded of *Cerio*, Why he was astonished in such a fearful Manner? *Cerio* answered, That he was not able to speak, for Joy: *Sammatus* said, Make Haste, then, and let us be gone; we have Riches sufficient to serve our Turns all the Days of our Lives. *Cerio* said, I will presently prepare myself, and go to inquire after a Ship to be gone: But he went and discovered it to the Duke, whereupon *Sammatus* was apprehended. The next Day, a Pair of Gallows overgilded were set up between the two Pillars, whereon he was hanged, with a gilded Rope about his Neck.

Over-against the same, at the one Corner of the Church, is a red Porphyry-stone set up, on which there are cut the Pictures of the two famous Pirates which brought the said Treasure to *Venice*.

Hard by is a round Marble-stone they use to lay the Heads of proscribed and banished Persons.

Then go into the excellent Temple or Church of *St. Mark's*, which is under-set very curiously with rich and great Pillars of divers

Sorts

Sorts of Colours. The Doors and Gates of the Church are of Bell-Metal, and about the great Door do stand four great Horses cast of Bell-Metal, all over gilded with pure Gold, which were ordered to be placed in Memory of the Emperor *Barbareffa*. When you come into the Church, on your Left-hand, you shall see a Crucifix upon an Altar, at which (as they say) on a Time a certain Gamester did throw a Stone, whereupon it fell a Bleeding, and still every Year, on that Day, it doth bleed.

Further, upon the Ground before the high Altar there is a Pavement with four-squared Streams, of white Marble-stone, like unto a natural Water, which was likewise fo ordered for the aforesaid Emperor's Sake, which is called a Horse-pond. For, as the Emperor laid Siege to *Venice*, he made a solemn Vow, that, when he had got the City, he would make out of St. *Mark's* Church a Stable, and a Horse-pond, and would make St. *Mark's* Market-place a Ground to sow Corn on: In the mean Time, it chanced, that the Emperor's Son was taken Prisoner in a Skirmish, and brought into *Venice*; then the *Venetians* sent and gave Notice thereof to the Emperor, and told him, that, unless he would presently raise his Siege and be gone, they would shoot his Son unto him out of a Cannon: At which the Emperor was sorely grieved, and desired of the *Venetians*, that, for the Safeguard of the Vow which he had made, they would cause St. *Mark's* Place to be plaistered like a Corn Ground, and that the four Horses might be set over the high Door, to signify the Stable, and also the Ground before the high Altar to be paved with white Marble-stone streamed, to betoken the Horse-pond; which was all done accordingly, as it is to be seen at this Day; whereupon the Emperor took his Son, raised his Siege, and departed.

There are right before the Church standing three very high Poles, on the Top of which they hang three great Standards or Colours, upon the Holy and Feast Days, signifying their three Kingdoms, *viz.* *Candya*, *Cyprus*, and *Venice*.

If you desire to see the Treasure, you must diligently solicit the Duke's Chamberlain; then you shall go into St. *Mark's* Church, through four Iron Doors: So soon as you are gone through each one of them, they shut

themselves locked, and you are within; they will shew you two Unicorns Horns, of which the Red is the Male, and the Yellow the Female; then a great Carbuncle-stone, which glitters like a Candle, three Crowns of the Kingdoms of the *Venetians*, twelve Pettorali, with Oriental Stones, amongst which is one standing in the Midst, that hath a great Sapphire and an Emerald; two Vessels of Agate, the one of *Chalcedoni*, the other of a *Turkish*; a little Granate, a great Diamond King *Henry the Third, of France*, gave the Duke of *Venice*; a great Dish of Gold, one Ballaffo that weighs seven Ounces, certain Vessels of Agate and Emeralds, which, in Times past, were the Emperor *Constantine's*, besides many other rich Jewels and precious Stones, almost not possible to be written in particular, for it is an inestimable Treasure; there are especially Oriental precious a Sapphire and an Emerald, like unto which there are none to be found.

Further you may desire to see the Duke's private House of Artillery, where are rich Furniture of Gold and Silver to arm two hundred Men, a Lanthorn all of Chrystal, certain Apparel come from the New World, and brought thither by the *Cyprineses*, and presented to the Duke; then a little Coffer, in the Opening of which, two Pieces, that lie therein, do discharge of themselves, besides divers other curious Things. Give something to drink.

The Church of St. *Mark* is held to be more rich and stately, built with extraordinary costly Pillars of Porphyry and Marble-stone, than is *Santa Sophia* at *Constantinople*, for there are five most great excellent Chapels, or round heathenish Towers, covered with Copper. When you go from St. *Mark's* under the great Dial, you will come into the *Merceria*, a long Street, on both Sides full of Shops, furnished with all Manner of exceeding rich Wares, especially with Silks; presently after you shall come to the Dutch House, wherein do dwell Dutch Merchants, who give Weekly to the Duchy One hundred *Zechins*.

From the Dutch House you will go over the Bridge *Rialto*, whither all the Merchants do resort Mornings and Evenings: there is also a little Church, called *Santo Jacopo*, which is the ancientest Church in *Venice*, and there was the first House built, and the City was named at that Time *Venequa*, in *English*,

Come

Come hither, for it was free for every Man to build there; and, from that Word *Venequetia*, it is now turned to *Venetia*.

Then go to *Santa-Maria Formosa*, upon which the *Dutch* Nation are freely privileged to fight out any Duel or Quarrel.

You may go also to *Santo Johanne & Paulo*, which is a wonderful fair Church and Monastery, adorned with excellent fair Epitaphs: When you enter in at the Door, you shall see on your Left-hand the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*, very richly, with ancient Histories, fastened into the Wall four-square, and the Cover over the same, all costly over-gilded.

Right without the Church doth sit upon a Horse cast of Bell-Metal, all over gilded with pure Ducat Gold, *Bartholome Cognition* of *Bergen*, Captain-General to the *Venetians*; by whom *Padua* was taken in for the Seigniorship of *Venice*. The said General afterwards, on his Death-bed, did earnestly intreat the *Venetian* State, in any wise hereafter, to discover their Secrets to none, as they had done to him, saying, That, if he had been disposed, he could himself have overcome them: The Seigniorship, for his true Service, did cause his Statue to be erected there on a Horse, as aforesaid.

In the famous City of *Venice* there are eight-thousand Gondola's, and, amongst eight-hundred Bridges, there are but two of Wood. There are also divers laudable Companies, or Fellowships, touching which it is not here necessary to write in particular: The principal ones are those, near a Monastery called *Alti Servi*, and by *Al Ponte de More*.

Further; it is but a little Way over to *Murano*, where the purest Chrystal Glasses are made; so soon as you land on your Left-hand, at a Corner-House, you shall see a Glass-maker that hath a whole Castle of Chrystal, with Ordnance on the Bulwarks and Bastions, as also Towers of Defence, which is to be sold for twelve-hundred Crowns.

In *Murano* almost all the Inhabitants are Glass-makers, appertaining to the *Venetians*, who have their Trading therewith: You shall also see very fair Gardens with running Water-works, and brave Statues, especially one above the rest, belonging to a great Gentleman named *Emo*, now dead, which is wrought so artificially, as is scarce to be believed, unless it be seen.

Then, in rowing Home again, you will see a Monastery on your Left-hand, wonderful

fairly built in the Water by a *Venetian Courté-fana*, whom did love a *Venetian* gentle *Homo*, who lived together like a Man and Wife; he died before her, and left her all that he had, for which she promised him to build a Chapel, in perpetual Memory of them both, to have their Funerals therein; which Chapel cost more than sixty-thousand Crowns the Building; it is all of white Marble-stone, and covered with Copper: There are adjoining thereunto four Towers of Bell-Metal; within it is costly set forth, with admirable Pictures and Histories, of white Alabaster Oriental, and without are cut out of white Marble-stone both their Statues or Pictures, according to the true Proportion of their Bodies: After that, she retired herself to a very strict and penitent Kind of Life, and, before her Death, she made her Will, having left behind her six hundred-Crowns, all which she bestowed upon poor People in Hospitals and Spittals, and for Maintenance of Widows and Orphans; and appointed a yearly Revenue, to that Monastery adjoining to the Chapel, ever to endure, to the End there might be solemnised yearly Vigils for the Sake of both their Souls.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen between Venice and Ancona, from thence to Santa Maria Loretto; and also how many Miles one Place is from the other.

You may take a Gondola, or Ship, and go to *Chiozza*, a very pleasant Town of the *Venetians*; it lies also in the Sea, built with very fair Houses; from thence to *Ornaci*, an Inn, eight Miles; then to *Corò*, an Inn, eighteen Miles; there you may have Horses to hire from *Corò* to *Volani*, an Inn, eighteen Miles; from thence to *Magnanaca*, an Inn, nine Miles; that is a very bare and simple Lodging; from thence to *Primara*, an Inn, fifteen Miles; from thence to *Ravenna*, twenty Miles. *Ravenna* is an ancient City, which lies on the Sea, pertaining to the Pope; from thence to *Al Savio*, an Inn, ten Miles; from thence to *Cesannire*, a little Town, ten Miles; to *Bell-aere*, an Inn, fifteen Miles; there you may have Horses to hire; so to *Rimini*, a Town of the Pope's, ten Miles; so to *Coriano*, an Inn, eight Miles; to *Cattolica*, an Inn, ten Miles; to *Pesara*, a Town, ten Miles, which Town belongs to the Duke of *Urbino*, built with very fair and large Streets, Walls and Bastions, and

and an exceeding strong Castle lying on the Sea; it is well provided with all Manner of Victuals, especially with good Wine; the Duke hath there a very fair Palace, and keeps his Court therein; it is a very pleasant Place, wherein every Thing is to be had at a reasonable Rate. From *Pesaro* to *Fano*, a Town nine Miles, belonging to the Pope, through which no Man must presume to pass, unless he will go on Foot; it is a very ancient City. From thence to *Sinigallia*, nine Miles; it is also the said Duke's; a very strong Castle on the Sea Border, wherein the Duke continually maintains a Garrison; from thence to *Casa Brusciata*, an Inn, nine Miles; it lies upon the Stream of the Sea; we received there excellent good Entertainment: From thence to *Ancona*, seventeen Miles.

A N C O N A.

When you come to *Ancona*, which is a famous City, you shall see a *Porta Triumphal*, which the Emperor *Adrian* caused to be built, for a Memorial. This City hath a very fair Haven of the Sea, like unto which there are not any found; for there are brought together divers Sorts of Commodities from *Sclavonia* and the *Levant*; there are brought also brave *Turkish* Horses, and all Manner of Wares. There is likewise a great Traffick, and they do bring many *Moors* and *Schiavons* together, to be sold; and, above the rest, there are no Want of *Jews* that travel to and fro, and also have their Dwellings in that City.

In the aforesaid City, doth lie the Body of *Sant Ciriaci Advocati*, buried in a little Church on a high Rock, which is commonly called *Sant Ciriaco*; and, when the Weather is clear, you may discover from thence *Schiavonia*, and the Ships upon the Sea.

This City lies but three Miles from *Monte Alto*, where Pope *Sixtus Quintus* was born.

The famous City *Ancona* is adorned with excellent fair Buildings, and Palaces, well provided of all Manner of Necessaries, to be bought at a very cheap Price, and it is well defended by great Walls round about. In like Manner there is a strong Castle hard above the City, made so invincible with Bastions and with Ordinance thereupon planted, as that it is, in a Manner, impossible to be assaulted or won; and, if in case it were, that the City should be gotten, yet could it not be kept, for, from the Castle, every Thing therein would be destroy-

ed. So soon as one Pope dies, another is elected; the Title of *Ancona* is written in his Stile, for it belongs to the See of *Rome*.

Santa Maria Loretto.

When you go from *Ancona* towards *Santa Maria Loretto*, which is fifteen Miles, you will see an extraordinary Pilgrimage and Devotion; especially, note when you come into a long straight Street, which reacheth up to the Church, you shall see Nothing but Shops, wherein are made only *Pater-Noster* Beads. When you come into the Church, you shall see, on both Sides, long Tables standing, on which there are written Directions and Admonishments, after what Part every Body may prepare himself to the Confession, on each Table being written four several Languages, to the End, no Man may alledge an Excuse, that there is no Priest to understand his Language, for there is ordered to every Table a Priest that speaks the same Language.

When you approach near the Choir, or Querry, wherein is the Chapel of our Blessed Virgin, which (as they say) was carried thither by the Angels from beyond the Seas, you shall see a rare Building, over or above the said Chapel, all of Alabaster and Marble-Stone, with excellent Histories raised.

And, when you are come into that Chapel, you shall see upon the great Altar the Blessed Virgin, with the Child *Jesus* in her Arms, adorned with so many precious Jewels, and Lamps of Gold and Silver burning, that a Man can scarce see either the Blessed Virgin, or the Child.

Then enquire for the *Christia*, whereon do lie the Male Robes; there you shall see, on your right Hand, the Picture of the Margrave of *Baden*; and there is written the Day on which he came thither, with six Persons per Post, to his Devotions, in the Year 1584, because, he, having received a deadly Wound by a Bullet, in the Wars of the *Low-Countries*, did direct his Prayers to the Virgin *Mary*, for her Divine Help for his Recovery; after his Prayers ended, he laid him down in Bed. In the Morning he felt Nothing, but was whole and found again; whereupon he delayed no Time, but posted in all Haste to this Place, and, for a Thanksgiving, presented the Blessed Virgin *Mary* with twelve-thousand Crowns, which is no Fable.

Loretto is made very strong with many Bastions and Walls, with great Ordnance, and Store of Ammunition, so that it is sure enough for the *Turks* Coming thither to carry away their inestimable Treasure, which (as they constantly affirm) is valued at above five Millions of Gold, freely given and presented out of mere Devotion.

Now, that which is on the Way, between *Maria Loretto* and *Rome*, is scarce worth the Seeing: I will therefore only describe the Ways from one Place to another; and, in my Opinion, you were better turn back again from *Loretto*, and take the nearest Way to *Ferrara*, and from thence, the open Highway to *Rome*, whereby, both Charges and Time may be saved.

The direct Way from Loretto to Rome.

From *Loretto* to *Recanata* three Miles, which is a fine pleasant Town, built longwise, on a Hill, with fair Houses and stately Vineyards, planted thereabouts; you need not go through the Town, unless you please, but may go hard by the Wall, from thence to *Macerata*, a little pretty Town, wherein is an University, fourteen Miles; then to *Tollentino*, a little Town, nine Miles; then to *Alla Mancia*, a little Town, seven Miles; then to *Piandignano*, an Inn, seven Miles; thence to *Varchiani* and *Samlet*, nine Miles; thence to *Alla Passo de Spoletto*, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Spoletto*, a fine City, lying on a Hill, belonging to the Pope; it hath been, in Times past, dangerous to travel thereabouts, but now not so, ten Miles; from thence to *Stretura*, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Terni*, a pleasant Town, eight Miles; thence to *Harni*, a strong Town, it lies high on the one Side, and the River *Harni* runs hard by it, seven Miles; from thence to *Otricolo*, a little Town, eight Miles; not far from this, you must set over the *Tyber*; nine Miles; from thence to *Rignano*, a very good Lodging; here leave an old Town, called *Civita Castellana*, on your left Hand, it is thither sixteen Miles; from thence to *Casal Nuovo*, a little Town, seven Miles; thence to *Primo Yorto*, an Inn, seven Miles; from thence to the Holy City, *Rome*, seven Miles. This is the Way from *Loretto* to *Rome*, if you please to go the same; otherwise, you may take it in your Return back again from *Rome*.

Hereafter follows the direct Way from Ferrara to Malta, and what is to be seen between them.

FERRARA.

When you are come to *Ferrara*, lodge at the *Bell*; they will enquire of you in the Gate, what Things you carry about you; but tell them, you are *Scholari*, or Students; and if you have Cloke-bags, or Mails, you must bring them into the Weigh-House, where they open them.

If you desire to see the City, you must enquire for the *Dutch Guard*; there you shall have one appointed to go about you for a small Reward.

First, you go to the Duke's Palace, or Castle, that hath four fair Towers, upon which do strike two Clocks. The Palace hath within a fine Court four-square, which is very stately set out with the Descents of the most famous Emperors, and Dukes that have governed there; as also it is adorned with excellent fair Rooms, and pleasant Gardens.

After, let him shew you the Duke's Garden of Pleasure and Art, called *Bel Vedere*, wherein you shall take great Delight to see it, inasmuch as you shall admire thereat, garnished with pleasant Springs, that both Winter and Summer remain green; all Manner of Birds, wild Beasts, and an extraordinary House of Pleasure. Further the House of Artillery, adjoining to the Duke's Palace, wherein are many Pieces of great Ordnance, worthy to be seen.

The City is furnished with an excellent fair Market-place, where all Necessaries sufficiently are to be had, especially all Manner of costly Fish.

There are also a great Number of *Jews*, and extraordinary fair broad Streets, very stately, set out with fair Palaces, and excellent brave Buildings, and, above all the rest, the City is round about strengthened with strong Walls and Bastions.

Hereafter follows the Way from Ferrara to Bologna.

From *Ferrara* to *Poggio*, an Inn, nine Miles; from thence to *Pietro* in *Casale*, six Miles; thence to *Fundi*, a little Town, nine Miles; from thence to *Bologna*, nine Miles.

B O L O G N A.

Bologna is an exceeding fair City: When you come thither, lodge at the *Golden Angel*, where you may horse conveniently to *Rome*; but there will be Need of some Policy, by reason that many Times there are Horses *de ritorno*, so that you may have them for six or eight Crowns a-piece, and also Men with you, to bear the Charges of the Horse and yourself, till you come to *Rome*, without taking Care of any thing, but only to eat and drink, to sit up and light; and, in case your Horse tires, they must immediately provide you another.

This great and famous City is built with very stately Palaces and Houses; it hath wonderful fair Streets; when it is rainy Weather, you may go under the Houses, and not be wet at all.

Go towards the Governor's Palace, who is commonly a Cardinal, appointed by the Pope to govern; it is an exceeding brave Palace, with a large Circumference.

The Governor keeps continually two-hundred *Switzers*, and a Cornet of Spear-Horsemen to guard his Person; they are duly paid their *Salariun* every Month.

Every Day, about the Time of Meals, do come the Musicians and Trumpeters to sound and play, as if he were a temporal Prince; they stand without the Palace in an open Gallery, towards the Market-place.

The Trumpeters with a Kettle Drum were, for a Memorial, ordained thither by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*. The Sackbuts and Cornets for a Memorial, by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*.

The *Switzers* and Horsemen have their Dwelling in the Governor's Palace, and, when he goes out to take the Air, they must all attend him as if the Pope were there himself.

Right against the Market-place, on the Outside of the Palace, you shall see the Statue of the said Pope, together with the Seat, all of Bell-Metal.

By the Palace is the House of Justice or Prison, where is given every Morning to the Offenders the *Stroppa de Corda*, in publick View; and the Malefactors are wound up exceeding high, their Arms being wrung round about, very fearful to behold.

In this City are great Merchandising with silk Wares, and silk Worms that spin, and they make their principal good Damask, and,
V O L. V.

especially, there is an active and brave Gen-try.

There is also a very pleasant, fair, and great Market-place, always provided with all Manner of Necessaries, at reasonable small Rates, whatsoever a Man desires.

You shall also see a Number of fair and civil Gentewomen in this City, especially those that are nobly descended, who shew themselves very courteous towards Strangers. There is continually Going up and down with Chariots and Coaches, Day and Night. Go also towards the *Asses* Tower, and you shall see two Towers together, which are not above four Paces asunder; one of them is four-cornered, raised very high, all of Brick, which six Men may fathom about, but the Height is one-hundred and thirty Fathom; upon the same is continually the Watch kept Day and Night; the other Tower is built on Purpose, as if it were falling down, and therefore they were forced to take a great deal of it down, the Citizens, that dwelt near thereunto, fearing the Fall of the same, and to spoil their Houses. It is yet forty Fathom high.

This City is called the Mother of Learning, by reason of the famous University therein; but now, for six or eight Years, it hath suffered Shipwreck, because the Governor, which Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* set to govern there, did cause a *Dutch* Gentleman, of good Rank, to be cast into Prison in the Night-time, by reason of certain Weapons which were found about him, and commanded three *Stroppa de Corda* to be given him openly upon the Market-place. Wherefore all the *Dutch* Nation departed presently from thence; for which the Pope might rather have given many thousand Crowns, than that it had been done, about which the Governor fell into the Pope's high Displeasure.

There is not, in all *Italy*, to be seen such an excellent and fair College as is there, with fine pleasant Rooms and Pillars of Marble stone, wherein no Prince may think Scorn to dwell, although at this Time *Padua* hath the Name; but I like *Bologna* much better, for every Thing is to be had at a low Rate.

Right over-against the College is the chiefest Church, called *St. Petronia*, which is exceeding fair, but as yet not finished, neither, as is thought, will be in Haste.

Further enquire for *St. Dominico*, a Monastery of *Dominican* Monks; go into it, and, when you come near the Door, you shall see

an Altar wrought with such Cunning and Art, as that there is not the like to be seen in the universal World: Under that Altar doth lie buried St. *Dominick*; and certainly the Monastery is so extraordinary fair, that far and near is not the like. The *Dutch* Nation have their Burials therein.

Further do not neglect to see St. *Michael*, a stately Monastery lying on a Hill near the City, most worthy to be noted; and, when it is clear Weather, a Man may see so far as *Ferrara*: Round about this Monastery do grow Cypress-trees, like unto a little Wood, yielding so excellent a sweet Smell, as that a faint Heart may be quickened therewith; and there is a continual Resort thither of Men and Women, as well for Pleasure as Devotion's Sake, for, Winter and Summer, it remains green all alike.

Further desire to see St. *Salvator*, which is a Monastery of Monks, and is the fairest built Monastery in all *Bologna*.

Further St. *Francisco*, in which there are Monks of the *Franciscan* Order, is also well worthy to be seen. And then, if you desire to see artificial and curious Altars and Pictures, you must go into St. *Jacob's* Church; it is a Monastery of the *Augustines* Order. There is in this City to be heard as excellent good Musick, as almost in any other Place in *Italy*, especially at St. *Celsin's*.

The City is wonderous fair, and there runs a fine River through it, called *Reno*, on which all Manner of Provision is conveyed into the City. The City is also great and spacious, and, nevertheless, all round about begirt with a marvellous fair Wall.

It is credibly reported, that the Pope hath every Year out of this City three-hundred-thousand Crowns Income.

Hereafter follows the Way from Bologna to Florence.

From *Bologna* to *Pianora*, a Hamlet, eight Miles; from thence to *Leiano*, a Hamlet, eight Miles; thence to *Pietra Mala*, a little Town, eight Miles; thence to *Rosreddo*, a Hamlet, seven.

There the Ways do part by a Bridge on the Left-hand, to *Pratolino*, three Miles from thence, on the Right-hand, the direct Way to *Florence*, where the Great Duke hath so plea-

sant a Recreation, as is no where else in all *Italy* to be seen.

PRATOLINO.

When you come thither, enquire if the Great Duke be there; then go to the Gardener or Keeper of the Palace, and salute courteously, promising him something. First he will lead you above into the Palace, which is built four-square; when you come into a Room, you shall go right forwards into four Rooms which have Correspondence into four Corners, which are six Rooms, among which is one wherein the Duke and his Dukes do lie, on two Beds, when they are there; but those Beds are accounted the simplest amongst all the rest, and very low.

The other Rooms are exceeding fairly furnished, and adorned with rich and costly Arras, of clean Gold and Silver, wherewith the Chambers are hung.

And, according as the Hangings are in every Chamber, so are likewise the Beds hung and trimmed correspondently.

The Chambers decked with extraordinary fair Statues, Pictures, and Tables of Alabaster, and other rich Stones.

Then go also up the Stairs, and you shall come into the like Rooms, where, in Four-squares are sixteen Rooms, where Beds do stand; the simplest amongst them did cost furnished ten-thousand Crowns. Then you may bestow something upon the Keeper's Wife, or him that did lead you about.

Further you must go from down a Pair of Stairs, where you shall see a fair Grotto and Vaults, richly set with Coral, Mother of Pearl, and other rich Stones, fastened into the Wall so thick, that a Man can scarce see any Part of the Wall; therein are also Tables of Marble-stone and Alabaster, and also the Benches very cunningly wrought, in inlaid Work. If a Man doth sit down at one of the Tables, the Water doth spout from below and above, and on every Side, as if it rained mainly; and, when one thinks to rescue himself from the Wet, then he comes just into the Bath, all wringing wet; they spare no Man, of what Degree soever.

When you come out again, you shall see the Garden right before you, like unto a broad Street, on both Sides, Springs of Water; the Garden is made with all Manner of young

young Plants, that are green Winter and Summer. There is a great Tree whereon the Duke uses to dine and sup; from that Tree, the Duke can see both his Palaces in the Town; the one wherein he keeps his Court, the other is called *Pitbi*. Then go right over-against the Palace, into a Garden, and is the Duke's Chapel, wherein Mass is celebrated; it is round like a heathenish Temple waincotted within and without, with Cypress Wood, and round about there grow Cypress Trees.

Further you shall see the Statue of a Water-God of white Marble-stone, that hath, in Length, four Fathom; from him doth fall all the Water, that comes into the artificial Water-works.

About five Miles from *Pratolino*, there hath been a very fair Ground, all green Meadows, but on each Side, high Hills, where the Waters do come together; those Grounds hath Duke *Cosmus* the Second caused to be trenched about four Miles in Circuit, so that it is now like unto a Sea, from whence all the Waters at *Pratolino* do spring; from *Pratolino*, are five Miles to *Florence*.

FLORENCE.

When you come within Half a Mile of *Florence*, and are many of you in a Company (for it is never otherwise) send one before that is a *Practicus*, to stay for you under the Gate of the City, by the Customers; then they will enquire of him the Cause of his staying there; he may answer, that he stays there for certain Students that are coming after on Horseback, all wearied, not being used much to Riding (for they do look very narrowly, what Things Passengers do carry about them, whereby much Time is lost) but, because they may not be long in Searching, put presently a Piece of Money, into one of their Hands, without many Words, speaking somewhat boldly to them, and, as then, they will let you pass; there are always many People looking very diligently to the Business, and to espy if any Thing be found amiss, whereby a Man may judge, that much deceitful Practice is there used.

When you come into the famous City of *Florence*, lodge at the *Crown*; there is also besides a *Dutch* Hostery, called the *Fusti*, but there is continually used much Excess in Drinking.

Florence is a most excellent brave City;

comparable to the same there is none, neither in *Italy*, nor elsewhere.

If there be none amongst yourselves that is acquainted with the Custom of the City, then desire your Host to help you to one, or you may have one of the *Dutch* Guard to go with you.

Then go to the great Duke's Palace; hard thereby is the *Dutch* Guard; the Duke maintains continually One-hundred of them to wait on his Person; they dwell all together, and are drawn up to the Watch every Evening very bravely.

The Palace is a famous Building, where is a Steeple so high, that one would say it is built in the Air without Foundation. Go into the Palace up the Stairs on your left Hand, and you shall see an extraordinary great Hall, wherein the Duke doth dine and sup openly; go after that out again, and on your Right-hand, you shall see also a very great Hall; there are every Year Presents given to the Duke on St. *John Baptist's* Day (who is Patron to the *Florentines*): After which is a fine Act solemnised, where the Duke sits in publick State, and under a Tabernacle do sit the States and Country Townsmen in their Order, and Colours, the Standards bowing themselves before him with such Ceremonies as if they were to do Homage. Then the Duke goes to his Palace to Dinner, and afterwards the Duke sets up a certain Prize, about which the common People do dance, at which Sport the Duke beholds them.

You shall see in this Hall very brave Statues, and as you come out there is, on your Right-hand, the Duke's natural Picture; right before the Palace, as you go to the *Dutch* Guard, you will see very fair Statues, as artificially made as if they were living: There is also a very fair Water-chest or Fountain, with stately Pictures of Bell-metal, as also of Marble-stone, continually spirting Water, standing exceeding pleasantly upon the fair and great Market-place. Then go up over where the Statues do stand, where the Duke hath a very pleasant Garden, and hath caused a Water-work to be raised up on high, that it is a Wonder, how it was possible for the Water to be brought thither; when the Duke is disposed to be merry, then he keeps his Table there, by reason of the excellent cool Air; from thence he hath but a little Gallery to go

into his Palace. From thence go right forward, and you will come into a very long Gallery, called *Belvedere*, which is adorned with most principal Statues. On the Side of the *Belvedere*, hath the Duke *Cosmus* caused a Chapel to be built (to which he can go secretly, and not seen, from and to his Palace) which is set out with wonderous brave Alabaſter Pictures, with a costly Altar, and the said Chapel round about ceiled with Mother of Pearl; under this Gallery you shall see, in a Prospective Glass, an excellent fair Room, underſet with brave strong Pillars, in which is the Chancery or Council kept; there is in all *Italy* not the like to be seen. Go also towards the old Bridge, called *Ponte Vecchio*; on the same are built Haberdashers Shops all over, and there runs a rich navigable River underneath, called the *Arno*; when you come over that Bridge, enquire for the Palace, called *Pitthi*, which is an exceeding fair Building, all of square Stone, very high and great, built four-cornered, with a Court paved all over with square Free-stone: There are in the same kingly Rooms, and Chambers, continually furnished wonderful richly. Thereupon is also a great and brave Garden, and therein a little Wood, all of Cypress Trees, where do also grow all Manner of Meats, for the most costly Birds and Fowls. The Duke hath oftentimes pleasant Sport in the same; there grow also all Manner of the delicateſt Fruits, which a Man may imagine, and most Part of the Garden is continually green.

There are also stately Fountains therein, with brave and costly Statues, and the Duke can go over a Gallery from thence to his other Palace, where he keeps his Court, that no Man can see him coming; then go back again to a Bridge, called *Ponte Novo*, which is built all of white Marble-stone, square Pieces.

When you come over that, you shall see, on your Left-hand, a very great stone Pillar, on which sits an Angel, with a Pair of Scales and a Sword in his Hands, which the great Duke *Cosmus* erected after he had got the Victory of *Siena* from the Lord *Strozzi*.

Then, when you go a little more forward, you shall come into the said *Peter Strozzi's* Palace, whereby you will conceive the Greatness of that Man, and his Power, in not fearing to set himself against the Duke, intending to have

made himself Duke. He hath had also more like Palaces in the City.

Further go to the Palace, called *Cassina*, where the Duke doth maintain all Manner of Artifs of all Nations; for the Duke taketh great Pleasure therein, he himself having learned two or three of those artificial Sciences, and doth oftentimes use to work amongst them.

Not far from thence you shall come to a House, wherein are kept certain tame Leopards, Lions, Bears, and other Beasts, all which you may see for a small Matter bestowed.

NUNCIATA, called, our Holy Mother.

There you shall see a great Devotion for Pilgrimage, in which Place there are so many Miracles done and seen, as that it is impossible for me to write of them all; only you shall see the true Signs and Tokens, as they say, of the Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Princes, and other great Persons, who (through their strange Faiths, and devout Prayers) have been helped and cured: This *Nunciata* hath also an excellent Hospital into which there are seldom taken any, but only such as have Relation to the Duke's Court; which Hospital is a most pleasant Place, where the Sick are attended with great Diligence, and provided with very sweet and cleanly Bedding.

Then go out from thence through the straight Street, and you shall see the Cathedral Church which is a rare Building, all of red and white Marble-stones, on which is a round Steeple, built so straight that no Man would believe it to be so exceeding high; and on the Top is a golden Globe, or Ball, wherein myself, with eighteen Persons more, have stood, and if they would fit themselves handsomely, there may well stand Twenty-four; hard by the said Church is another great Tower, wherein is a Clock; the same Steeple or Tower is built from the Bottom to the Top, with Marble-stone, and gilt with divers Colours; it doth not touch the Church, but is built so, that one may go round about it. Right against the Church is a round Temple, called *St. John*, the *Florentine* Patron, which Temple hath three Doors, or Gates of Bell-metal, with exceeding fair raised Figures, and Histories, and especially there is cast upon the same the whole Old Testament; they do confidently

dently affirm that the same does come from Jerusalem.

Then, going towards your Lodging, the Crown, there is not far off the Church of *St. Laurentia*; wherein is buried Queen *Johanna of Austria*, the Emperor *Maximilian's* Daughter, Wife to the great Duke *Cosmus*, together with her Children, where you shall see a wonderful fair Epitaph: By Reason of the Death of this great Princess, the poor People in the City were driven to an extreme Lamentation, and sorrowful Bewailing, for they lost a Mother of her; she, having presented unto her, from the Prince her Husband yearly, Twelve-thousand Crowns for a new Year's Gift, did not make Use thereof, for any Lust or Pleasure, but did distribute the same altogether, for God's Sake, to the said Poor: In this Church are to be seen the Epitaphs of the Dukes of *Florence* and their Predecessors, as also an excellent *Bibliotheca* of Four-thousand eight-hundred written Books in Parchment very fairly bound.

This City is built with stately Palaces and very fair Houses; the Streets are wonderous fair, and paved all with four-square Stones that no Filth or Uncleaness may abide thereon, and, though it rains much within one Quarter of an Hour, it is dry again. The City is also furnished with all Manner of Trades and Merchandises, and especially with Silks, and costly rich Cloth of Gold and Tissue, which are made there, comparable to which there are none in all *Italy*; there do also frequent a valiant Sort of Knights and Gentry which are employed in Service against the common Enemies the *Turks*; you shall also see there two very strange Castles or Forts; the one lies on a plain Ground near the City Wall; the other on a high Hill upon the City; wherein are in Garison all *Spaniards*, it being so ordered by *Charles the First*, Emperor, that the Duke *Cosmus* should maintain only *Spaniards*; which is observed to this Day, and no other Nation may be entertained therein.

Here followeth the Way to *High Siena*.

From *Florence* to *Casciano*, a little Town, eight Miles; from thence to *Barbatino*, four Miles; from thence to *Tavernelle*, a little Town, four Miles; from thence to *Poggioponzo*, a little Town, that lies under a Fort named *Poggia imperiale*, four Miles; from thence to *Staggia*, a little Town, four Miles; from thence to *High Siena* City, six Miles.

HIGH SIENA,

An exceeding fair City lying on a high Ground, fastened in round about with strong Walls; when you come into the City, lodge at the *Golden Angel*, where you will find good and stately Entertainment; and, if you desire Horses to *Rome*, you may have them at Return for a small Matter, and those that will bear your Charges, till you come to *Rome*; go to the Market-place, which is wide and fair, and a Water-chest, at the upper End; take a diligent View of that Water-chest; as you go along out of the Market-place, you shall perceive it like unto a *Jacob's* Muscle, by Reason of the red Bricks wherewith the Place is paved, and Pieces of white Marble Stone mingled amongst them, that it doth naturally resemble a Muscle. Then go to the Head and principal Church called *Domo* or Cathedral, which is so richly built, that, in all *Italy*, is scarce the like, all of white and black Marble-stone within and without, and a Steeple like unto it, so that a Man may say, the whole Building is like a costly Jewel, by Reason of the pleasant and rich Materials thereof: And therein you shall see all the Popes lively pictured, and the Church adorned with very fine Altars; and against the Church is an especial fine Hospital, where the poor Pilgrims and other Strangers are harboured and entertained with good and wholesome Meat and Drink, sweet Bedding, and other Necessaries, three Days and three Nights freely: There goes a great Charge and Expence thereupon, and, in Case the yearly Income will not serve, then the City must give Supply. The City is plentifully served with all Manner of good Vissuals; Partridges, Pheasants, Hares, and all Sorts of Fowl, are to be had for a small Matter; especially, the Students, where they board, are very excellently well served with all courteous and affable Behaviour. There is also exceeding good Wine, and fine Bread, the Wine, in Summer Time, being so cool, that a Man can scarce drink it, when they first bring it out of the Cellar, but it must stand a While.

There is not, in all *Italy*, spoke the Language more pure than in this City and therabouts; the plain Country Swain delivers it as elegantly, as the chiefest in the City. And, above other Things, I may not forget to praise the exceeding Beauty and Well favouredness of the Women Kind in this Place, being wonderous

derous well fitted for kind and lovely Conversation, graced with comely Apparel, and, especially, they are in General skilful in Riding, and do fit well on Horseback. You shall also see a brave University, frequented by all Nations, many noble Persons living there, for their Learning's Sake, and more of the *Dutch* Nation, than any other. There is also just on the City a marvellous strong Castle, or Fort, which the great Duke *Cosmus* caused to be built, as he had brought this City under his Power, and overthrown Lord *Peter Strozzi*; which Castle is sufficiently furnished with great Ordinance and all Manner of Ammunition, against which, the Citizens cannot lightly rebel; the Garison is all of *Italian* Soldiers: And, let it rain never so fast or long, it is dry again, throughout the whole City, within the Space of Half an Hour.

Hereafter follows the Way from High Siena to Rome.

From *Siena* to *Lucignano*, a little Town, six Miles; thence to *Buon Convent*, a little Town, five Miles; thence to *Vornieri*, a little Town, seven Miles; from thence you may see the exceeding strong Fort, called *Monte Alcino*, three Miles; on the Side, when you come to *Tornietti*, do not lodge at the Sign of the *Stars*, but go a little further down to the *Half-Moon*, which is a better Lodging. From thence to *St. Quinco*, eight Miles; thence to *Alla Paglia*, an Inn, four Miles; thence to *Ponte Cintino*, a Market-town, eight Miles; when you ride from *Alla Paglia*, enquire if it hath not lately rained, before you pass over the Water, for therein do lie hid great Stones, the Water oftentimes coming on a sudden with such Force, that it carries both Horse and Man. From *Ponte Cintino* to *Aquapendente*, four Miles; before you come thither, you must pass over a Bridge of Stone, which the Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* caused to be built. In this Town, you shall find most delicate, fresh, and cool Drink-water, and excellent good Wine and Lodging: It is also the Key of the Pope's Country. From *Aquapendente* to *St. Laurence*, five Miles: It is a fine little Town, where do grow marvellous pleasant Wines, especially the red Wine. From thence to *Bolsina*, a little Town, four Miles, where doth grow also exceeding good Wine, and it lies on the Sea Border: In this Sea do lie two Islands; on either is built a Church, the one is called

Santa Martana, the other, *Versantina*, wherein is interred the Body of *St. Christina*. In this Sea are taken very good Fishes, Pike, Carp, and Eels. From thence to *Montefiascon*, five Miles.

MONTEFIASCON.

This Town lies upon a Hill, formed like a Flaggon, from whence the Town is so called; there doth grow the best Muscadine in all *Italy*; in which Wine, a certain Prelate drank himself to Death, and lies there buried, on whose Grave-Stone are cut these Words following:

Dominus meus mortuus est.

Which Epitaph his Servant made: He was sent always by his Master before, when he travelled, for this End, to taste the Wine in divers Places, and, where he found this good Muscadine, he, on the Door wrote, *EST*, which was the Token for his Master to know that there was good Wine; and so, *Est*, as he espied the same written on the Doors, there he always lighted and renewed his Drinking, whereby he lost his Life. From *Montefiascon* to *Viterbo*, a City, eight Miles.

VITERBO.

This is an ancient City, pertaining to the Cardinal *Farnesio*: It is adorned with very fair and artificial Water-Works, worthy the Seeing: And, when you have taken Sight of this Place, my Advice is, to take you away out as you came in, and then ride, on your Right-hand hard by the Town Wall, to the Cardinal *Gambara*; thither you have three Miles, where you shall, by the said Cardinal, be courteously entertained; for myself, with sixteen other Gentlemen, certain Years past, went that Way, and the Cardinal, having Notice thereof, caused our Horses to be taken and set in his Stables, and gave Orders to shew us into princely Chambers, to be lodged that Night; and, at Supper-time, we were all invited to a very rich Feast, the Banquet being served all in rich Plate; on the Morrow, the Cardinal's Cousin led us into the Palace and Garden, to see the same, which is adorned with wonderful rare Water-Works, Statues, and growing Things, that are green Winter and Summer. And, as we were minded to take Horse and depart, we were then again earnestly intreated, and invited to a very costly Dinner, the said Cardinal himself using us very graciously, and merrily desiring of us, That, at such Time as

we should arrive Home again into our own Countries, we would not omit to desire (in his Behalf) any of our Friends, that should have Occasion to come that Way, that they would not pass by his House without Calling in, and then to accept of his poor Entertainment.

Now, as we were ready to depart, we agreed to bestow twenty Crowns on his Servants, of which the Cardinal got Notice, and gave express Charge, that, upon Pain of corporal Punishment, they should not receive any Thing of us. From thence to *Caprarola*, which is a very excellent fair Palace, pertaining to Cardinal *Farnesio*, being from Cardinal *Gambara's* Palace, seven Miles.

C A P R A R O L A,

Is a wonderful stately Palace, thirty Miles from *Rome*, and not above two Miles out of the Way; very fairly built, four-square; wherein are excellent brave Statues, and pleasant Gardens, with curious and artificial Water-Works. When you go up, you shall see princely Lodgings, with all Manner of rich Hangings, and with Beds and Tables of precious Stone: And, when a Man goes into one Chamber (the same being left open) he shall look into five others, and see in four Corners twenty Rooms, stately furnished, especially the Portraiture and Signifieator of the four Winds, as artificial, as is possible to be made: Give there somewhat to drink. From thence to *Monte Rosa*, a Market-town, three Miles; and, before you come to *Monte Rosa*, you may go through the Cardinal's Park, wherein are many Deer, and other strange Beasts: From thence to *Baccano*, an Inn, six Miles: There hath been, in Times past, dangerous Travelling that Way, when it was a Wood, the Banditti harbouring themselves therein; it pertains to the Lord *Paulo Jordan of Bracciano*; which Wood he caused to be cut down, that so now there is safe Travelling the Place, being at this Time a pretty Market-town, and lies on a little Sea, wherein are excellent Fish. From thence to *Alla Storta*, a Market-town, eight Miles; from thence to *Rome* are seven Miles.

R O M E, which is called the Head City of the whole World.

When you come to *Rome*, enquire for the *Black Bear*, or *Sword*, both which are Lodgings for Strangers, where you shall have good

Entertainment, and be well used; but most commonly the chiefest Persons lodge at the *Sword* on *Monte Giardano*, in *Italian*, *Alla Spada*. The Host will order one or other to go with you to see the City; and my Advice is, if you desire to see Things worthy your Notice, that you go first of all to the Castle in a Boat, or on Foot; for a Coach, you shall give not above a Crown and an Half for the whole Day.

A N G E L C A S T L E.

And first you crave License of the Colonel, who will appoint one to head about; you may bestow something on him, and he is commonly one of the Soldiers in Garison: Then, leaving your Weapons in the Porter's Lodge, he will bring you up to the first Rampart, where are two Houses of Artillery, full of excellent Armour, to arm about six-hundred Horsemen with Cuirasses, and one-thousand Soldiers on Foot. Then go through the three Watch-towers upwards, where are very stately Chambers and Rooms, in which doth dwell the Colonel; hard by are two other Rooms, with Ammunition to arm twelve-hundred Musqueteers: There desire to see the Rope-ladder, with which the great *Roman* Gentleman, called *L. Cesare Gaetano*, did let down himself from the Castle, and almost had clear escaped out of Prison; the same Ladder lies in a Chest, standing in a certain Room, where is a Fall-trap; and when they intend to dispatch an Offender (some great Person) secretly they bring him into the said Room, where, stepping unawares aside, he doth suddenly fall down, most fearfully, upon sharp iron Pricks and Saws, that cut him all in Pieces; you will wonder to see it. The foresaid *L. Gaetano* had almost released himself out of that Prison, if the Governor's Boy (who helped him) had not sorely fallen, which made him cry aloud; which the Sentinel no sooner heard, but presently raised the Watch, who got him, and brought him in again, and gave Notice thereof to the Pope; whereupon, the Pope gave Order to cut off the Nobleman's Head at Midnight following, and the Boy was hung out over the City Walls; let him also shew you the Prison for great and noble Persons, wherein is a pleasant Bath; hard by which, is a secret Trap, to let one fall upon sharp Irons; over-against that is a fair Chapel, wherein Mass is celebrated; further, go up-wards.

wards, where you shall see an Angel, made of white Marble-stone, presenting this Signification: As, on a Time, Pope Gregory the First went in Procession, having the Picture of *Santa Maria Ara Celi* in his Hands, and coming to this *Angel Castle*, he looked upwards, and saw an Angel standing there, where this Angel of Marble-stone now standeth, with a naked Sword in the one Hand, and, in the other, the Sheath; and when the Angel put the Sword into the Sheath, the Plague did presently cease, which had reigned a long Time before in the City. Hard by this Angel of Marble-stone, doth stand a wondrous great and high Ship-mast, on which is hung a great Flag of Triumph, on a principal Feast-day, when, also, is rung a thundering Peal of great Ordinance. Hard by, do lie two Pieces, that carry seven *Italian Miles*. Then you go back again, through a narrow Gallery, where, on your Right-hand, is a Door, that leadeth to the Pope's House of Victuals; and, a little beneath, another Door of Iron, that goes in where the Pope's Treasure is, and the whole City's of *Rome*. Then give the Soldier, that went about with you, something to drink, that his other Fellows may not see it, else he must part it with them. Then you come again to the Watch-gate, where the Weapons are given you; contribute somewhat amongst you to bestow upon them to drink, and then the Drummer strikes up lustily: And, when you come to the outmost Watch-gate, where are the Ancient, Lieutenant, and other Officers, bestow something on them, and so take your Leave. This Castle is, by Nature, so strong, that, as yet, it was never gotten by any Enemy. It was first built for a *Mausoleum* to the Emperor *Adrian*, a Place of Funeral; afterwards it was made a strong Fort; there are, at this Time, raised about it five great and main Bastions, or Ramparts; the City of *Rome* hath been seven Times overcome, but the Castle never: By the Castle, is a Church, called *Sant Transpontina*, wherein are two Pillars, on which, as they say, *St. Peter* and *Paul* were scourged; go a little further to *St. Peter's Place*, near whereunto lies the Emperor's Ambassador, in a Church called *St. John*; where is a Table of white Marble-stone, on which our Saviour Christ was circumcised, which was brought from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*; this Stone should have

been carried further, to another Place (four Horses drawing thereat) but, as it came to the Place where it is now, the Horses would draw no more, notwithstanding they were beaten so long, till they fell down and died; and, therefore, this Church was built there, in perpetual Honour and Memory, and it was lifted up, and laid on an Altar. Every Year, on *Good-Friday*, are celebrated their solemn Vigil, and there is made a fair Sepulchre. Within the *Angel Castle* are exceeding fair Palaces, wherein the Cardinals do keep their Courts; then go to *St. Peter's Palace*, where you will see a marvellous great and high Pyramid, erected upon the Market-place, which Pope *Sixtus V.* caused to be transported thither, at the Charge of six-thousand Crowns; and, besides, did give three-thousand Crowns to the Master that brought it thither, and erected it, and dubbed him a Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, from which Honour he receives a yearly Stipend.

The said Pyramids, in Times past, did stand for *Julius Caesar Augustus Circo*: And, in former Times, when an Emperor, or other great Potentate, died, they used to burn their Corps to Ashes, and put them in a great golden Globe, and set that on the Top of the same, or such like Pyramid; but the foresaid Pope did take down the Globe that stood thereon, and, instead thereof, caused his own Arms to be set upon the same, for an everlasting Remembrance. Then go forward to the Guard of the *Switzers*, where the Pope maintains two-hundred for his Guard, which are paid Monthly; and, if any of them gets a Son, and the Child is but eight Days old, then he hath his Duty-pay like his Father.

SANTO PETRO, the Pope's Palace, and Church.

Hard by the *Switzers Guard*, is the Pope's Palace; enquire first for the *Bibliotheca*, and, just as you come in, on your Right-hand, dwelleth the Gentleman that oversees the same; salute him, and he will appoint you one to go about, and open the Rooms, which are Seventy-one; then you shall see the most excellent Books, the World not yielding the like, and are all written. In the first Room, you shall see three Books, which *Virgil* did write, and are sixteen-hundred Years old; you shall also see, in certain Chests, wonderful

derful excellent Books, especially one, written with clear *Arabian Gold*; inſomuch that, in thoſe Days, there would be ſcarce Means found to write the like, in regard it is written, as if it were raiſed or caſt upon the Book.

There are worthy to be ſeen, alſo, the Rolls, or the Tables of *Mofes*, on which are written the ten Commandments, given from God; moreover, you ſhall ſee certain *Indian* Books, written with Barks of Trees, but not with Letters, only Figures; you ſhall ſee likewiſe, lying in Cheſts and Settles, many Books covered all with red Velvet, and with gold and ſilver Clafps; other Books, that have been former Popes Prayer-books: In another Room, you ſhall ſee an infinite Number of printed Books. Then, friendly taking Leave, beſtow ſomething to drink. Then go up into the Palace, and you ſhall ſee, in three moſt fair Galleries, whole *Europe* ſtately portrayed. And, in the uppermoſt Gallery, is excellently repreſented the Manner of Pope *Gregory the Firſt's* Proceſſion; in which the Arch-angel, St. *Michael*, ſhewed himſelf to the Pope, ſtanding above in the Caſtle St. *Angelo*. When you come down again, aſk for the *Belvedere*, a marvellous fair Gallery, five-hundred Paces long; at the upper End of which, is an exceeding fair Statue of *Cleopatra*, well fitted for an artificial ſpringing Water-work. Go a little further, and there are certain Cheſts locked, wherein do lie ſuch excellent and principal artificial Statues, as the like cannot be ſeen in all *Rome*. Above the ſame, are other Rooms, wherein did dwell the Prince of *Gelder's* Son; and alſo died there; but after what Sort, or what Death, I could never learn.

Then enquire for the Pope's Gardener, who will ſhew you wonderful ſtately Things, and will direct you how to come to the Pope's exceeding fair Gallery: Give him ſomething to drink. Then go back again through the *Belvedere*, and, when you are out of that, enquire where the Pope keeps his *Conſiſtorium* or Council, which is commonly every *Monday* and *Friday*, in the Mornings, and courteouſly ſaluting the Guard of *Switzers*, who are appointed there to attend, they will let you in, where you may ſee the Pope, with all his Cardinals, and how they kiſs his Feet. When you come out from thence, you ſhall ſee a wonderous fair Chapel, into which the

Pope himſelf doth oftentimes reſort; and, before the ſame, is a ſtately Hall, in which you ſhall ſee, moſt curiouſly portrayed, the laſt Day of Judgment, wrought by that excellent artificial Painter, called *Michael Angelo Buonarrotto*, a *Florentine*, whoſe like was not to be found. Then you ſhall go out of the Chapel, into the great Hall, named *La Sala Beale*, wherein the Pope gives Audience to Ambaſſadors or Orators, which is always done publickly, that every Man may hear, and is therefore called *Conſiſtorium publicum*. Then you ſhall go from the Hall, down a very ſtately Pair of Stairs; on the right Hand, there is a Door, through which they go into the Sacriſty, a Prelate having the Cuſtody thereof, he is called *Sacriſtano*; you muſt aſk Leave of him to ſee the ſame. In this Sacriſty are kept the Pope's Robes, which he uſeth to ſay Maſs, and are forty ſeveral Pieces, each one worth thirty-thouſand Crowns, and, in particular, that which was preſented by the King of *Portugal*, to Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, which is valued at eighty-thouſand Crowns. Then go into the next Room, on the right Hand, where is a wooden Cheſt, in which is a golden Cup, wherewith the Pope celebrates Maſs, and many others, which I omit to write of: Only that Cup which the Great Duke *Cosmus* gave to Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, the Weight of which is twelve Ounces of Gold, the Cover ſet all over thick with Diamonds and Rubies; on the ſame is the Name *Jeſus*, ſet with Diamonds, the Length of a Finger: That Cup is of great Value; and in the ſame is a golden Spout, through which the Pope communicates, when he celebrates Maſs. Further you ſhall ſee certain Cheſts full of ſilver Candleſticks pertaining to the Altars, twelve Apoſtles in the Height of a Man, and perfuming Veſſels, and other rich Plate: Beſtow ſomewhat to drink. You may try to ſee the Pope's Chamber of Treafure, but it is a very difficult Thing to get Leave; where are certain Cheſts, in every of which, is kept the Treafure that each Pope did leave, ſhortly before their Deaths; it is not poſſible to be deſcribed. I had the Fortune to get in with a Princeſs great with Child, whereby I had a Sight thereof; you may courteouſly intreat the *L. Guardia Rabba* to help you in, which he may do if he pleaſes. After which you ſhall ſee the Pope's wonderous fair Gallery, which Pope *Gregory* cauſed

to be made, being adorned with incomparable stately Works of Painting of Figures, Pictures, and Histories, all over gilded: This Gallery is three-hundred Paces long, and more, where the Pope does often recreate himself, walking up and down.

When you are out of this Gallery, you shall come into the Pope's first Chamber, where there is an excellent, great, and fair Looking-glass; afar off, a Man shall see a stately Palace or Castle, and, as you draw nearer unto it, you shall see therein the Pope as naturally as if he were present; after which, go under the Glass, and you shall see yourself, the Pope vanishing away. Go further, into the Pope's Chambers, wherein he lies, all which are hung with red Velvet, richly embroidered, golden Ridges and Tenter-hooks, and the Ground covered all with red Velvet. There is hard by a little Chapel, in which the Mass is read when the Pope is sickly: Then taking Leave, for Honour's Sake, offer some Reward, but nothing will be received; then go down again to the great Hall, and, if you will, go presently into St. Peter's Church, turn on the left Hand, and then you shall see the Place where St. Peter lay in Prison.

The Church of St. Peter, hard by the Pope's Palace, is one of the seven head Churches.

When you come into the Church, there is, on your right Hand, a white walled Gate, called *la Porta Sancta*, which every twenty-five Years is beaten down by the Pope with a golden Hammer, and opened; then all the Cardinals do take that Hammer, and strike thereupon, at which Time, many thousand People, that came thither from far, do approach the said *Porta* or Door, to get a Piece thereof, which they carry Home, and reserve the same most warily, esteeming the same for a sacred Thing. Go forwards, and you shall see two Gates of Brass, which, as they say, were brought from *Jerusalem*. More inwards, there is, on your left Hand, an Altar, on which is laid before the People, to behold, the Head of St. Andrew the Apostle. Over-against that, on your right Hand, is laid upon an Altar the Spear wherewith the Side of our Blessed Saviour was pierced, and also the Sponge wherewith they gave him to drink, and also the holy Sweating-cloth of

St. Veronica, all which are shewed the People on high Feast-days. Further, on the Middle of the Church, on your left Hand, is an Altar named *Sanctum Sanctorum*, at which (when they carry the Pope down from his Palace, into the Chapel called *Capella Paulina*, where do lie buried half the Bodies of both the Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*) the Pope is set down, and doth his Devotion, which continues half an Hour.

Then go out into the Building, where, on your right Hand, is a marvellous fair Chapel, called *Gregoriana*, which Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built, shortly before his Death, which cost five-hundred-thousand Crowns and more, as they affirm; and therein lies buried the Body of St. Gregory the First, whom Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be transported thither out of another Church: And, afterwards, Gregory the Thirteenth was buried by him.

Right before this Chapel stands a Pillar, about which is made an iron Grate, where are done many Miracles; for they do say, for a certain Truth, that our Saviour Christ did use to lean on that Pillar at *Jerusalem*, when he preached in the Temple. Against the same, you shall see an exceeding rich Tomb, in which Pope Farnesus the Third is buried, all of Bell-metal naturally. Right before the old Church, named *Capella Paulina*, are certain Marble-stone Pillars, which were brought from *Jerusalem*. At the Altar in that Chapel, doth the Pope himself celebrate Mass on high Feast-days, if he be not indisposed; and, under the same Pillar, lies the other half Part of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*. Moreover, in the new Building, are four Chapels, one of which Pope Gregory caused to be finished before his Death; the other three should have been finished by the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of France; but, hitherto, there is not one of them finished. This Pope is resolved, as they say, to accomplish the same, together with the new Building of St. Peter's, which is so incomparable a Building, that in the universal World cannot be found the like: Before you depart from St. Peter's Church, desire to see the Pope's Stable, wherein are thirty snow-white Nags or Hacknies, and a milk-white Ass, on which the Pope uses to ride; and, for a small Reward, they will make ready one of the same, trim-

trimmed and furnished, as if the Pope were ready to ride thereon, wonderful stately.

Every Year, on *St. Peter's* Day, doth the King of *Spain's* Orator present the Pope with such a white Nag; and when, on that Day, the Pope is carried from his Palace to the Church, there stands his said Majesty's Orator ready with the Nag before the Church-Door, until his Holiness is near; then they stand still with the Pope, who gives his Blessing, and presently the white Nag falls down on both his fore Knees before the Pope; and then they carry his Holiness into the Church, and the said Orator delivers the Nag to the Pope's Steward, with a red velvet Purse, which it carries about his Neck, wherein are twelve-thousand Crowns for a yearly Tribute.

Then go from *St. Peter's* to *Campo Santo*, where the *Dutch* Nation have their Church, and you shall see a Ground inccompassed with a little Wall four-square, which Ground, as they credibly affirm, was brought from *Jerusalem* in the four Pillars of Bell-metal, which stand before the Altar at *St. John Lateran*: They say, if a Pilgrim be buried in that Church-yard, being a *Roman*, he cannot consume or decay; but any other Nation, in twenty-four Hours, are quite consumed; which is daily to be seen, and much wondered at. This *Campo Santo* is an Hospital, ordained by *Queen Anne of Austria*, where are fed, every Dinner-time, thirteen Pilgrims, of which a great Number do assemble themselves every Morning, standing ring-wise; out of them the Priest selects thirteen, and brings them into a fair Room, and places one of them, as resembling our Saviour, in the Midst, and on each Side, six others, who are excellently well served at a long Table, signifying the twelve Apostles.

The whole Dinner-time, a Priest doth read out of the Holy Writ, at the Table, two other Ministers attending, to fill Wine, and to set Meat in Order; and, when they are satisfied, Hand-Water is given them, and those that desire Bread to carry with them, do receive it; and then, with Thanks, they take their Leave. Then go further, if you be inclined to go to *Santo Spirito*, an Hospital, and enquire for Cardinal *Cesius's* Palace, which hath wonderful fair Rooms, richly furnished, and adorned with brave Statues.

SANT SPIRITO, an Hospital, made by the Pope.

When you come in, you shall see right out before, on both Sides, three-hundred Beds standing, all hung with very fair Curtains, the Bedsteads carved, Night-gowns, Pantables, and other Necessaries in Order placed by every Bed. So soon as a sick Body comes thither (for none are refused) he is set on a Bench, until the Doctors and Surgeons are brought to him, with the Apothecaries, by whom the Sick are visited; he is presently accepted, his Bedding appointed, and immediately a clean sweet Shirt is given him; his Cloaths are laid up, till he recovers, or dies; and, as soon as the sick Person is any whit amended, they give him another Lodging, where he is well attended fourteen Days, and more, until he be well recovered. In this Hospital are thirty Persons always maintained, only to give diligent Attendance on the Sick that resort thither.

In the Midst you shall see as many Beds, as in the Room you came in at; and there is an Altar and Tabernacle, where Mass is read to the Sick, every Morning; both Sides are hung with Arras in Winter-time, in Summer with gilded Leather, from the Ground to the Top. There are continually found, in this Hospital, above three-thousand Persons, as, Children, Nurses, Widows, and other poor People, that are there maintained. This Hospital, as is credibly reported, hath had every Year, Income, more than two-hundred Thousand Crowns; but the Popes of late have taken it away, so that the yearly Revenue now is one Million seven-hundred thousand Crowns. Then go further to see the fair Spittal, which is a very pleasant Building, adorned with stately Pillars; in which Building an Emperor may not be ashamed to keep his Court: It is as big as a reasonable Town.

Now, having seen the whole Castle, I would advise you to hire a Coach, and so, in Order, to take a View of the most principal Things in the Churches, as followeth:

When you go out of the Gate *Sant Spirito*, look behind you on the left Hand, and you shall see that wonderful swift River, the *Tiber*, which runs through the City, and also the *Vesligia*, on which the Bridge *Trionfal* did stand, as the *Romish* Emperor went from the

Vatican in all State and Pomp over the same; and from thence to *Campa Deglia*, where doth stand the *Senato Romano*, or Council house. Further, you will see, from the *Porta Santo Spirito*, towards the *Angel-Castle*, an excellent fair Street; go through the same; and on your right Hand, at the Foot of a Hill, called *Monte Johar Nicolo* (where the Emperor *Julius Cesar* had his *Circus*, and the *Pyramis*, which is on *St. Peter's Place*) where at that Time was a Monastery, named *Honofro*, pertaining to the Cardinal *Madrazi*.

Go forwards through the Gate, and on the right Hand you shall see, right against the Hill, a Monastery, named *St. Petri Montoria*, where is built a Chapel, like a round Temple, very pleasant to behold; go down from thence, and there is an Altar, and two Pillars of marble Stone, between which, as they certainly affirm, *St. Peter* the Apostle was martyred and crucified; from thence you may plainly behold the whole City of *Rome*. Then go back to *St. Maria Trastevere*, where are wonderful brave Columns, and an ancient Church: Under the great Altar is a Place, where was a Spring of very costly Oil at the Time when our Saviour *Christ* was born; after whose Birth the Spring did lose itself, and ceased, and therefore the Church was built on that Place. Further, go towards the two Bridges; one of which, named *Insula*, is fastened in with clear white Marble-stone, naturally resembling a great Ship, wherein doth stand in the Midst a *Pyramis*, named *Ponte de quatro Capi*: Go over the Bridge towards the *Jews Town*, and you shall see on your left Hand an Antiquater, which was, in Times past, *Theatrum Marcelli*; it is, on the one Side, as yet unruinated. Then inquire for *Santa Maria del Portina*, wherein you shall see, behind the great Altar, a Pillar that shines and lights like a Torch Day and Night, which should have been transferred to *St. Peter's*, but, this being so ancient a Church, the Pope, without Breaking the Orders, may not take it away. Not far from thence is *Pontius Pilate's Palace*, built of red Bricks, being, in those Days, a curious fine Work; it is almost altogether ruined, and no Man can safely dwell therein, by Reason of continual Hurly-burlies, or terrible Appearances. Over-against the same, you shall see two ancient Temples, the one long-wis,

called the Temple of the *Sun*, the other round the Temple of the *Moon*, built in Time past in Honour of the Planets; they are much decayed, by Reason of bad Weather and long Standing.

Go further, and see the mighty great Hill, *Monte Palatino*, which is one of the seven Hills of *Rome*; underneath, hard by a Church, you shall see a great Marble-stone, round like a Mill-stone, having two Eyes, a Nose, and a wide Mouth, named *La Bocca della Verita*, in *English*, *The Mouth of Truth*; for, in those Days, the People used to run thither to inquire after unknown Things, as, Complaining of Adultery, or such like; the Party suspected, putting his Finger into that Mouth, did swear his Innocence; and he or she that did swear falsely, the Mouth did bite off his Finger: *Credat qui volet*.

The Church, on which this Stone doth lean, is very ancient, and in which *St. Augustine* kept School: Go also further, and you may look into the *Tiber*, where, in Time past, did stand the Bridge, named *Pons Supplicum*, upon which that valiant *Roman*, *Horatio Cocles*, did fight, and alone withstood the *Tuscans* so long, till the Bridge fell down behind him; whereby the City of *Rome* was preserved; he himself, with his Horse, leaping over the Bridge into the River, was saved, having thereby manfully overcome the Enemy.

Go towards *St. Paul*, on your Right-hand, and you shall see a great Hill, raised up only with Potshards, and other strange Earth; for, as, on a Time, the Emperor would tax the World, he did desire that from every Part thereof each one should bring him for a Tribute a Pot full of Earth to that Place; and so the Hill was made, as aforesaid. In the Time of Pope *Pius the Fourth*, they did use now and then to set up Pales and Rails on that Ground, and gave some rich Prize to be won; then brought wild Buffaloes and Bulls, on which they hung Powder and Squibs, setting them on Fire, when they would run amongst other Buffaloes, making them furious; and then the *Romans* would take each of them a Pale, and he, that should overcome and kill one of those Buffaloes, did receive a Prize.

Then

Then go to *St. Paolo alla Porta*, where doth stand an ancient Pyramid, half Part of which is built within the City, and half without. In the Wall is a Tomb twelve-hundred Years old; and they say, that the first Pope of *Rome* lies buried there. Go further towards the Gate through a long Street, and you shall see by the Way a little Church by which *St. Peter* shewed himself, as *St. Paul* was led out to suffer and to die, and there *St. Peter* took his Leave of him; you may read on the Wall of the Church, in what most pitiful Manner the two Apostles departed, inso much as who so doth read it can scarce forbear Weeping.

St. PAUL's,

Is a mighty great Church, built by the Emperor *Constantine*, in Honour of *St. Paul's* Head, which was found there at that Time; without the Church are four holy Gates, which every twenty-five Years are once opened: When you come into the Church, on your Right-hand, is an Altar, which was a Well when *St. Paul* was beheaded, and before the Church was built, into which Well those that had Compassion of *Paul* did cast his Head, which being found, the Church was there built: Take a View of the Church, which is adorned with forty-eight mighty great Marble stone Pillars, of all Manner of Colours, curiously wrought, so great and high, that the like are not to be seen in all *Rome*.

In the Midst of the Church, you shall see a Chapel, wherein Queen *Bridget* of *Sweden* did use to do her Devotion: Right against that Chapel stands a Crucifix, and Queen *Bridget* had a little Window in the Chapel, thro' which she might see the Crucifix, where she did her Devotion with such Fervency, that the Crucifix turned, and looked towards the Window, and stands so to this Day; and there are great Indulgences and Pardons for Sins, to be obtained every Year, by such as do heartily and unfeignedly desire the same. Above the great Altar do lie buried three innocent Children, which were slain by *Herod's* Command. There are also seven Altars privileged; so that, if any Person be loth to go as far as *St. Peter's*, they may here have as many Indulgences and Pardons for their Sins, as they can have at *St. Peter's*. Then enquire for the Sacristan, and he will lead you into the Sacristsy, and shew you the Re-

licks upon the Altar; he will shew you the Arm of *St. Arma*, our dear loving Mother, with Skin and Bone, through a Window of Chrystal; the Arm is fastened in with Silver, which I myself have touched. Further you shall see the Chain in which *St. Paul* was bound in Prison, which Chain, if any Man puts it about his Neck, he shall never, all the Days of his Life, be fettered in iron Chains, nor imprisoned, as they say. There are also many other Relicks, as, the Water wherewith *Christ* was baptised; certain Stones wherewith *St. Stephen* was stoned; and also half the Corpses of *Peter* and *Paul*.

At that Time, when *Charles the Fifth*, Emperor, was at *Rome*, he desired the Pope to grant him a Request which he would ask, promising, that he would desire neither Land, nor Money, nor any Thing that was worth Money. The Pope demanding what it was, the Emperor said, he did only crave one of the Links of *St. Paul's* Chain; but the Pope gave him no more than half a Link, as is this Day to be seen, the other half Part remaining yet on the Chain. Bestow something then to drink. Afterwards go towards the three Fountains. There was *St. Paul* beheaded, whose Head being struck off, it leaped three Times, as they say, and at every Leap it called *Jesus*; and presently after there sprung up three Springs, which are now compassed about very pleasantly; and by each one doth hang a copper little Pan, out of which the People use to drink; there stands a Table by the same, on which is written, Who so drinks out of those Springs, shall attain everlasting Salvation. The *Romans* do run thither barefoot in the Morning early to drink; before you come to the three Wells, you shall see a Hill, on which there have been slain, by the tyrannical Emperor's Command, one-hundred-seventy-four thousand Martyrs; then go from the three Fountains towards *Sebastians's*, which is one of the seven principal Churches.

St. SEBASTIAN's.

This Church stands on the Way-side without *Rome*, called *Appia*, whither is a continual Resort of a wonderful Number of Pilgrims, especially in the Time of *Lent*; hard by a Place called *Catatumbe*, is a Well wherein did lie secretly hid the Bodies of *St. Peter* and *Paul*, as they say, two-hundred and fifty Years before

fore any Body could know what was become of them; on the same is built an Altar with especial Privileges, at which Intercession is made for the afflicted Souls, that, as yet, are detained in Purgatory.

Then desire a Priest to go with you that hath a Torch lighted, lest you lose yourselves in the Grotto or Vault, under which lies buried *Caelixtus*, with one-hundred eighty-six thousand Martyrs. And in your Going out you shall see an Altar under which *Sebastian* lies buried. The Priest will let you see divers other Relicks; as, the Measure and Form, the Length and Bigness of our Saviour's Feet, which he left on the Hill at his holy Ascension: Then go towards the City again by the Way of *Appia*, where you shall come to a Chapel, by which two Ways do part: And there did *St. Peter* meet our Saviour, and said, *Whither wilt thou go?* Our Saviour answered, *I am come for thy Sake, and to be crucified again.* Presently after our Saviour vanished away, and *St. Peter* went into the City of *Rome*, where he was very shortly after cast into Prison, and put to Death.

THERMÆ ANTONINÆ.

These *Thermæ* have been Baths which the Emperor *Constantine* caused to be built at an infinite Cost, and admirable Curiosity, the Water being led unto them twenty-seven *Italian* Miles.

St. STEFFAN REDONDO.

This was in Times past a heathenish Temple, pertaining to the *Hungarian* Nation, but since costly built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, wherein are most excellently drawn and portrayed the Death and Tortures of all such Martyrs as have suffered since the Birth and Passion of our Blessed Saviour, and under what Tyrants they were persecuted.

This Temple, in former Times, was named *Pantheon*, by Reason all the Gods were presented and honoured there; now there are many reformed *Jews* baptised therein, as you may see oftentimes: Then go towards *John de Lateran*, where heretofore the Popes have had their Residence.

JOHN LATERAN.

One of the seven capital Churches: When you go towards the Church, you shall see on your Right-hand a little Court, where doth

stand a stone Pillar of *Perfido*, on which the Cock did stand and crow thrice, before *Peter* denied our Saviour Christ: There is also a Temple, wherein are very stately Pillars, and, in the Midst, is a little Chest, made over a stone Kettle, out of which the Emperor *Constantine* was christened, who was the first Christian Emperor. Then go forwards, and enquire for the Sacristan of *St. John*; he will go before you with two burning Torches, and shew you a Chapel underneath the Church, which is never opened but on great Holidays; if you salute him courteously, he will open it for you. Therein is a Table, at which our Saviour Christ did sit with his Apostles, at the Institution of the holy Sacrament; it is of Wood four-square; you shall see also the Staff with which *Moses* parted the *Red Sea*, and led the Children of *Israel* through it; also the Staff of *Aaron*, wherewith he governed the Episcopal State; then go out of the Church, and you shall see a Chair of Stone; and, they say, when a Pope is to be chosen, they set him on the same (being hollow) to see, whether he be fitted as a Man; hard by the same is a holy Gate, which is opened once in twenty-five Years: The Cieling of this Church is overgilded with pure Gold. By the great Altar are four Pillars of Bell-Metal, exceeding fair, which were brought from *Jerusalem*, filled with holy Earth, for they are hollow, and most curiously wrought. There are also shewed to the People, on great Holidays, the Heads of *St. Peter* and *Paul*, laid upon the Altar; they are yet fresh to behold with Skin and Hair, as if they were living. In this Church are many other Relicks and holy Things, of which I omit to write: It was built by the Emperor *Constantine*, and is very stately, and is adorned with Pillars of Marble-stone, of all Sorts of Colours.

Then go into the Cloisters, where doth stand a Table of Stone upon four Pillars, under which every Man or Woman, that comes thither, do measure themselves; but there was never any Person yet found, that was just of that Height; it was, as they say, the exact Stature of our Saviour Christ. Further, there are three open Doors and Gates, which have stood in *Herod's* Palace at *Jerusalem*, through which our Blessed Saviour went, as he was condemned to die: Moreover, above, in the Gallery, over two fair half Pillars, doth lie a Beam, whereon is written, *Et petra scissæ sunt,*

sunt, as in the Text is mentioned, 'The Stones
'clave in funder, and the Vail did rend;' from
whence the two half Pillars of Marble-stone
are cloven so neatly afunder, that it is not
possible, by the Art and Diligence of Man,
to do it more cleanly; they are also very
curiously wrought; over-against that, is a
little Window, wherein the Blessed Virgin
Mary did sit, as the Angel *Gabriel* brought
her the Salutation from God; hard by, are a
Pair of Stairs, and it is forbidden, under Pu-
nishment of losing Body and Goods, that no
Man must presume to go up and down the
same on his Feet, but on his Knees; there
are thirty-two Stairs, over which our Saviour
Christ went with *Simon*, as he was led to be
martyred, and, upon those Stairs, did drop
bloody Sweat, as a Man may see perfectly to
this Day. Hard by the same, are other Stairs,
and, when you are half the Way up, go on
your left Hand, and you shall come to a
Chapel, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where,
upon the great Altar, is the Face of our
Saviour Christ, which *St. Luke* pictured. In
this Chapel, is a Piece of Wood, fastened into
the Wall, being a Piece of *Noah's Ark*, which
was brought thither. Then go to the *Holy*
Cross in *Jerusalem*, as they call it, which is
one of the Seven Churches, and governed by
Cardinal *Caraffa*.

HOLY CROSS.

When you come into this Church, ask for
the Sacristan, who will shew you a little Glas,
wherein is kept, as they say, the Milk of the
Mother of God, besides many other Relicks.
Also the Cardinal hath the Key to a Nail,
that was struck through a Foot of our Saviour
Christ; also three Thorns of the Crown, that
pierced his Holy Head; likewise the Title,
which *Pilate* writ on the Holy Cross, in *He-
brew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. There you shall go
down, under the Altar, where the Cardinal
hath the Custody of many Holy Relicks.

Then go to *St. Laurence*, lying without
the City Walls, which is one of the Seven
Churches.

St. LAURENCE.

St. Laurence's Church doth stand a Mile
from the Place where his Corpse was buried.
The Stone, on which he was broiled, is yet
to be seen bloody and fatty, as it did drop up-

on the same, and no Man can wipe it out;
There is also a Piece of the Gridiron, upon
which he was broiled; and here lies *St. Stephen*
buried, and certain Stones are there to be
seen, wherewith he was stoned, and there is
a great *Indulgentia*.

St. MARIA MAGGIOR, one of the Seven Churches.

When you go to this most fair excel-
lent Church, on the Outside about, you will
wonder to see the admirable costly Entry,
built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*: You
shall also see one of the seven Holy Gates,
which is but once opened in twenty-five
Years. Then go from thence, to *John*
Lateran, which Church is adorned with fair
Tombs; on the Stile, where the Chapel doth
stand, there are also very stately Columns,
and the Roof thereof is very richly painted,
and over-gilt: There is, on the right Side,
by the great Altar, a very fair Chapel, built
by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*; and, just
thereby, is a mighty Pyramid erected, which
is like to that at *St. Peter's*. This Chapel is
also like to that where Pope *Gregory* lies
buried, which he caused to be built; but this
did *Sixtus the Fifth* build, who lies there
buried. The said Pyramid, in former Time,
did lie a long While in the Street *St. Rocha*,
parted in three Parts; and Pope *Sixtus* caused
them to be conveyed into his Chapel. There
have been two of these Pyramids, which were
erected in the *Mausoleum of Augustus Cæsar*,
hard by his Tomb; but, as *Rome* was devastated,
they were ruined. The *Mausoleum* yet is
very delightful to behold, wherein doth dwell
a *Roman*, by whom, a Man may learn the
Particulars thereof: In the Church *Maria*
Maggior, you shall see the Manger, wherein our
Blessed Saviour did lie at *Bethlehem*, together
with many other Relicks, which the Sacri-
stan may shew you; otherwise, they are to be
seen only on great Holidays. In the Choir,
is a fair Epitaph and Tomb of Pope *Nicholas*
the Fourth, which is wonderous stately and
admirable, richly adorned: Before the Choir,
on the left Hand, is an Altar, under which
St. Jerome lies buried. When you go out of
the Church, on the right Hand, you shall see
an Altar, on which is written the original
Cause of the Building of the Church; namely,
there were two married Persons, that had no
Children,

Children, and were so rich, that they knew not what to do therewith; in the twelfth Night, in the Month of *August*, they dreamed, that they should arise before Day, and go up towards that Hill, where it had snowed, and there they should build a Temple; which they did accordingly, and began to dig, with their own Hands; and the Pope came, just at that Instant, with his Servants, with Intent, as he had also dreamed, to build a Temple there; and, therefore, it is yet the Custom, every Year, on the Twelfth of *August*, for a Memorial, to solemnise a great Feast; and, from the Top of the Church, they let fall certain Things, seeming as if it did snow. When you will go back again through the Church, towards the Holy Gate, you shall see another Church, named *Santa Potentiana*; therein is half a Pillar of green Marble-stone to be seen through a Grate, on which our Blessed Saviour, *Christ Jesus*, was whipped. In this Church are two Wells, wherein the two Sisters, *St. Praxedis* and *Potentiana*, did use to drop the Blood of the Martyrs, which they took up with a Sponge: Then go back again, through *St. Maria Maggior*, and, as you go down the Hill on your right Hand, there the Pope did visit, on a Time, the Seven Churches: As he came by Cardinal *de Monte Alto's* Garden, he enquired whose fair and pleasant Palace that was; Answer was made, The Cardinal *de Monte Alto's*. After which, Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* did weaken his Revenue, *per Annum*, by four thousand Crowns; which Cardinal was afterwards Pope, and named *Sixtus Quintus*. Over-against the same, you shall see an ancient Church, called *Pancratio*, where, on a Time, a Priest did say Mass, and did doubt, that it was no Sacrament, and that our Saviour Christ was not in *Ostia*; and it chanced, as they say, that it fell out of his Hand, on a Point of the Corner of the Altar, being a white Marble-stone, on which the *Ostia* left the Print thereof; just as big, as it was from the Corner, it fell upon a Stair, on which likewise it left the Print thereof, and the Form very naturally, only the Print did change itself into a blood red Colour.

Then go further to *St. Maria de Monte*, where is as frequent a Pilgrimage, as at *Maria Loretto*; in the Place where this Church doth stand, there stood, in former Time, a Barn, and it was intended to have built a

House there; and, as they began to dig, there was heard a mighty Oracle, and therefore they digged more softly, where then was found the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*; which being made known to the Pope, he went and fetched the same with a solemn Procession, and it is kept still in Honour of the Blessed Virgin; wherefore, Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* caused, on the Place, a Church to be built at his own Charges: This Church is built all of Marble-stone, most cunningly; and, in especial, the great Altar, where the Picture, that was found, is most richly adorned. In the said Church, do hang divers Tables, wherein is noted the Miracles which, in former Times, have been done there, and yet daily are done; those, therefore, that go in Pilgrimage thither, and do pray with a strong and certain Hope, are heard, and their Suits obtained, as you yourselves may thereby be truly assured. There are daily *Indulgentia plenaria* and Remission of Sins: Then go to *St. Peter in Vinculo*.

St. PETER in VINCULO.

In this Church you shall see an excellent Epitaph and Tomb of Pope *Leo the Second*, which is an incomparable Piece of Work, and all of white Marble-stone, and Alabaster; there is a Statue of *Moses*, the Height of two Men, of one intire Piece, and also other fair Statues; the Monks can shew you many Holy Relicks, together with the Chain with which *St. Peter* was fettered in Prison: Without in the Cloisters, it is very pleasant Winter and Summer, being planted with Orange-trees, and in the Midst a mighty Date-tree, like to which there are none found, neither in *Rome*, nor in all *Italy*; the Monastery is also situated wonderous pleasant, being a Building so well fitted, that the Pope might conveniently keep his Court therein.

Over-against that, is the Palace of the Lord *George Caesarini Ursini*, which is so rare and excellent a Building as is wonderful to behold.

The Palace of Lord GEORGE URSINI together with the Garden.

The Overseer of the same was in my Time a Low-country Man; he will shew you such exceeding fair Rooms, and Chambers, as the like are scarce to be seen any where else, adorned with stately Arras all of Cloth of Gold, and Tissue; Tables of precious Stone, and Beds richly

richly furnished beyond Comparifon; Statues and Pictures portrayed fo naturally, as that the Beholders are enticed to embrace them in their Arms, falling in Love with them, they feeming laughing and living Creatures. Defire to fee the hindmoft Room, where the Noble-man hath the oldeft Pieces of Work made three or four-hundred Years fince, and other rare Things whereof I omit to write; there is alfo pictured the Tower of *Babylon* on a fquare Piece, which coft above ten-thoufand Crowns. This Noble-man is of the ancient *Roman* Race; his Lady is the Daughter of Cardinal *Farnesius*, fo beautiful that, in *Rome*, ſhe may not be compared; you ſhall fee two very excellent fair Gardens, graced with admirable Pictures, and Statues: Beftow a little to drink. Go from thence as if you would go towards your Lodging, and enquire for the Cardinal of *Florence's* Houfe, where you ſhall fee a moft excellent fair Palace, but little: It is wholly to be compared to a fair Jewel; you muſt intreat the Keeper thereof, not to with-hold any Thing from your Sight, promifing him a Reward, and then he will ſhew you orderly one Thing after another, as Rooms, Chambers, and Gardens, fet forth and adorned with Arras of Gold and Tiffue, wonderous fair Statues, and Tables of precious Stone. In Sum, every Particular as rich and coftly as may be deviſed: Alfo, in the Garden, a Cage wherein are all Kinds of Birds making ſweet Harmony, divers rare Water-works, and plentifully planted with Cypreſs-trees, yielding a Savour fo admirable ſweet, as the Body therewith may be raviſhed. There are alfo mighty great Vaults under Ground, wherein they uſed to dine and ſup in Summer-time, by Reaſon of the extraordinary Heat, which are adorned with rare Pictures, Statues, and Hiſtories, the Place in former Time being a waſte and ruined Ground, and decayed Wall, fallen from the Temple of *Peace*; which ſtands juſt behind the ſame, being of a great Antiquity, built by the old *Roman* Emperors, after *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, thereby to ſignify that they had no Need to maintain Wars, for they thought there was no Nation in the World, that durſt War againſt them; the Building is fo ſtrong a Work, that it was intended, it ſhould remain as long as the World ſtood; but, as our Saviour Chriſt was born, the ſaid Temple fell, and yet, every *Chriſtmas* Night, there falls a great Piece from the ſame.

V O L. V.

COLUMNA TRAJANA.

When you deſire to go up to this mighty great Pillars, you muſt call to the Stone-cutter, that dwells over-againſt the ſame, who hath the Key thereto: But he will have ſomething to drink, before he openeth the ſame.

They ſay, that this Pillar was built by the Emperor *Trajan*, after he had won *Jeruſalem*, in Memory of his Victory, all of white Marble-ſtone, wherein are engraved orderly all the Battles and Victories, which he hath had: A Man may aſcend up to the Top of this Pillar in the Inſide one-hundred and eighty-fix Stairs high, the Stone-work being fo orderly laid upon the other that one, would verily think the whole Pillar was but one intire Stone. I will give you Warning of one Thing, when you come up: Sit and reſt, before you look up to the Top of the Pillar, or before you go round about it on the Outſide, for I myſelf, unawares, was almoſt dizzied and ready to fall; from this Column you may ſee over the whole City; then you may go towards the other Pillar, called, *Columna Antoniniana*.

COLUMNA ANTONINIANA.

This Pillar is like unto the other, built by the Emperor *Antoninus*, after his obtained Victories, in perpetual Memory: Part of this Pillar fell down, by reaſon whereof no Man could go up theſe many Years; but the Pope, that was laſt, hath cauſed the ſame to be well repaired, and now they go up thereunto: Then go preſently to the Street, named, *de Popolo*, where the Cardinal *Ferdinando de Medicis* (he that is now Great Duke of *Florence*) hath an exceeding fair and ſtately Palace, and Garden of Pleaſure: This Palace lies-on an Hill, named *Monte Trinitatis*: Firſt ſhall be ſhewn you the Hall, wherein, you ſhall ſee mighty ſquare Pieces of Stone, and, by the Window, is a Water-ſpout erected ſo high, that a Man may waſh his Hands, ſtanding in the Gallery above; and from thence alſo you may look over the City of *Rome*: Then go from the Hall into the ſixteen Chambers, or Rooms, where you ſhall always look out of them into the others, if the Doors ſtand open; which Rooms are ſo richly adorned and furniſhed with Arras of wrought Gold and Silver, as no Emperor, or Pope, hath the like; and, as the Walls are hung, ſo are the Beds dreſſed accordingly: The Rooms are graced with rare

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Tables

Tables of precious Stone, and Oriental Pearl set therein, and also with brave Statues and Pictures: You shall see on a Table a little Temple, and, when a Man puts his Head into it, he shall think it were a Church of a Mile in Compass, having certain hundred Pillars, the Prospective Looking-glass therein causing the same: You shall see, in one of the Rooms, a very fair Sphere, fitted for Astrology, which the Great Duke *Cosmus* did use: Then go up the Stairs, where are also exceeding stately Rooms, adorned with mighty Statues, costly Arras and Tables, and excellent rare Pictures: There is a Looking-glass, in which (standing a little Space from it) you shall see plainly the City of *High Siena*, together with the Manner of the Besieging it; and, when you draw nearer unto it, you shall see the Great Duke naturally as if living; but, when you come just to it, 'you behold yourself only and alone; then going out of the Palace, on your left Hand, you shall see two Lions, an Eagle, a Leopard, and other strange Beasts; when you go a little further, you shall see a Tower standing at the End of the Garden, on the old City Wall, where a Man may go out of, and into the City, when he pleases; such a Privilege hath never any Man had in *Rome*, but only this Cardinal; for, as he was resolved to build a Palace there, he shewed his Grievance to the Senators of the City, namely, that, the Place being altogether a Hill, it would be an infinite Charge to bring it into a Plain; neither did he know whither all that Earth should be conveyed, that would be taken from the Hill; and, therefore, he obtained Leave of the Pope to break a Hole through the City Wall to carry the Earth conveniently away, and to make a Door to open and shut, at Pleasure; they thought he should have enjoyed the Convenience of that Door, no longer than the Time of his Building, but he was too crafty for them, the Door remaining there to this Day. Go a little further, and there is a Stone Pit, where are very rare Statues made and repaired; for, what Antiquity soever the Cardinal can have for Money, that he buyeth to adorn and furnish the said Palace: Not far from thence, the Cardinal caused a Hill to be made, and one-hundred and fifty Stairs to go up; on the Top, is built an excellent pleasant Summer-House, with many rare green and fruitful Trees, compassing the same, in which House he uses to dine and sup, when

the Weather is hot; there is, hard by the Table, a Fresh-water Chest to cool his Wine in; from that Place you may overlook the whole City of *Rome*. The Hill is overgrown from the Bottom to the Top with Cypress Trees, which is as pleasant a Prospect as Man can imagine: The Garden is adorned with such and so many artificial and rare Water-Works, Plants, and Statues, as would drive a Man to admire; and, in Truth, the like is in all *Rome* not to be seen. The Cardinal, on a Time, invited certain Noblemen to a Supper in that Garden, the Drink only to which Supper did cost sixty thousand Crowns; judge then what the whole Feast did cost. The Compass of the Garden is two *Italian* Miles, and very broad. Then do not neglect to go to the Garden of a certain Knight, named *Nero*; where is built a little Palace, but wonderful stately, and a Room made all of Crystal Glass. Then go out of the Gate *del Popolo*, about half a Mile from *Rome*, where is the rare and pleasant Garden of Pope *Julius the Second*, wherein are excellent artificial Water-Works; and there is a Palace gloriously adorned with rare Antiquities and Statues, of the oldest and best in all *Rome*.

PALATIO FARNESIO.

If this Palace had been finished, it were the biggest, fairest, and strongest of all others in *Rome*, with wonderful high Rooms, which the Pope, *Paulus Farnesius*, caused to be built: Go in on the right Hand under the Vault, and there dwells the Overseer that hath the Key; he will shew you every Thing in Order; bestow something upon him to drink: And, first, you shall see a mighty great Hall, the Sight of which will make you wonder, by reason of the great Height, the Ceiling being cunningly raised beyond Comparison, all of Cypress Wood: In this Hall is a long Table of Oriental Marble-stone and Alabaster, set with Pearl, *Lapis Lazuli*, and other costly Stones, which the Cardinal would not part with for eighty-thousand Crowns: Then go into the other Rooms, which are all royally furnished; and in the first Room are the ancientest Emperors naturally portrayed; therein is also an Idol, which the *Romans* (Heathenish opiniated) did adore: In this Room are three great Tables of Oriental Alabaster, set with divers other precious Stones, glistening like a burning Torch; before this Room on the right

Hand is a little Chapel, and upon the Altar a wonderful fair Square, painted by that famous Artisan *Michael Angelo*, a *Florentine*, and thereon, the Last Day of Judgment, so exquisitely and cunningly, that no where the like may be found; bestow to drink: Go then down again into the Court-Yard, where you shall see six mighty Statues, made by two perfect cunning Masters, for a great Wager, namely, two *Commedi Imperatores*, two *Dea Flora's*, and two *Hercoli*, worthy of each experienced Beholder, which of them are made most cunningly. Not far from thence you shall come into another Court, and there is a mighty Ox, and three Statues; a Dog, a Shepherd, and a Concubine, nigh as if they were alive there present: These said Pieces are made of one whole intire white Marble-stone, which is an admirable Piece of Work, touching the Particulars whereof there were much to be written; but the Histories will largely declare the same, which are to be found in the Emperor *Antoninus's Thermæ*, having stood there also on a Time, which Pope *Paulus Farnesius* caused to be brought into this Place aforesaid. A little further, you shall see two mighty great Kettles of Stone, which did stand also in the said *Thermæ*: Go over-against that Place, and take a View of a Bishop's Palace, wherein are wonderous fair Statues.

The Palace of the Bishops of Valencia in Spain.

There, in the first Room above, stands a mighty fair Statue, named *Apollo*, exceeding old, and yet no whit at all decayed, of Oriental Alabaster; the said Bishop was offered, by the Cardinal *de Medicis*, twenty-four Thousand Crowns for the same; but the Bishop would not take it. Then go over *Campo de Fiore*, where Cardinal *Farnesius* dwells.

Palatium FARNESII.

This is an extraordinary fair Building, four-square below and above, with mighty Columns and Pillars; the like are not in all *Rome*; and also wonderful fair Galleries four-square about. And, when you go up the Stairs, there stand two mighty *Dea Flora's*, of Marble-stone, at which you will much wonder; who so can carry them away, may keep them. In this Palace is a fair Church, which many People pass by unknown, and without seeing it; for it is built like to the Palace; therein is an Arm of the Saint from whom the

Church is named: Take a Sight of the Cardinal's Stable, wherein are, most commonly, above an hundred and fifty brave Horses.

The Jesuits Church, which the Cardinal built at his own Charge.

This is a marvellous stately Temple, covered all over with Copper, exceeding high, great, and wide. In the Choir stands an Altar, which, together with the Tabernacle, did cost about thirty-thousand Crowns, with very fair and stately Pillars of Marble-stone. Also, the Cardinal caused, for forty-thousand Crowns, Gold Coin or Pence to be made, and also some of Silver and Brass, on which were stamped his Picture: The same he laid, with his own Hands, for a Foundation; and afterwards such of his Friends, as he had heretofore invited, did the like, for an everlasting Memory. The Building of this Temple continued five Years, all upon the Cardinal's Cost and Charges. They affirm, that this Temple cost a certain Ton of Gold the Building: One Ton of Gold is reckoned at twenty-thousand Pounds Sterling.

Then go right out through the straight Street, and you shall come to the *Campodoglio*.

CAMPODOGLIO, or the Romans Council-house.

In this *Campodoglio*, or *Capitolium*, did the Romans used to sit in Council; it was afterwards made a strong Castle, being in the Time of War devastated, but repaired again by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, and adorned with a fair Clock-tower. Go into the Court, and up an exceeding stately Pair of Stairs, before which are two great Horses of Marble-stone; and another above, in the Court, of Bell-metal, on which sits the Emperor *Adrian*, all over gilded with pure Ducat-gold. Go into another Court, and there lies a Head on the Ground, which is made very perfectly; it pertains to the Head named *Campodoglio*; it was in Times past a Statue, standing there for an Ornament, and it shall be erected again in like Manner as it hath been. Many have laid Wagers, that the Face is not a Man's Length, but, being measured, it is longer; whereby one may guess how great the whole Body hath been, and how much the Erecting thereof cost. Go further, and you shall behold wonderful excellent Histories and Statues; then go beyond, where they sit in Council, where are

stately Statues and glorious Pictures, and in what Manner the *Roman* Emperors in Triumph have gone through the Gate, when they returned Home with laudable Victories. You shall see also rare Antiquities. Bestow something to drink. Then go right over-against the *Campodoglio*, into the Church, named *Maria Ara Caeli*.

Santa MARIA Ara Caeli.

This is a very ancient Church, over-against which are Stairs an hundred and forty-two Steps high, on which you may overlook all *Rome*; when you come into the Church, you shall see the Cieling all over gilded with pure Ducat-gold; there are wonderful brave and stately great Pillars, all of Marble-stone; there is an Altar hard by the Choir, where you shall see, upon a white Marble-stone, two Prints of Feet, left by the Angel *Michael*, in the *Angel-Castle*, when he put up the naked Sword, and presently vanished. Not far from thence, before the Church was built, did *St. Hieronymus* (as they say) shew unto the Emperor *Constantine* the Virgin *Mary*, with the Child *Jesus* in her Arms; which was there also seen in the Air; whereby the Emperor came to the Acknowledgment of the Christian Faith, and from whence the Church was named, and built by the said Emperor *Constantine*. Go afterwards out of that Church down the Stairs; there is a Place, called *Capo Vacchino*, where was made a Bridge, in Times past, from the *Campodoglio*, over to the Palace *Maggior*, where do stand three Marble-stone Pillars, one by another, over which the Bridge was made. By the said three Pillars, *Marcus Curtius*, with his Horse, did leap down.

MARCUS CURTIUS.

They do constantly affirm, that by these three Columns, in former Times, was a mighty and ugly Hole, which, for the Space of a long Time, did yield a very noisome Smoke and Stink; and, whosoever did smell the same, he fell suddenly down, and died. And although they did oftentimes attempt, by casting into the Hole many Things, to choak it up, yet nothing did help, nor hinder the filthy Savour thereof. But, on a Time, there was heard a Voice, that came out of that Hole, saying, The Hole would not be shut up, nor the noisome Scent be asswaged, unless a *Roman* did leap thereinto with a Horse.

Now, as *Marcus Curtius* (being a *Roman* of noble Parentage and Spirit) did understand the same, he made Offer to the Senate of the City, that (since the Welfare of the City, and his Native Country, depended thereon) he would venture his Life for the common Good, and with his Horse leap down, provided that one Suit might be first granted unto him; namely, that, for the Space of one whole Year, he might have free Liberty to accomplish his Lust, and Desire, with fair and beautiful Women, and Virgins, and that none, whom he should take Liking of, might be denied him; which Request was granted him by the *Roman* Senate; so after the Year was ended, wherein he enjoyed what his Heart could wish, he mounted on Horseback, and leaped into that hellish fiery Pit, which instantly did close of its own Accord, and thereby that Mischief was ceased. Right over-against the same, did stand the House of *Cicero*, where, as yet, you may see the old Walls thereof; when you go from the *Campodoglio*, you shall see a Port of Triumph, which the *Roman* Senate caused to be made for *Vespasian* the Emperor, as he came from *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*, through which he rid in most magnificent State.

Over-against the same, you shall see the Temples of the Planets near together.

The TEMPLES of the PLANETS.

There are Seven of those Temples built by *Pontius Pilate's* House, in Honour of the Planets, but now they are devasted. And not far from them, there is built another Temple, called *De la Pace*, or Temple of Peace, which fell in as *Vespasian* came from *Jerusalem*, and every Christmas since the Birth of Christ, there hath fallen, and yet, as they say, a great Piece doth yearly fall from the same. Then go towards the *Amphitheatrum Vespasiani*; you must pass through a Triumph-port; before the same without, there is an old decayed Wall, where formerly the People did use to see the Spectacles in the *Circus*, and out of which Wall did always run Wine, of which the Spectators did drink as much as they listed. This *Amphitheatrum* was built by the Emperor *Vespasian*, in which may fit conveniently and well accommodated 50,000 Persons, to behold the rare Spectacles: The Emperor himself, in this Place, did overcome, and slew in Fight, with his own Hands, one-hundred wild and furious Beasts, in one Afternoon; but he sought
only

only with one at once, and one after another.

Right before the same you shall see a wonderful fair Gate of Triumph which the Emperor caused to be built, through which he went in magnificent Pomp. Then go to the *Thermae Dioclesiani*, where are the seven Halls, coming into which you shall see on each Side seven Halls, where, in former Time, the Emperor *Adrian* had his Palace, and dwelt there; it is somewhat dangerous to venture into the said Halls, being under Ground, for some have perished therein; then go the next Way, to the *Thermae*.

THERMAE DIOCLESIANI.

These were built by the Emperor only for Baths. They do write that no Emperor, since, hath been of Ability to build the like, containing so great a Circuit, and adorned with so many Columns and Pillars of Brass. The Baths being furnished with most stately and rich Beds, and all other Necessaries beyond all Comparison. Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* hath transferred this Building to an Hospital; in which do stand eight mighty Pillars of Marble-stone, each one so big, that Men can scarce fathom it about; in Height they are ninety Feet; over-against the same, is a sweet and pleasant Garden, wherein are divers memorable Things to be seen. Then go to *Monte Cavallo*, where is the marvellous fair Palace, and Garden of the Cardinal *Carpi*, now the Pope's; if you desire to see the same, address yourself to the Gardener, who will shew you every Particular in Order, the Palace being set out with admirable fair Rooms, and Chambers, richly adorned with Tables of precious Stone, and Hangings of wrought Gold and Silver; in the Garden are many strange Antiquities, most delightful to behold.

The Palace and Garden, are situated on a high Hill, and yet have Water plentifully: Give something to drink.

The Pope's Palace and Garden, which was formerly the Cardinals of ESTE.

You shall first see the Garden which is marvellous spacious, three *Italian* Miles; the same is full of rare and costly Fruits, like to which are none in all *Italy*, besides many Antiquities therein to be seen; in this Garden doth the Pope oftentimes dine and sup; let them shew you the rare Fountain, which has admira-

ble and pleasant Spring-water. Then go to the Grotto *Sibylla*, which is an incomparable pleasant Place, adorned with mighty fair Statues, giving Water from them; just over this Vault or Grotto, the Pope hath his Chambers and Dwelling: This Palace was built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, much larger, and the Rooms more richly adorned, intending to have the *Consistorium* kept therein, and not to go always so far as *St. Peter's*; but he lived not so long as to finish it; the next Pope did accomplish it with Water-works, in such Sort, as it is to be admired how it was possible to lead the Water up so high: In the Garden, a Man may take a most pleasant View of the whole City.

MONTECAVALLO.

There you shall see two mighty Horses of white Marble-stone, made of one intire Horse, as natural, as if they were living, insomuch that, in all *Europe*, may not be found the like. These Horses did stand in the *Thermae Dioclesiani*, on which two famous Masters, that made them, did strive to shew their Skill; a Particular, worthy to be noted. Not far from thence is a Smelting-house, and hard by, a Horse cast of Bell-metal, wonderful artificially, with the King of *France* sitting thereon, named *Henry*, most naturally, and were he living, the same should have been sent into *France*. The City is built round about with strong Walls, and mighty Towers, standing near one another. The City of *Rome* is in Compass about above five *Dutch* Miles.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen without Rome.

TIVOLI, a Palace and Garden, three Dutch Miles from Rome.

This is a marvellous stately Palace: The Keeper of it is a Gardener; you shall see therein admirable rich furnished Rooms, hung with Cloth of Gold and Silver, and the Beds adorned correspondently: Therein are also excellent fair Statues, and Tables of precious Stone set with Oriental Pearl: In the great Hall is an artificial Water-Chest; when the Cardinal, in Summer-Time, doth dine in the same, the Whole is made pleasing cold, by the Spiriting of Water out of the said Water-Chest, from whence also, the Wine standing on the Table is quickened: The particular Situation of the whole City of *Rome*, and the pleasant Prospect

Prospect thereof, doth present itself fully to the Spectators in this great Hall: Then you may go down from the Palace into the Garden, where you shall be led into a Vault, or Grotto, where you shall see a terrible Downfall of Water, from whence all the other artificial Water-Works have their Motions. Then you shall be led to a Place, where you shall hear the Organs play melodiously, as if an artificial Master did play thereon; but the Motion is derived from the Water-spouts, continually spiring as long as the Organs do sound, the Water being spouted higher than the Tops of the Spouts, at least the Height of six tall Men: Go a little further, and you shall see a Dragon with four Heads, spouting Water the Height of six Men, with so great a Noise, as if many Musquets were continually discharged, the Water being of so black a Colour, that it resembleth an ugly Smoke; fearful to behold: Then you shall see the Grotto, named *Sibylla*, full of admirable Antiquities and Statues: The Grotto, both above on the Ceiling, and all over on the Sides, is richly adorned with Oriental Coral, and Mother of Pearl: A little further you shall see the Temples of the *Seven Planets*, naturally resembling those which formerly stood in *Rome*; they are not very big, but standing exceeding pleasant, the one hard by the other: Not far from thence is an artificial Water-Work, which being let go, the Birds do sing, sitting upon Twigs, so naturally, as one would verily think they were all quick and living Birds; which is occasioned by the Water; and, when they are in the Midst of their best Singing, then comes an Owl flying, and the Birds suddenly, all at once, are still; then go a little further, and you shall see twenty-four square Stones, like Chests, having on each Side Spouts, spiring Water one against another; and, when the Sun doth shine thereinto, the Spouts and Water do give a natural Rainbow, notwithstanding the Weather be clear; which is a very great Wonder, and, who so doth see it, would swear it were a natural Rainbow indeed: Hard by are two excellent fine Labyrinths, remaining green Winter and Summer: Bestow something to drink, and then return to *Rome* again.

Hereafter follows the Way from Rome to Naples.

From *Rome* to *Torre a Mezzavia*, an Inn, six Miles; from thence to *Marina*, a little Town, six Miles; from thence to *Velletri*, a pleasant Town, where is made much boiled

Wine (take Heed of it) eight Miles; thence to *Cisterna*, a little Town, pertaining to the Cardinal *Sermoneta*, six Miles; from thence to *Sermoneta* (lying very pleasant on a Hill, a fine Town, and strong Fort, from whence they ring a brave Peal of Ordnance, when they understand that some Person of Note passes by; you must travel hard by the same; the Emperor *Charles the First* did write with his own Hand, and on the Altar, the Year and Day of his being there, but none of his Soldiers were suffered to go up) seven Miles; from *Sermoneta* to *Casa Nova*, a good Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Ala Badia*, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Terracina*, a Town of the Pope's, and there ends the Pope's Jurisdiction, nine Miles; thence to *Fondi*, a little Town (but, before you come thither, there is, by the Way, a strong Watch kept, being *Neapolitans*, who will make Search what each Traveller carries with him) it is named *Ala Portella*, six Miles; when they search you, take that Course which is usual at the Places of Custom, or at the Gates, *viz.* grease one of them in the Hand with a Bribe, and they will presently dismiss you. From *Fondi* to *Molla*, a great Market-town, lying hard by the Sea, where is exceeding good Wine, and admirable cool fresh Water; you may, in Summer-time, dine and sup in a Garden, under Citron and Orange Trees; you may pluck of them as many as you please; there are excellent good Fish also, free for every Man to take.

Then go right over-against that, and enquire for the mighty strong Fort, named *Gaeta*; it is about Half a Mile thither.

G A E T A, a C A S T L E.

This is the Key of the Kingdom of *Naples*; in the same do lie *Spaniards* in Garison, and, hard thereby, lies a little Town just on the Sea-side; when you go into the Fort, carry yourself courteously towards the Watch, promising a Reward; there you shall see a Fort so strong, as is not sufficiently to be expressed: In the same, are the fairest Women by Nature, that are in all *Italy*, being of a most courteous and friendly Behaviour. From *Molla* to *Corgiano*, an Inn, where you must pass over a great Water, nine Miles; from thence to *Alla Bagni*, or to the Gates, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Castella*, a little Town, nine Miles; from thence thence to *Pozzuolo*, a little Town on the

the Sea Coast (if you will go into it, you must leave your Swords with the Porter in the Gate) then to an Inn, eighteen Miles from *Cistella*.

Pozzuolo, where have been the Baths.

Pozzuolo is a very ancient Town, and, in former Times, it hath been a mighty and famous City, but devastated; you may there enquire for one to go with you into the Grotto, with a Torch, where you shall see the *Cento Camerelle*, in *English*, the *Hundred Chambers*, wherein the Prophetess *Sibylla* did dwell, and had her Command; the same are over-grown with a Hill; when you go a little further, there is a warm Water (you must take Heed you go not far one from another, lest you lose yourselves) you must bow yourselves in going, by reason of the great Heat and Damps of the Baths; under the same Grotto have been most excellent Baths, fitted for to cure all Manner of Diseases and by each one was set a Bill, signifying the Vertue thereof, according to which, every Person knew how to rule himself, and bathe therein.

But, on a Time (by reason that the Sick and Diseased Persons had no Need of the Physicians Help, but did all of them resort to these Baths) certain Doctors of *Salerno*, Physicians, that dwelt thirty Miles from *Naples*, consulted together how to remove the Cause that took away their Gain and Profit; and they went together, and, in secret-wise, did take away the Bills that were written and set on the Baths, inasmuch that now no Man knows the right Vertue of them, or what Diseases they are good for; and, as the said Physicians returned Home again, a great Tempest on the Sea overwhelmed the Ships, and they were all drowned. Then go also without, up the Hill, where you shall hear a Roaring and Tumbling very fearful to be heard, and there runs the Water out so warm, that one may see the Eggs therein; hard by, you shall see the Fire and Smoke come out of the Hill, very fearful to behold, much resembling Hell itself, as may be imagined; there is also a Mine of Brimstone, and, hard by the same, two terrible stinking Holes, which are called *Muffletti*, from whence arises poisoned Air, and, therefore, no Man dare venture to go near thereunto, unless he will endanger his Life; if a Man doth lay a Dog, or other Beast therein, it dies immediately, but cast it presently into the Water, hard by the

same, and it revives in a Moment; which is every Day tried by Strangers, and found true: Then go towards *Naples*, and you shall come by the Way to *Virgil's Grotto*, through which you must go, Half a Mile long; and, when you are out, look upwards, and you shall see a mighty Grave-stone, fastened into the Wall, in which lies *Virgil* buried; the common Saying is, That he built that Grotto in one Night, through the Hill, by the Help of his familiar Ghosts.

N A P L E S.

When you come into this famous City, enquire for the *Black Eagle*; the Host is a *Dutchman*, who will appoint one to go about, and shew you what is to be seen. First, go to the Palace of the Viceroy, which is a very fair Building; without, before the same, do watch, Day and Night, a Company of *Spanish* Soldiers; every Evening, they march up and down with flying Colours: Then go into the Palace, and up the Stairs, and you shall see the *Dutch* Guard-watch; they are one-hundred, suited all alike, and are maintained by the Viceroy. Then go up into the Hall on your Left-hand, where you shall see a very fair Chapel; in this Hall, the Viceroy doth give Audience every *Thursday*: There are wonderful fair Rooms in this Palace, and a most pleasant Garden, and, therein, a fair Tennis-Court; out of this Garden, the Viceroy can go secretly into the Palace; by reason of which, the Strangers are not permitted to go into it: Not far from the Palace, is an exceeding well armed House of Artillery, wherein two-hundred Gallies and Gallies have Room more than sufficient, and may be made in the same. This City ordinarily doth maintain, at their own proper Costs and Charges only, to attend the Approach of the Enemy, two-hundred Gallies.

Then go to *Monte Pizze Palcan*, a Hill, on which there is a fair Palace, with a delicate pleasant Garden; right over-against which is the strong Castle and Fort, named *Ovo*; it is also built on a Rock where the Palace doth stand; but it is cut off from the same, so that the Sea surrounds the Fort, and lies now in the Water like an Island: Then go towards the Water-Work before the City, named *Porro Real*, from whence all the Conduits in the City have their Original; it is also led into the Wells, a Thing most worthy to be seen and noted: Then go back again towards the *Porta Capuan*,

Capuan, where is a mighty fair Palace, which, in former Times, was the City's Fort; but now the City Council is kept therein: Therein is also the Prison, in which are most commonly eight-thousand Persons; this Palace is called the *Picary*: Go over-against the same, into the Church, called *Jehan Carbonar*; there the *French* Kings have had their Funerals, who, in Times past, did govern and reign in that Kingdom; you shall see exceeding fine Epitaphs and Tombs, adorned with rich Stone, and other curious Works, so stately, as you have not seen the like, also with Statues and Pictures.

HOSPITAL NUNCIATA.

This is a wonderous fair Hospital, wherein are continually a great Number of Sick attended, Every Nation is there entertained and accepted; each one has a clean Bed, with all Necessaries and Attendance, as if he were at Home in his own House, until he recovers, all gratis, which is at *Rome* in *St. Spirito*. So soon as one is received, he must presently make his Confession, and then take the Communion. Thereby, is a very fair Church and Steeple, appertaining to the Hospital. Then go towards the Church *St. Clara*, built by the *French* Kings.

Therein, are many excellent fair Altars and Tombs: A little further, you shall see a very fair Monastery, named *Monte Oliveto*, wherein are wonderous rich Epitaphs; all the Monks therein are of noble Descent, of the Order of *Carthusians*.

The principal Palaces in Naples are these following.

The Palace of the Prince of *Layena*; Palace of the Prince of *Calabria*; Palace of the Prince of *Scala Siciliano*; Palace of the Prince of *Salerno*; the Palace of the Prince of *Bisignano*; this excepted, all the rest are there always resident.

CASTLE NOVO.

This Castle is a wonderous Fort, built first by the *French* Kings, lying hard by the Sea, provided and furnished with mighty great Towers, Bastions, and very fair Ordnance, and there lie in Garison two-hundred *Spanish* Soldiers; therein are very fair Habitations, inhabited with all Manner of Tradesmen.

When you come into the Fort, you shall see, right over-against the Court, lying a great iron Bullet, under an iron Gate, which was shut at that Time, as they refused to yield to the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*; for, although the *Spaniards* had almost got in the Fort, yet, nevertheless, the *French* defended themselves valiantly. When you come into the Court, you shall see, on your left Hand, certain Stairs, under which is erected a Statue of Marble-stone, of a *Frenchman*, who, on the said Stairs, with his two-handed Sword, killed forty *Spaniards*, as is confirmed, before they could get up. By this Castle, is a lower standing in the Sea, as in an Island, wherein, at that Time, *Frenchmen* lay; and, after the *Spaniards* had got the Fort, they could not overcome this Tower, until they had granted, that the *French*, with Bag and Baggage, might, in Safety, depart. This Fort hath fine mighty Towers, strong Walls, and deep Ditches.

Then go towards the Castle *Ova*.

OVO, a Castle.

This was also built by the *French*, and hath the Name derived from the Rock whereon it stands, which is like an Egg: which Rock is cut off from the other, that lies against it, *Monte Pizze Falconi*. This is a mighty strong Fort, and a great Defence to the City, furnished with brave Ordnance and Ammunition; there lie sixty *Spanish* Soldiers, that continually dwell therein. Then go over-against the same, up the Hill, where is a mighty strong Fort, named *St. Helmo*; how the same was built, and from whence it hath the Original, you shall read as followeth.

St. HELMO, a Castle.

This hath the Original, as touching the Building thereof, from the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*; for, as he rid on a Morning to take the Air, he came through the Street, named *Capuana*, where the Mayor and Aldermen have a Place railed about, and do therein assemble themselves, and, in publick, hold Council, named *Sedia Capuana*. Now, as the Emperor came thereinto, and saw the Arms of the City pictured, and two white Horses thereby, without Bits and Bridles, as it were flying, and freely ranging about, the Emperor demanded what they signified; Answer

swer was made, That, as free and unbridled, as the Horse, were they also in the City. Whereupon, the Emperor immediately contrived to build this mighty strong Fort on the Hill, thereby to lay both Bit and Bridle in the Horses Mouths, that they should not run whither they listed: For, by Reason of this Fort, the *Neapolitans* are bridled, that they dare not rise in Rebellion. This strong Fort is so well provided and furnished with Ammunition and great Ordnance, and situated, that it is almost invincible, unless Treachery be amongst themselves. There is not one Palace in the City, that hath not a Piece of Ordnance aimed thereat from the Fort; and, if any in the same do but begin to mutiny, it is, in the Twinkling of an Eye, battered down. In this Fort, are two-hundred and fifty *Spanish* Soldiers, which do watch, and have their Dwelling therein. And, although the City should be gotten and won, yet no Enemy could remain therein, by Reason of this Fort, from whence each living Creature would be destroyed.

There is not, in all *Italy*, a greater Pomp in Riding, nor fairer Horses, than in *Naples*; and no where so many Princes, Marquisses, Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, riding up and down the Streets, in brave Attire, almost the whole Day, attended with many Servants, in fair Liveries and Suits; also an excellent Haven on the Sea, where the great Ships and Gallies do lie. This City is also provided with all Sorts of Merchandises, especially silk Wares; and there is daily such great Dealing, as, in other Places, in the Time of Fairs. This famous City is also very great and spacious, always stored with the best and costliest Wines, and all other Necessaries plentifully are to be had. There is one Street, named *Lagruideca*; therein are above five-hundred Shops, furnished with nothing but new and old Apparel, to be sold. Lastly, This City is strengthened about with mighty Walls and Ramparts.

Hereafter follows the Way from Naples to Malta, by Water and Land; but I would advise you, rather to travel by Water; nevertheless, I will describe both Ways.

From *Naples* to *Terre del Greco*, six Miles; thence to *Barbarona* Village, seven Miles;
V O L. V.

thence to *Salerno* City, nine Miles; thence to *Taberna Pinta* Inn, ten Miles; thence to *Benola* Village, eight Miles; thence to *Duchessa* Inn, nine Miles; thence to *Coletta*, a little Town, ten Miles; thence to *Salla* Village, seven Miles; thence to *Casal Nuova* Village, nine Miles; thence to *Rovero Negro* Village, ten Miles; thence to *Castelluchia*, a little Town, nine Miles; thence to *Valle Santo Martino* Village, six Miles; thence to *Castoro Villore*, a Village, nine Miles; from thence to *Csaro* Village, seven Miles; thence to *Regina* Inn, ten Miles; thence to *Consenza*, a Town of great Traffick, especially for rough Silk, twelve Miles; thence to *Gappreddo*, a Village, seven Miles; thence to *Martorano*, a great Hamlet, six Miles; thence to *St. Biafo*, a Market-town, six Miles; thence to *Alaque Fiche* Inn, seven Miles; thence to *Monte Leone*, a little Town, nine Miles; thence to *Sala Petra*, a Market-town, eight Miles; thence to *Rossa* Village, seven Miles; thence to *Santa Anna* Village, nine Miles; thence to *Fonego*, a Market-town, nine Miles; thence to *Fiumara de Mori*, ten Miles; thence to the famous City *Messina*.

M E S S I N A.

This illustrious City hath an exceeding great and safe Haven, or Port, of the Sea, where may ride more than four-hundred great Ships; the like is scarce to be seen. There is an incomparable Traffick by all Nations. It is a great City, adorned with wonderous fair Palaces and Buildings: Principally this City is strong, round about, with great and mighty Walls and Ramparts. It hath excellent good Wine, and all Manner of Provision throughout. The readiest Way is to go by Water, from thence to *Naples*, with the first Opportunity, and then you may go to *Malta*, in three Days: There go, oftentimes, Ships to *Palermo*, which is a wonderous fair and great City, worthy the Seeing.

P A L E R M O.

This City lies hard by the Sea, strengthened with substantial Walls, and hath an excellent Haven for Ships. It was, a few Years past, very fairly built and adorned; when you come into the City, you shall see a very long Street, called *il Cassare*, or *la Strada d'Austria*; at the upper End of which,

is the Viceroy's Palace, in which he keeps his Court; it is a very stately Building, adorned with most excellent fair Rooms and Gardens. In this Palace do lie *Spaniards* in Garison, as also a Guard of *Switzers*. There is also great Trading and Merchandising, with all Sorts of Wares transported thither from beyond the Seas.

Then you may go from thence directly to *Malta*.

M A L T A.

This is a principal and famous Fort, of great Strength, and the Key of all *Christendom*.

The principal Fort is named *St. Helmo*; as soon as you come near thereunto, certain of the Knights will meet and receive you, and invite you to Dinner or Supper, and, according to the Number of your Fellow-travellers, you shall be well and courteously entertained; when the Weather is fair and clear, you may see from thence the Signal of the common Enemy. The Knights have eight Gallies, to be always prepared and in Readiness. And at such Time, as from the Fort, a Sign is given of the Approach of any *Turkish* Gallies, then must always the Gallies of *Malta* go out to meet them, and one Gally must always fight against four *Turkish* Gallies. For the Gallies of *Malta* are exceeding well and strongly prepared and armed, and are, for the most Part, all Knights therein, for Service fitted; none are spared, when Need requires. The Fort *St. Helmo* is so well fortified, and provided with all Manner of Ammunition, that it is impossible, by the Art of Man, to be overcome. There are also two other Forts, *St. Angelo*, and *St. Michael*. The Island *Malta* is, in Circuit, not above seven Miles, but a great Number of Villages are built thereupon; the Husbandmen do all dwell along the Sea-coast, and must, every Foot, keep a strong Watch, to prevent a sudden Invasion of the common Enemy of *Christendom*, as oftentimes falls out, and many of them spoiled, and their Houses set on Fire. As concerning Victuals, and other Necessaries, fit for Man's Subsistence, there is no Want at all, for there is always sufficient transported thither.

Now I would advise you to return back again with the Gallies to *Naples*: But you must go the right Way, as from thence to *Italy*,

Luca, *Genoa*, *Milan*, and *Venice*, lest you come twice to see one Place, and thereby other memorable Things be neglected. When, by God's Help, you are arrived again at *Naples*, then you go the nearest Way to *Capua*, an ancient City, plentifully provided with all Manner of Necessaries for Man; it is also of a good Length, with a very fair and high stone Bridge, like to which I have seen none. It lies from *Naples* sixteen Miles; from thence to *Carigliano*, an Inn (here you must go over the Water) nine Miles; and now you are on the former Highways again, until you come to *Rome*, and *High Siena*: At *Siena* you may have Horses to *Pisa*, which is thirty Miles; a Way to travel so pleasant, that one can judge no otherwise, but the whole Way to be a most pleasant and delightful Garden, all full of excellent, fine, fruitful Trees, goodly Villages, fair Castles, and comely Towns: In *Summa*, it is a Paradise.

P I S A.

When you come to this City, you shall be searched under the Gate, to see what you carry with you: Say nothing, but only that you are Students, and put a Piece of Money into one of their Hands secretly, and they will let you pass.

This is a famous City, and an exceeding strong Fort, which was yielded to the Great Duke, in the *Seneser* Wars, but, before, it was a free State of itself, and a *Republica*; also *Siena* was, but afterwards, being overcome by *Cosmus*, Great Duke of *Florence*, and brought under his Yoke, the Fort was built to keep them in Subjection. There runs also a great River through the City, called the *Arno*, which runs also through *Florence*; and, not far from *Pisa*, it falls into the Sea. There is also a wonderful fair Temple (a Cathedral) built all of marble Stone.

On the Side, is built an exceeding fair Cloister of curious Work. They say it is very like to that built by the Temple of *Jerusalem*. There is also a marvellous fair Steeple hard by the Temple, up to the Top of which a Man may ride on the Outside, the Stairs winding about the Steeple to the Top, as a Snake on a Tree: The Stairs are adorned with rich Marble-stone Pillars, of all Manner of Colours, even to the very Top. This Steeple is built by mere Art, hanging or leaning to the one Side, as if it would fall at every Twinkling

ling of an Eye; but, when one is above, he cannot then discern the fame. This Steeple is held to be one of the seven Wonders of the World, being built all of white Marble-stone, like to which is none seen in the universal World. On the Outside of the Church is a round Temple, covered with Copper, and the Doors with Bell-metal.

This City is graced with many fair Palaces and Houses, especially the Palace of the noble Knights, in which they have their Government. The Knights do wear, for their Order, the red Cross of St. Stephen, which the Duke of *Florence* observes. This is provided with all Manner of good Victuals plentifully, especially excellent good Wine.

Hereafter follows the Way to Luca.

From *Pisa* to *Luca* seven Miles. When you are gone half Way, you shall come to a Hill, from whence, on the one Side, you may see *Luca*, on the other Side *Pisa*, a wonderful pleasant Prospect.

L U C A.

This is a very excellent and fair little City, and situated in the Midst of the great Duke of *Florence's* Country; which City, if the Duke could bring under his Jurisdiction, he would then stile himself King of *Tuscany*. There is in this City a great Trade with silken Wares, the like to which is not in all *Italy*. The *Pallavicini* are the chiefest Dealers therein, as the *Fuggeri* are in *Augustia*. Therein are most exceeding fair Palaces and Houses, and the Streets paved all with fair square Stones; there are many fair Churches, as St. *Martino*, and an excellent Market, where a Man may have what his Heart can wish for, at a reasonable Price. There is most excellent Wine. It is a very strong City, with mighty Walls and Ramparts, and the Ordnance lying round about the same, and under the Gates are kept a continual strong Watch. This City is subject to none, and is the only free imperial City in all *Italy*. Then you may go to *Livorno*, which is an excellent Haven-town, pertaining to the great Duke of *Florence*; it is twenty Miles from *Luca*.

Here follows the Way from Luca to Genoa, and what is to be seen by the Way.

From *Luca* to *Mazzarosa*, a little Town, eight Miles; from thence to *Pietra Santa*, a little Town, eight Miles; thence to *Massaia Corara*, a pleasant Town with a Castle, seven Miles; thence to *Sarfano*, a very pleasant Town, and there, in two strong Forts, lying in Garison five-hundred Dutch Soldiers (for it lies just on the Border of *Genoa*, pertaining thereunto) eight Miles; thence to *Laris*, where you must pass over Water, four Miles.

L A R I S, a P O R T.

This is a very fine little Town; the Wine is very good and cheap, and also Bread. On the Top of the Hill is a very strong Fort, and the Ordnance thereupon carries over to the other Side, to *Porto Venere*, which is a full Dutch Mile; and, also, an exceeding strong Fort: Go over also thither.

P O R T O V E N E R E.

This is also a fair Town, and on the Hill is a strong Fort, and the Ordnance carries over to the other Fort, so that both these Forts do assist each other; not far off this, is a Town called *Spezza*, pertaining to *Genoa*: When they send Soldiers into *Spain*, they do assemble themselves there. Between *Spezza* and *Laris*, is a very strong Fort, pertaining to *Genoa*, called *Santa Maria del Suorte*, about two Italian Miles from *Porto Venere*, wherein do lie Dutch Soldiers, who, if you desire, will let you in, and shew you the Fort; it is worthy the Seeing, and built but of late Years. Now I would advise the Traveller to go from *Laris* by Water to *Genoa*, being one Day's Journey; but, if you go by Land, the Way is described as followeth:

From *Porto Venere* to *Remedio*, a Market-town, seven Miles; thence to *Porgetto*, eight Miles; thence to *Martarana-Inn*, six Miles; thence to *Bracco*, a Market-town, six Miles; thence to *Rapullo*, six Miles; thence to *Recco*, six Miles; thence to *Bogliasco*, all Market-towns, six Miles; thence to *Genoa*, six Miles.

G E N O A.

This is a fair and famous City and Republick, where is a Duke, but elected by the Senate of the City. When one dies, they chuse in another, like as they at *Venice* do

chuse a Duke out of forty-eight *Clarissimi*, and do cast Lots for the Election.

This wonderful mighty City is older than the City of *Rome*, as the Historians do deliver: It is inhabited with brave Nobles and Gentry, and sumptuously built; you shall see a Number of brave mighty Ships excellently furnished with all Manner of Ammunition and Provision: They lie here only to attend the Approach of the common Enemy.

When you come to the Gate of the City, the Customers will make Search, to see what you carry; tell them that you are Students, and enquire for a Lodging, called *Santa Maria*, where you shall be excellently dieted. Enquire for *Strada Nova*, in which Street are twelve most excellent fair Palaces, built all of square Pieces, being white and black Marblestone, richly adorned, with pleasant Gardens; and certain of them have Houses of Artillery well furnished, and stately Antiquities and Statues. Go first into the Duke's Palace, which is an excellent rare Building, in which do watch continually five-hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and have all their Dwelling in the Palace. When you go from your Lodging towards the Gate, out of which they go to *Savona*, hard by the same you shall see the Palace of Prince *Andrea Doria*, General of the Dukedom of *Genoa*, where you shall see wonderful rare Things, besides excellent pleasant Gardens, artificial Water-works, and brave Statues, and, principally, a wonderful well furnished House of Artillery. You shall not find, in any City in all *Italy*, so many Velvet-weavers, as in *Genoa*; they say, there are at least eight-thousand; but not any one of them is able to gain to themselves one Piece of Velvet in a whole Year's Space, so narrowly are they looked unto by the Merchants.

Churches in GENOA.

Within the City Walls are thirty Parish Churches, and the City hath seven Miles in Circuit. There are two principal Churches amongst the rest; the one named *St. Laurence*, in which is a little Chapel, where are kept the Ashes of *John Badali* in a silver Chest; and they affirm, that, when there arises a great Tempest on the Sea, they carry that Chest to the Sea-shore, and immediately the Tempest ceaseth. There are done also many Miracles,

as they say, in the thirty Churches, by Virtue of the holy Relicks which are kept there. In the said Church of *St. Laurence*, you shall see the Dish of *Semiraldo*, and other precious Stones, which our Saviour *Jesus Christ* made out of Earth, in which, with his Disciples, he did eat the *Easter Lamb*, which was gotten, as *Cæsarea* was overcome, as is clearly noted in the Chronicles.

The other Church is named *St. Bartholomew*, without the Gate *St. Catharina*, where is kept the *Sudarium*, or the Sweating-Cloth of our Blessed Saviour, as evidently it is found to be one of the three made by *St. Veronica*; by the same are done also many Miracles. There is also without the City a very fair Steeple, on the Top of which they hang a Lanthorn with Lights, in the Night-time, that directeth the Ships Safety to the Port or Haven.

Genoa is as famous Principality and as fruitful a Soil as is in all *Italy*; there is the best Wine of all others, and all Sorts of excellent Fruit. Now, if you desire to see *Savona*, take a Boat; it lies but thirty Miles from *Genoa*.

S A V O N A.

This is a very fair City, lying on the Sea wonderful pleasant; it is built exceeding well and richly, and they have great Trading with Wines, and other costly Wares, into *Corfica* and *Sardagna*. There is also a mighty Fort, built very strongly, with main Walls and Ramparts, so well furnished with Ordnance, and other Ammunition, that it is almost invincible. Therein do lie one-hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and other Forces; for the *Turks* oftentimes use to make Inroads there, with forty or fifty Gallies at a Time, attempting to get the Fort; but it hath always failed them, there being continually kept a strong and diligent Watch, which is also very needful. Then you may go back again to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Milan* and *Venice*.

Here follows the Way from Genoa to Milan.

From *Genoa* to *Ponte Decino* seven Miles; thence to *Buzzala* seven Miles; thence to *Al Botto del Formari* seven Miles; thence to *Isola* seven Miles; thence to *Argua* seven Miles; thence to *Saravalla*, a little pretty Town, where you may buy excellent good

Blades, Rapiers, and Swords, five Miles; thence to *Bettola*, an Inn, six Miles; from thence to *Tortona*, a strong Fort, eight Miles; thence to *Ponte Curon* five Miles; thence to *Pancarina* eight Miles; thence to *Cava*, there fet over the River *Po*, six Miles; thence to *Pavia* City three Miles.

PAVIA.

This City hath an excellent navigable Water, which flows hard by, named *Ticino*. The City is very well adorned with fair Houses, and Churches, and hath a very large and fair Market-place. There is also a famous University, and an Inquisition of late Years erected; there are many Jesuits. The City is marvellous well strengthened, with great and thick Walls and Ramparts; there is also a strong Castle or Fort, wherein are continually *Spanish* Soldiers. It belongs to the Principality of *Milan*.

When you go from thence towards *Milan*, you shall see by the Way a Monastery named *Carthausa*, and also the Park, about an *Italian* Mile from *Pavia*, before which the famous Battle was fought by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, against the *French* and *Switzers*, and thereby *Pavia* overcome. The Park, as you may well discern, hath yet Part of the Walls standing which were at that Time.

CHARTHAUSE.

Do not omit to go in and see this famous Monastery, for there is not the like in all *Italy*; richly built, and hath a mighty Revenue; the Church is built all of white Marble-stone, adorned sumptuously with Statues and Pictures of Oriental Alabaster.

The Cells of the Monks are covered all with Copper; there are besides Things to be seen whereat you will wonder. Then go from thence to *Binasco*, a little Town, eight Miles thence; *Milan* is ten Miles.

MILAN.

This is the chief City in *Lombardy*, belonging to the King of *Spain*: It is a Principality, and round about strengthened with mighty Walls and Ramparts; it hath also great Trading with all Nations. When you come thither, I would wish you lodged at the *Three Kings*, or at the *Falcon*, where you shall be exceeding well entertained. Go first to the

Palace, wherein the Viceroy or Duke keeps his Court, which is a very great Building. Hard by the same have the *Dutch* Guard their Dwellings, and are eighty of them attending the Duke, all suited in one Colour; without this Palace is the Riding-place, being marvellous spacious.

Cathedral CHURCH.

This Temple is built within and without all of white Marble-stone, comparable to which in Greatness, and Fairness, there is none found neither in *Italy*, nor elsewhere; every Ounce of this Marble-stone wrought doth cost two Quartrins, and five Quartrins do make a Penny *English*. In this famous Building are Organs of clear Silver.

Go from this Church to Cardinal *Borromeo's* Palace, which is a most stately Building, adorned with main Columns and Pillars of Marble-stone; there is also, by the Cardinal, made a Gallery under Ground, through which he can go, not seen, into the Church. Then enquire for the Place where formerly Malefactors were executed; there did stand a House of good Fellowship or Bawdy-house, but the Cardinal caused it to be pulled down, and in the Place a great Prison to be built. Then enquire for *Santa Maria*, which is an admirable fair Building; thither are many great Pilgrimages accomplished with great Devotion, and *Indulgentia plenaria* the whole Year throughout. When you go towards your Lodging, you shall see an Antiquity in *St. Laurence-street*, where do stand twenty mighty great Pillars of white Marble-stone, in Height sixty Feet. They say for certain, that the Devil, with his Accomplices, did erect and build that Temple in one Night; but it had, as it seems, no good Foundation, for it fell down again shortly after. The whole City is paved throughout with fair four-square Stone. It hath brave broad Streets. This City hath twenty-two Gates, and doth write itself strong; at every Gate are twelve thousand well armed Men, besides those that are no Citizens, and yet Inhabitants, which make in one Sum two hundred-forty-two thousand. Then go to the *Citta della Capello* or *Castle*.

CASTLE.

This Castle or Fort may well be said invincible, and may by no Force, or Man's Policy,

licy, be gotten or overcome, but only by mere Treachery; for there are two several Forts in one, but so surrounded and fastened in and about with Water Ditches, that thereout may well be made three several Forts: It hath also two great, mighty, and high Towers, of four-square Free-stone, and upon each one are planted three double Cannons, and upon the Walls of the Forts are mounted on Wheels five-hundred great Ordnance, of Bell-Metal, continually charged. There lie in Garison seven-hundred *Spaniards*, with forty *Dutch*, all attending the Command of the *Castellano* or Governor; there are also divers other People within the Fort, so that there are continually therein at least one-thousand Persons.

This Fort is always provided with an Overplus of all Manner of Provision and Ammunition. It cannot be undermined, for a navigable Water, that runs by the City, doth flow into the Ditches, and in the same are fresh Veins of Well-water continually springing up. Also is this Fort of late Years better strengthened, by the Building of five mighty Ramparts; so that it is a Fort strong beyond Imagination; in Fine, I cannot sufficiently express the Strength thereof.

Here follows the Way from Milan to Venice; and what is to be seen by the Way.

From *Milan* to *Margiano* ten Miles; thence to *Lodia*, a pleasant Town, ten Miles; thence to *Zorlesca*, a Village, ten Miles; thence to *Pizzighiton* two Miles; thence to *Cremona*, a great City, twelve Miles.

C R E M O N A.

This is a famous and pleasant City, adorned with fair and strong Towers round about: It hath very fair and large Streets, and brave Buildings, and excellent good Wine.

From *Cremona*, to *Alla Casa della buona Voglio* Inn, ten Miles; thence to *St. Jacob Alopio* Inn, nine Miles; thence to *Mercari*, a little Town, twelve Miles; thence to *Castelluchio*, eight Miles; thence to *Mantua City*, ten Miles.

M A N T U A.

This is a marvellous fine City, and Principality, wherein the Duke of *Mantua* keeps his Court; it is excellently well built, all in

Morass or Quagmires; when you come thither, lodge at the *Black Moor*, where you shall have one to shew you what is to be seen.

Go first into the Duke's Palace, but you must leave your Weapons with the Watch, under the Gate; if the Duke be not there, you shall see the great Hall, and other Rooms that are most worthy the Noting, and also a most pleasant, adorned Garden, in which is a great spacious Hall, wherein the Duke doth dine and sup in Summer-time. This Hall is made so artificially that, when two, standing in the Midst of the Hall, do talk one with another, they themselves do not understand their own Words, but they that stand far from them, at the End of the Hall, do hear and understand, plainly, every Word, which is a Thing to be much wondered at: One that knows not of this, may perchance talk with another, thinking in Secret, what is heard of others, perhaps, to his great Prejudice. This Hall lies encompassed round about with Quagmires, so that it is not easily to be overcome by any Siege, unless it were for Want of Victuals. The City is adorned with an exceeding well furnished House of Artillery, and great Ordnance.

Here follows the Way from MANTUA to P A D U A.

From *Mantua*, to *Alla Stella* Inn, fifteen Miles; thence to *Sangneto*, a Village, twelve Miles; thence to *Montagnano*, six Miles; from thence to *Padua*, a great City, thirty-eight Miles.

P A D U A.

This is a far spread famous City, by Reason of the great Frequence and Assembling of all Nations thereunto, it being an University: There is an Overplus of all Manner of Provision for Man's Use at a very cheap Rate; there are excellent good Wine, Bread, Fish, Flesh, Fowl, and Fruit. When you come thither, lodge at *Alla Stella*, the Star; and there you shall see a brave Garden, wherein the Students do exercise themselves in the Knowledge of Herbs, especially, such as study Physick; upon the Steeple, you may see *Venice*, if the Weather be clear. Then go into the Governor's Palace, and into the Chancery; you have not seen the like in all *Italy*, for it is a Place indeed of Antiquities.

St. ANTHONY, a Monastery.

This is a wonderous fair Monastery, of the Barefoot Order; within it, is a great Temple, where St. Anthony lies buried, in so rich a Tomb of Marble-stone and Alabaſter, as the like is seldom to be seen.

St. JUSTINA, a Monastery.

This is a mighty great Monastery, of St. Benedict's Order, which was built presently, after the Battle was fought and won against the common Enemy, and the Building begun on St. Justina's Day; it hath a great Revenue,

and every Week is distributed, to all Poor that come, a great Proportion of Alms, as Wine and Bread, &c.

St. DOMINICO, a Monastery.

This is adorned with exceeding fair Tombs, and Epitaphs: It hath also a stately Income, and much is given in Alms to the Poor every Week once: In this City are to be seen many excellent fair Palaces and Buildings, brave Statues, and curious Rooms, and pleasant Gardens. The City belongs to the Venetian State, and is inclosed round about with very strong Walls and Ramparts.

An honourable Speech made in the Parliament of Scotland, by the Earl of Argyle (being now Competitor with Earl Morton for the Chancellorship) the Thirtieth of September, 1641, touching the Prevention of National Diffension, and Perpetuating the happy Peace and Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, by the frequent Holding of Parliaments. London, Printed by A. N. for J. M. at the George in Fleetstreet, Anno 1641. Quarto, containing six Pages.

My Lords,

WHAT was more to be wished on Earth, than the great Happiness this Day we enjoy? Viz. To see his Royal Majesty our native Sovereign, and his loyal Subjects of both his Kingdoms, so really united, that his Majesty is piously pleased to grant unto us, his Subjects, our lawful Demands, concerning Religion and Liberties, and we his Subjects of both Nations, cheerfully rendering to his Majesty that Duty, Affection, and Assistance, which he hath just Cause to expect from good People, and each Nation concurring in brotherly Amity, Unity, and Concord, one towards the other.

Oh, What Tongue is able to express the Honour and Praise due to that great and good God, who in these late Commotions suffered not the Counsels of either Kingdom to despair of the Safety of either Commonwealth, but through his Blessing to their painful and

prudent Endeavours hath wrought such an Happiness for us; that now, after the great Toil and Trouble which we have on both Sides so long endured, we may each Man with his Wife, Children, and Friends, under his own Vine and Fig-tree, and all under his Majesty's Protection, refresh himself, with the sweet Fruits of Peace? Which I beseech the Lord of Peace to make perpetual to both Nations.

And, to that End, my earnest Desires are, that all our best Studies and Endeavours may be employed, for some Time, in contriving and establishing such wholesome Laws in both Kingdoms, whereby, as much as in us lies, the Opportunity and Occasion of producing the like Calamities, as lately threatened both Nations, may, for the future, be prevented, if in any Age hereafter such Miscreants shall go again to attempt it.

It is, my Lords, notorious, that the late Incendiaries, that occasioned the great Differences

rences betwixt his Majesty and his Subjects, took much Advantage and Courage by the too long Intermission of the happy Constitution of Parliaments, in the Vacancy of which they, by false Informations, incensed his Majesty against his loyal Subjects, and by their wily Insinuations extorted from his Highness Proclamations for to yield Obedience to their Innovations in the Kirk, and Patents for Projects, whereby the poor Subject was both polled and oppressed in his Estate, and enthralled in his Conscience; and thus, by their wicked Practices, his Majesty was distasted, and his Subjects generally discontented, insomuch that, had not the great Mercy of God prevented them, they had made an Obstruction betwixt his Majesty, and his liege People, and had broken those mutual and indissoluble Bonds of Protection and Allegiance, whereby, I hope, his Royal Majesty, and his loyal and dutiful Subjects of all his three Kingdoms, will be ever bound together. To which let all good Subjects say, *Amen*.

My Lords, the Distaste of his Majesty, nor Discontents of his Subjects, could never have come to that Height they did, nor consequently have produced such Effects, had not there been such an Interposition, by these Innova-

tors, and Projectors, betwixt his Majesty our glorious Sun, and us his loyal Subjects, that his Goodness appeared not, for the Time, to us, nor our Loyalty and Obedience to him. For no sooner was that happy Constellation, the Parliament in *England*, raised, and thereby those vaporous Clouds dissipated, but his Majesty's Goodness, his good Subjects Loyalty, and their Treachery evidently appeared.

Our Brethren of *England*, my Lords, finding the Intermission of Parliaments to be prejudicial and dangerous to the State, have taken Care, and made Provision for the frequent Holding of them; whose prudent Example my Motion is may be our Pattern forthwith to obtain his Majesty's royal Assent, for doing the like here in this Kingdom. By which Means his Majesty may in due Time hear, and redress the Grievances of his Subjects, and his Subjects, as Need shall require, chearfully aid and assist his Majesty; and not only the domestic Peace and Quiet of each Kingdom be preserved, but likewise all National Differences, if any happen, may be, by the Wisdom of the Assemblies of both Kingdoms, from Time to Time composed and reconciled, to the Perpetuating of the happy Peace and Union betwixt both Nations.

Copies of two Papers written by the late King *Charles the Second*, of blessed Memory. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

The First Paper.

THE Discourse we had the other Day, I hope, satisfied you in the Main, that Christ can have but one Church here upon Earth; and I believe, that it is as visible, as that the Scripture is in Print, That none can be that Church, but that which is called the *Roman* Catholick Church. I think you need not trouble yourself with entering into that Ocean of particular Disputes, when the main and, in Truth, the only Question is, Where that Church is, which we profess to believe, in the two Creeds? We declare there to believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church; and

it is not left to every fantastical Man's Head to believe as he pleases, but to the Church, to whom Christ left the Power, upon Earth, to govern us in Matters of Faith, who made these Creeds for our Directions. It were a very irrational Thing to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be the Interpreters and Judges of those Laws; for then every Man will be his own Judge, and, by Consequence, no such Thing, as either Right, or Wrong. Can we therefore suppose, that God Almighty would leave us at those Uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and leave every Man to be his own Judge? I

do ask any ingenuous Man, Whether it be not the same Thing to follow our own Fancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any Man shew me, where the Power of deciding Matters of Faith is given to every particular Man. Christ left his Power to his Church, even to forgive Sins in Heaven; and left his Spirit with them, which they exercised after his Resurrection; first, by his Apostles in these Creeds, and many Years after by the Council at *Nice*, where that Creed was made, that is called by that Name; and, by the Power, which they had received from Christ, they were the Judges even of the Scripture itself, many Years after the Apostles, which Books were Canonical, and which were not. And, if they had this Power then, I desire to know how they came to lose it, and by

what Authority Men separate themselves from that Church. The only Pretence, I ever heard of, was, Because the Church has failed, in wresting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true Sense and Meaning of it; and that they have imposed Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's Word. I do desire to know who is to be Judge of that; whether the whole Church, the Succession whereof has continued to this Day without Interruption; or particular Men, who have raised Schisms for their own Advantage.

This is a true Copy of a Letter, I found in the King my Brother's strong Box, written in his own Hand.

J A M E S R.

The Second Paper.

IT is a sad Thing to consider what a World of Heresies are crept into this Nation; every Man thinks himself as competent a Judge of the Scriptures, as the very Apostles themselves; and it is no Wonder that it should be so, since that Part of the Nation, which looks most like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments against the other Sects, for Fear they should be turned against themselves, and confuted by their own Arguments. The Church of *England*, as it is called, would fain have it thought, that they are the Judges in Matters spiritual, and yet dare not say positively, that there is no Appeal from them; for either they must say, that they are infallible (which they cannot pretend to) or confess, that what they decide, in Matters of Conscience, is no further to be followed, than it agrees with every Man's private Judgment. If Christ did leave a Church here upon Earth, and we were all once of that Church, How, and by what Authority, did we separate from that Church? If the Power of interpreting of Scripture be in every Man's Brain, What Need have we of a Church, or Church-men? To what Purpose, then, did our Saviour, after he had given his Apostles Power to bind and loose in Heaven and Earth, add to it, That he would be with them, even unto the End of the World? These Words were not spoken parabolically, or by Way of Figure; Christ was then ascending into his Glory, and left his Power with his Church, even unto the End

of the World. We have had, these hundred Years past, the sad Effects of denying to the Church that Power, in Matters spiritual, without an Appeal. What Country can subsist in Peace or Quiet, where there is not a supreme Judge, from whence there can be no Appeal? Can there be any Justice done, where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law with those that are appointed to administer Justice? This is our Case here in *England*, in Matters spiritual; for the Protestants are not of the Church of *England*, as it is the true Church, from whence there can be no Appeal; but because the Discipline of that Church is conformable at that Present to their Fancies, which as soon as it shall contradict, or vary from, they are ready to embrace, or join with the next Congregation of People, whose Discipline and Worship agrees with their Opinion at that Time; so that, according to this Doctrine, there is no other Church, nor Interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every Man's giddy Brain. I desire to know, therefore, of every serious Considerer of these Things, Whether the great Work of our Salvation ought to depend upon such a sandy Foundation, as this? Did Christ ever say to the Civil Magistrate (much less to the People) That he would be with them to the End of the World? Or, Did he give them the Power to forgive Sins? St. Paul tells the *Corinthians*, 'Ye are God's Husbandry, ye are God's Building; we are

‘Labourers with God.’ This shews who are the Labourers, and who are the Husbandry and Building: And in this whole Chapter, and in the preceding one, *St. Paul* takes great Pains to set forth, That they, the Clergy, have the Spirit of God, without which no Man searcheth the deep Things of God; and he concludeth the Chapter with this Verse: ‘For who hath known the Mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the Mind of Christ.’ Now, if we do but consider, in human Probability and Reason, the Powers Christ leaves to his Church in the Gospel, and *St. Paul* explains so distinctly afterwards, we cannot think, that our Saviour said all these Things to no Purpose; and, pray, consider, on the other Side, that those, who resist the Truth, and will not submit to this Church, draw their Arguments from Implications and far-fetched Interpretations, at the

same Time that they deny plain and positive Words; which is so great a Disingenuity, that it is not almost to be thought, that they can believe themselves. Is there any other Foundation of the Protestant Church, but that, if the Civil Magistrate please, he may call such of the Clergy, as he thinks fit for his Turn at that Time, and turn the Church either to Presbytery, Independency, or indeed what he pleases? This was the Way of our pretended Reformation here in *England*; and, by the same Rule and Authority, it may be altered into as many more Shapes and Forms, as there are Fancies in Men’s Heads.

This is a true Copy of a Paper, written by the late King my Brother, in his own Hand, which I found in his Closet.

J A M E S R.

*A Copy of a Paper, written by the late Dukes of York.
Folio, containing two Pages.*

IT is so reasonable to expect, that a Person always bred up in the Church of *England*, and as well instructed in the Doctrine of it, as the best Divines and her Capacity could make her, should be liable to many Censures, for leaving That, and making herself a Member of the *Roman* Catholick Church, to which, I confess, I was one of the greatest Enemies it ever had; that I chose rather to endeavour to satisfy my Friends, by Reading this Paper, than to have the Trouble, to answer all the Questions that may daily be asked me: And first, I do protest, in the Presence of Almighty God, That no Person, Man, or Woman, directly nor indirectly, ever said any thing to me, since I came into *England*, or used the least Endeavour to make me change my Religion: It is a Blessing I wholly owe to Almighty God, and I hope the Hearing of a Prayer I daily made him, ever since I was in *France* and *Flanders*; where seeing much of the Devotion of the Catholicks, though I had very little myself, I made it my continual Request to Almighty God, That, if I were not, I might, before I died, be in the true Religion: I did not in

the least doubt, but that I was so, and never had any Manner of Scruple till *November* last; when, reading a Book, called, *The History of the Reformation*, by Dr. *Heylin*, which I had heard very much commended, and had been told, if ever I had any Doubt in my Religion, that would settle me; instead of which, I found it the Description of the horridest Sacrileges in the World; and could find no Reason, why we left the Church, but for three the most abominable ones, that were ever heard of among Christians: First, *Henry the Eighth* renounces the Pope’s Authority, because he would not give him Leave to part with his Wife, and marry another, in her Life-time: Secondly, *Edward the Sixth* was a Child, and governed by his Uncle, who made his Estate out of Church Lands.

And then *Queen Elizabeth*, who, being no lawful Heiress to the Crown, could have no Way to keep it, but by renouncing a Church that could never suffer so unlawful a Thing to be done by one of her Children. I confess, I cannot think the Holy Ghost could ever be in such Councils; and it is very strange, that, if the Bishops had no Design, but, as they say,

say, the Restoring us to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church, they should never think upon it, till *Henry the Eighth* made a Breach upon so unlawful a Pretence: These Scruples being raised, I began to consider of the Difference between the Catholicks and us; and examined them, as well as I could, by the holy Scripture, which, though I do not pretend to be able to understand, yet, there are some Things I found so easy, that I cannot but wonder, I had been so long without finding them out: As, the real Presence in the blessed Sacrament, the Infallibility of the Church, Confession, and Praying for the Dead. After this, I spoke severally to two of the best * Bishops we have in *England*, who both told me, there were many Things in the *Roman Church*, which, it were very much to be wished, we had kept; as Confession, which was, no doubt, commanded by God: That Praying for the Dead was one of the ancient Things in Christianity: That, for their Parts, they did it daily, though they would not own it: And, afterwards, pressing one of them † very much upon the other Points, he told me, That, if he had been bred a Catholick, he would not change his Religion; but, that being of another Church, wherein, he was sure, were all Things necessary to Salvation, he thought it very ill, to give that Scandal, as to leave that Church, wherein he had received his Baptism.

All these Discourses did but add more to the Desire I had, to be a Catholick, and gave me the most terrible Agonies in the World, within myself. For all this, fearing to be rash in a Matter of that Weight, I did all I could to satisfy myself; made it my daily Prayer to God, to settle me in the Right, and so went on *Christmas-Day* to receive in the

King's Chapel; after which, I was more troubled than ever, and could never be in Quiet, till I had told my Desire to a Catholick, who brought a Priest to me, and that was the first I ever did converse with, upon my Word. The more I spoke to him, the more I was confirmed in my Design; and, as it is impossible for me to doubt of the Words of our blessed Saviour, who says, The holy Sacrament is his Body and Blood; so I cannot believe, that he who is the Author of all Truth, and who has promised to be with his Church to the End of the World, would permit them to give that holy Mytery to the Laity but in one Kind, if it were not lawful so to do.

I am not able, or, if I were, would I enter into Disputes with any Body; I only, in short, say this, for the Changing of my Religion, which I take God to Witness, I would never have done, if I had thought it possible to save my Soul otherwise. I think, I need not say, it is any Interest in this World leads me to it: It will be plain enough to every Body, that I must lose all the Friends, and Credit I have here, by it; and have very well weighed, which I could best part with, my Share in this World, or the next: I thank God I found no Difficulty in the Choice.

My only Prayer is, That the poor Catholics of this Nation may not suffer for my being of their Religion: That God would but give me Patience to bear them, and then, send me any Afflictions in this World, so I may enjoy a blessed Eternity hereafter.

St. *James's*, Aug.
20, 1670.

* Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Blanford*, Bishop of *Worcester*.
† Dr. *Blanford*, Bishop of *Worcester*.

The Earl of *Strafford* Characterised, in a Letter sent to a Friend in the Country. Printed in 1641. *Octavo*, containing eight Pages.

Noble Sir,

I AM enforced to complain of your impetuous Commands, and the Tax you impose me, above all the rest of your Vassals, but especially of this of my Lord of *Strafford's*; as though I alone were inspired with an Illumination, beyond the Wisdom of the Parliament, which on so long Consultation hath not yet determined the articulate Point of your Question; yet thus much I shall positively deliver as a Part of my Belief: That, howsoever my Lord of *Strafford* be cried up for a most incomparable and accomplished Instrument of State, yet he is human, and subject to such Infirmities as were incident to our first Progenitors; and this is a Particular of my Faith, not of my Opinion.

But if it may satisfy your Curiosity, to be informed of the general Conceptions, I shall then present you, with as various a Collection of Votes and Censures, as there are Fancies in the several Factions, daily raised by the Work of Art and Time, which qualifyeth Poison, mollifieth Flints, and changeth the Face of all Things from their first Beings and Appearances, which have much befriended my Lord of *Strafford*.

But, whether his Lordship be guilty of high Treason, I cannot determine.

Sure it is many foul Things stick upon him by manifest Proofs, which neither his Fineness of Wit, nor all the Fig-leaves in Paradise can cover.

True it is the House of Commons stand stiff, to make good their first Charges, which are now enforced and prosecuted to the last Article, this very Day, which should it not prove Treason, on joint Rehearsal of the House, and so adjudged by the Lords, it would then seem to me to be a Strain of popular Fury, rather than the legitimate Issue of a Court of Parliament.

True it is, that, before the Quarter-part of the Accusations were charged upon him, he was by Way of Prejudication acquitted by many of both Sexes, and favoured not of a few of both Houses, and some of his Majesty's Council, and the Papistical Party, his Friends, and Followers, and generally by Ladies.

The first Reasons are best known unto themselves.

By the Second, for Respects due to their Patron.

By the Third, for Interests and Obligations of Dependency.

By the Fourth, if well considered, for many feminine and affected Considerations. As the natural Pity and Consideration of Women sympathising with his Afflictions, with the Sadness of his Aspect, their Facility with his Complacences, their Lenity with his pathetic Oration.

On the other Side, there is a rigid, strong, and inflexible Party, that say, if he be not found a Traytor, the Parliament must make him so for the Interest of the Publick.

And so I shall present you with the Inclinations of another Party, and of no despicable Number of Account, which pretend to have more Solidity of Judgment than to be carried away with private Interest, partial Respects, which seem to be touched with the King's, and the Commons Safety, and to be sensible of the Commons Sufferance.

And these commonly rip up his Life and Conversation together, with the Progress of his Estate and Fortunes, and all concluding for his Descent and Family to be of the noblest and highest Rank of Gentry, under the Degree of Baronage; his Patrimony so plentiful, as that it equalises most of the Barons of the Land; his Education noble, and to these of his own Acquisition of strong and able natural Parts.

And, if the Adage be true, that, *Multa ex vultu dignoscuntur*; and though they mark him for a wise and promising Face, yet they unhappily observe in him a dark and promiscuous Countenance, clouded, unlovely, and prefiging an envious and cruel Disposition. And this general Query is made of him:

What was that, which he would have had, who, Suspicion excepted, might have been a King at Home, had not restless Ambition, habituated in his Nature, interrupted the Course of his Repose, and disordered the many Felicity he had to have lived in Plenty, and died in Felicity?

But disquieted, as all Ambition is turbulent, in his Cogitations, and in his first Exposition, agitated by the Blasts of his own Aspirings, it is said of him that in his own Country he was transported by the Violence of his Will to carry all before him, and, come what would of it, to overthrow all that withstood him.

Of such predominant a Pitch he was in his own Constellation, and Propension, which could not rest there, but must break out into a wider Extent, for his Thoughts soared so high, as Men who knew him well affirmed, that he held himself injured by the State, that he came no sooner to the Helm.

Whither to come, he journeyed through a Wilderness of popular Acclamations, and affected the dangerous Name of Fame, of being Sovereign Protector of the Commonwealth.

For which he so much pretended, that in all Parliaments he became an other *Jacques de Ortelin*. And they aver it for Truth, that in those Times, his intimate Friends and Associates thought it Wisdom to shun his Conversation, so forward he was in Taxing the Motions of the King and State.

And, as it is said, not without a malignant Humour, and a repugnant Spirit, always withstood the King's Profit, and stinted the Parliamentary Contributions, at his own Will and Pleasure, crossing the Designs of State, and infusing, by his stubborn Example, a Spirit of Contradiction in the Assemblies of these Times; which how fatal they have been to ours, I leave to your Judgment, and which hath ever since bred an Aversion in his Majesty towards his People and his Parliaments.

An Office wherein they say he did far more Mischief, than in this for which he stands now arraigned for his Life.

And this is the Description or Abstract of the first Part of his Life, as he was the Minion of the People, which, they say, he esteems as the Folly of his Youth.

May you now be pleased to receive something of his second Act, as he was a Minister of the King's, into whose Service, as they say, and I think not untruly, he was purchased and bought from the Affections of the People, at a higher Price than all the Privadoes of *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*. For that this only Man hath cost, and lost the King, and Kingdom, more Treasure and Loyalty than *Pierce*, *Gaveston*, and the two *Spencers*, and the Marquis of *Dublin*, did ever cost, their being all put together.

And sure I am, it is the common Opinion of the Kingdoms, that should he be taken out of the Hands of Justice, and the Revenge of the

Publick made frustrate, and the Expectations of the three Kingdoms disappointed, who hath invaded the Whole, by the Power of his Counsels, and the Parties, by the grievous Oppressions of his Majesty's good People, wherefore he had to do, they say, that his Majesty's Dominions stand in greater Danger and Hazard, than ever; and, as it may fall out, to be of a more lamentable Consequence than is fit to be expressed.

How fatal may one Man's Ambition be, and his exorbitant Humour, work towards the Distraction of a State, which they do thus demonstrate by Way of Suspicion:

First, admitting the King's Affections, may be disposed, together with the great Party, which he hath in the Upper House, to acquit him and others.

And that, thereby the House of Commons should hold themselves bound by the Interest committed unto them by their Countries to make Protections against the Lords.

What then may become of a divided Body? *Secondly*, it is questioned, Whether any future Subsidies will be granted, Customs and Impositions be paid the King, without any Insurrection?

Thirdly, Whether the *Scots*, will depart the Kingdom; and if they should, whether on good Cause, they may not return, when they shall see a Division tend to a fatal Confusion, both in the Heart of the State, and in the Body of the Kingdom, rather than they will give Opportunity to the Papists and Libertines to come in for a Share?

Wherefore, it is generally concluded by the best and most impartial Judgments, That there is no Proportion between the Riddance of a few monstrous and exorbitant Members, and the general Safety of the King and his Kingdoms.

That there is a necessitated Policy, that my Lord of *Strafford*, the Bishop, and some others, should be given up as a just Sacrifice, to appease the People, and to make a Compensation for the Injury done to them and the Publick.

And thus have you the second Act of the great Vice-Roy's Progress, with the Opinion of all and the best Judgments here about the Town, which I find to be suitable to yours in the Country.

The *Jacobite's* Hopes frustrated, Or, the History of the Calamities attending the *French* Conquest. Licens'd November, 29. *J. Frazer*, 1690. London, printed for *Jeremiah Wilkins*, near the *Green-Dragon* Tavern, in *Fleet-street*, 1690. Quarto, containing twenty Pages.

IT is strange to see so many Men dissatisfied at their Majesties Proceedings, which have no other Tendency than towards the common Safety of their Subjects, that is expos'd to as great Dangers as any Country in *Europe*; and there are some Sort of People who are so mad, as to wish Success to the profess'd Enemy of their Country, out of a vain Hope, that they should fare better than the rest of their Neighbours, in case any publick Alteration should happen in the Government; nay, the Madness of these Men carry them yet further, as to believe themselves able to build their Fortunes upon the Ruin of their Country; I doubt not, if their Wishes did prevail, but these very Men would find themselves very much deceived in their Expectations, and should have as much Cause, as the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, to bemoan the common Calamity of their enslav'd Country.

We do not as yet understand the Doctrine of Bombs, and Carcasses, Contributions, and Military Executions; our Neighbours to their Sorrows know, that there is something more in these Words than a bare Sound; so many ruined Countries, so many defaced Cities, Towns, and Villages, are lasting Monuments of the Truth of it.

The Murmuring of these People is to be attributed rather to their Ignorance than their Malice; they do not know the Calamities that attend War: We have lived so long in Peace, that the greatest Part of us have no other Knowledge of it, than by Report; for, if we had partak'd in the Sufferings of the neighbouring Nations, we should be more unanimous in contributing our Assistance to stop that Torrent which threatens the Overflowing of all *Christendom*; if we were but sensible of the dreadful Consequences which a foreign Conquest brings along with it, we should think it

a very good Bargain to part with more than Half what we have to save the Whole, and to prevent that Slavery which may overwhelm us and our Posterity. In order to open our Eyes that we may see our Danger, and to unite us against the Common Enemy, in a Cause wherein the Interest of every individual Person is so deeply concerned, I shall briefly give an Account of those Miseries which our Forefathers felt under the *Norman* Conquest, and afterwards what Usage we are to expect from *Lewis the Fourteenth*, in case it should be our hard Fortune to fall into his Power, whose very Mercies are Cruelties; as it evidently appears by his Practices as well towards his own Subjects, as others, whom his Treachery, or his Arms, have reduced under his Dominion. As to the *Norman* Conquest, it will not be impertinent to shew something of the State of this Kingdom before that mighty Revolution happened, that we may the better see the Greatness of the Alteration which this foreign Conquest produced in our Ancestors Days, and to that Purpose I shall only consider the Condition of Affairs under the happy Reign of that pious King *Edward the Confessor*: In his Time the ancient Laws of the Kingdom flourished, the Government was administered by an equal Distribution of Justice to the Poor as well as Rich, every Man enjoy'd his Liberty and Property with great Security, Peace and Plenty appear'd in all the Parts of the Kingdom; but Providence had decreed, that those Halcyon-days should determine with the Life of that King, who died without Issue on the Fourth of *January*, 1066. The Kingdom should have descended to *Edgar Atheling*, being next of Blood, and Heir at Law to the deceased King; but, Prince *Edgar* being young, the Interest and Greatness of *Harold*, eldest Son of *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, prevailed with the Nobility to reject *Edgar's*

Edgar's Pretensions to the Crown, and to advance *Harold* to the Throne, who took upon him the Administration of the Government; and all the Nobility swore Allegiance to him.

Toftun, one of the Earl of *Kent's* Sons, envying the Prosperity and Advancement of his Brother, entered into a Confederacy, with *Harold* King of *Norway*, to invade *England* both by Sea and Land; *Harold* King of *England*, having Intelligence of their Design, made all the Preparations, he could, to withstand them. In the mean While, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, resolving to make his Advantage of these Distractions, raised a great Army; and prepared a numerous Fleet, which consisted of eight-hundred and ninety-six Ships, in order to make a Descent into *England*; he soon after hoisted Sail, and his whole Army landed at *Pemsey*, near *Hastings* in *Suffex*, on the Twenty-eighth of *September*, 1066; being landed, he caused all his Ships to be set on Fire, that his Men might see, that there was no Way left, but either to conquer, or to perish in the Attempt; he intrenched himself, and afterwards marched, with a considerable Body of Men, to *Hastings*, where he built a Fort; he published very strict Orders, that none of his Soldiers should plunder any of the Inhabitants, and kept himself so quietly, for the Space of fifteen Days, as if there was no Hostility intended at all; he pretended a Title to the Crown, by Vertue of a Gift from *Edward the Confessor*, as also by some Agreement, or Consent, made betwixt him and King *Harold*: But, whatsoever he pretended, it is certain, that he confessed, on his Death-bed, that he possessed himself of the Kingdom by no other Title, than by Conquest; and his Deportment towards the *English* made it evident, that he never intended otherwise.

The King, having given Battle to his Brother, and the King of *Norway's* Forces, and defeated them, but with the Loss of a considerable Number of Men, received the News of the Duke of *Normandy's* Landing in *England*; being flushed with his former Victory, he immediately directed his March towards *Hastings*, though his Army had been much weakened and lessened in the late Fight. His chief Commanders would have dissuaded him from engaging with the Enemy upon a sudden, lest the ill Circumstances, his Army was then in, might prove the Occasion of his Overthrow; but all the Arguments, they could

use, were of no Force to prevent his Design.

The Duke of *Normandy*, being advertised of the King's Approach, sent a Monk to him, in the Quality of his Ambassador, with Instructions to offer these Propositions to him: That either he should resign the Kingdom to the Duke upon certain Conditions, or hold it tributary of him; or else that they two, in the Sight of both Armies, should determine the Matter by a single Combat; and, in Case of Refusal, the Duke offered to refer it to the See of *Rome*.

But King *Harold*, being resolutely bent to fight his Enemy, whatever it should cost him, dismissed the Ambassador, telling him, That God only should be the Judge betwixt the Duke and him. All Thoughts of an Accommodation being laid aside, the Generals on both Sides drew up their Armies into Order of Battle; the King himself stood on Foot by his Standard, together with his two Brothers, *Girthe* and *Leofwine*, to the End that, in the common Danger, no Man should entertain the least Thought of saving himself by Flight; both Armies, being engaged early in the Morning, fought with various Success all that Day, till, towards the Evening, the King was killed by the Shot of an Arrow, which pierced his Brains; whereupon the *Englishmen* quitted the Field, and left the Duke an intire Victory. In this Battle fell the King's two Brothers, and most of the Nobility of the Kingdom. *John Taylor*, in his History of *Normandy*, relates, That there were slain, on the *English* Side, sixty-seven Thousand nine-hundred seventy-four; some other Historians say but forty-seven Thousand nine-hundred forty-four; of the *Normans* were killed six Thousand and thirteen, besides such as were drowned at Sea before his Landing.

The King's Death being known, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, two Brothers, the one Earl of *Merca*, the other Earl of *Northumberland*, having escaped from the Battle, came with their Retinue to *London*; they would have persuaded the Citizens to make one of them King, in order, if it were possible, to retrieve the Misfortune of the late Fight, but their Proposals would not be hearkened to; so the two Brothers went to *Northumberland*, in Hopes to secure themselves there, believing that the Duke would hardly come thither, being a Place so remote from *London*.

The two Brothers being rejected, the Nobility and the Citizens would have made Choice of *Edgar*, the Nephew of *Edmund Ironside*, to be their King; and did promise, that, under his Conduct, they would once more try the Fortune of the Kingdom, in a new Battle against the Duke; but, by Reason of the Danger that was so near at Hand, and the Discord which was amongst them, they did neither; so that the *Englishmen*, if they had unanimously agreed, might have repaired the Loss, which they had sustained in the Battle at *Hastings*; but, whilst they would have none of their own Country to be their King, they made Way for a Stranger to come and tyrannise over them.

While the *Londoners* were trifling away their Time in fruitless Debates, the Duke, though he determined to come to *London*, yet would not come the direct Way, which led thither, but marched up and down through *Suffex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire*, wasting the Country till he came to *Wallingford*, where he rested his Army for some Time; afterwards, passing the River of *Thames*, he continued his March through *Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire*, having burned all the Towns, and killed all the Inhabitants, they could meet with, in their Way from *Hastings*, till he came to *Berkhamstead*, where he made a Halt. Thither came to him *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, *Wolstone*, Bishop of *Worcester*, *Wilfire* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Clito* *Edgar*, and all the Noblemen about *London*, with many others, who all together submitted themselves, and swore Fealty to him, and delivered Pledges for their Fidelity; with whom also the Duke made a certain League, or Agreement; but, notwithstanding the said Submission and Agreement, he permitted his Men still to burn Towns, destroy the Natives, and to ravage all that stood in their Way, as they had done before.

A little before *Christmas*, he marched with his whole Army towards *London*, having his Scouts before him to observe the Manners and Behaviour of the People; who, upon the Arrival of the Scouts, were assembled in the Streets, and fully determined to oppose the Duke's Entry; who, being come to *London*, and finding the Inhabitants in that Posture, made a great and merciless Slaughter of them; who, when they saw they were not in a Condition to make any farther Resistance, sub-

mitted themselves to the Conqueror, and gave him Pledges for their future good Behaviour.

The Duke, having possessed himself of the Capital City of the Kingdom, was there, both by the *Normans* and *Englishmen*, chosen, and proclaimed King on *Christmas-day*, and, on the same Day, was crowned by the Archbishop of *York*.

Before I proceed any further in this tragical Story, it will not be amiss to give some short Account, how the *Kentish* Men came to save their Country, Lives, Laws, and Liberties, in the Midst of these Devastations, which overspread all the rest of the Kingdom, that our imprudent Malecontents may see what Effects an unanimous Resistance is capable of producing, in such Cases of Extremity.

The King, soon after his Coronation, took a Journey to reduce *Dover* Castle, and the rest of the County of *Kent*; the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Eglesine*, Abbot of the *Augustines*, being chief Lords of that Country, understanding the King's Design, caused all the People of *Kent* to assemble at *Canterbury*, where they declared to them, 'That, before the late Revolution, there were no Bondmen in *England*, and, that now, as well the Noblemen, as the common People, were made Subjects to the perpetual Bondage of the *Normans*, and persuaded them to provide for their Safety, from the miserable Example of an infinite Number of their Countrymen, who groaned under the Yoke of foreign Slavery; they likewise encouraged them to defend, manfully, their Lives, Liberties, and the Laws of their Country; and that they both, after the Example of the *Maccabees*, would be their Captains.' At a Day appointed, all the *Kentish* Men at *Swanecombe*, two Miles Westward from *GraveSEND*, hid themselves in a Wood, where they lay in Wait for the King's Coming; and it was agreed, that all, as well Horsemen as Footmen, should carry Boughs in their Hands; the next Day, the King came near *Swanecombe*, where he was mightily surprised to see himself, on a Sudden, inclosed round about by a moving Wood: When the *Kentish* Men had hemmed him in, they threw down their Boughs, sounded their Trumpets, and drew their Swords, &c. and shewed themselves in a Readiness to give the King Battle; the amazed King could not tell what to do in this Strait, to which he was reduced. Where-

upon, the Archbishop and the Abbot advanced towards him, and acquainted him with their Desires, and, in Case of Refusal, that they were all ready to die in the Defence of their Country; the King, who could do no otherwise, granted them every Thing they asked; and by this Means it was, that *Kent* preserved its Laws and Customs inviolable.

Having gone thus far in his Conquest, he received Homage, Fealty, and Pledges, from all the Noblemen, who submitted themselves to him; he thought this might be a sufficient Security for the Present, until he could find an Opportunity (as he afterwards did by Degrees) to extinguish them all.

It is the usual Policy of Conquerors, to bring as many Strangers, as they can, into the conquered Country, that they may be the better able to crush the Natives, and put it out of their Power to make any Insurrection, let their Sufferings be never so great; to this End, he brought, from *Roan* in *Normandy*, a great Number of *Jews*, who were a griping usurious Sort of People, whom he knew, that, by their covetous Artifice, would omit no Ways to make their Markets of the poor oppressed Natives.

The Conqueror had heard how all the *Danes* had formerly been massacred, in one Night, by the *English*; and, for Fear his *Normans* might be served in the same Manner, and also to prevent any Nocturnal Meetings and Cabals, he commanded, 'That, in every Town and Village, a Bell should be rung every Night, at Eight o'Clock, and that all People should then put out their Fire and Candles, and go to Bed;' which Order was punctually observed, during his whole Reign.

In the next Place, his Favourites and Soldiers, who had served him in this Expedition, must be rewarded for the Toil and Hazards they had undergone in his Service, to whom he shares the greatest Part of the Land of the Kingdom. *Taylor*, in his History, reckons six-hundred and thirty Families, who had the Foundation of their Fortunes grounded upon the Ruins of the *English* Nation.

Normandy, in his Absence, was inclined to revolt from him; being informed of it, he hastened thither, and carried along with him all the prime Noblemen of *England*, whom he suspected might raise any Disturbance in

the Kingdom, while he was out of it; having quieted *Normandy*, he returns, and lays an insupportable Tribute upon the *Englishmen*: It is observable, that the *English*, by these Sort of extravagant Impositions, defrayed the greatest Part of these frequent Wars, which he maintained beyond Sea, during his Reign over *England*. As a Conqueror, he well knew, that to impoverish them was the effectual Means, not only to lessen their Fortunes, but also to debase their Courage; vast Numbers of the Inhabitants (whereof many were of the Royal Family) were forced to fly into foreign Countries, to avoid the Cruelty of the *Normans*. *Scotland* was so replenished with these Fugitives, that there was no Parish, Town, or Village, in that Kingdom, but had several of them, whom the *Scots* employed in all their servile Drudgery.

Those of them, who could not make their Escapes, were reduced to that Degree of Necessity, that, rather than starve, they were contented to become Slaves to those, who, at that Time, first had Power of Life and Death over them. The Services, which they performed to their Masters, were the most vile Offices, that could be imposed upon Mankind; this was the Original of Bondmen in *England*.

Before the Conquest, there were few or no Inland Castles in this Kingdom, and, wherever Inland Castles are in Use, they are designed, for the most Part, rather to enslave the Natives, than protect them from foreign Invasions. The Conqueror was resolved to curb the *English*, and to enslave them, to that Degree, that there should be no Possibility left them, of recovering their lost Liberties; to that End, he caused a Castle to be built at *Nottingham*, two at *York*, and another at *Lincoln*, and a great many more in other Places, which were all garrisoned with *Normans*, who treated the *English* Inhabitants with all the Insolencies and Barbarities imaginable: This was the Reason of Building so many Castles, in so few Years after the Conquest; that, about the Reign of King *Stephen*, and *Henry the Fifth*, about eleven-hundred of these Castles were demolished by publick Authority, in Regard that, by that Time, they were become a most insupportable Grievance to the Nation.

The Conqueror practised all the Ways he could imagine, to extinguish, as well as impoverish the *English*; and, in Pursuance to that Design, it was his usual Policy to employ them always in his most desperate Service: He likewise made Use of every Opportunity, to engage the *English* in the Destruction of one another, and the Circumstances of Affairs afforded him an Occasion for it. Many of the *English* Nation, being fled into *Denmark* and *Ireland*, made War upon *England* several Times, in Conjunction with these two Nations. The Conqueror always made Use of *English* Armies, under *English* Leaders, to oppose them; and though Fortune commonly declared herself, in most of those Battles, in Favour of the *Norman* Conqueror, yet the Victory was seldom obtained without great Slaughter of the *English* on both Sides; neither did he care how many of them perished, provided the Consequence was not destructive to his Interest.

When he came to be well fixed in the Possession of his new Conquest, he degraded the few Noblemen that were left, and conferred their Titles and Estates upon his own Countrymen, to the Intent, that no *Englishman*, of any Quality or Interest, should be left in the Nation: He would often glory in this Piece of Policy, and as often deride the Imprudence of that good-natured King, *Cnutus the Dane*, who, having subdued *England*, restored the *English* to their former Possessions; whereby it came to pass, that, after his Death, they easily expelled the *Danes* out of the Kingdom, and reinstated the *Saxon* Line upon the Throne. It is commonly a Conqueror's Policy, to abolish all that was in Use amongst the conquered People; neither was he wanting in that Respect, for he altered most of the Laws and Customs of the Country. Their very Speech was so much abhorred, that the Laws were pleaded in the *French* Tongue, and the Children, in Schools, were taught their Letters, and Rudiments of Grammar, in the *French* Language.

He charged upon the Nation three-score-thousand Knights Fees, which provided him so many Horsemen, well accoutred, whenever he had Occasion to make Use of them: The Possessions of the Clergy were not exempted from this Service, which, in all former Ages, had been privileged from all temporal Incumbrances.

The King had given the Earldom of *Northumberland* to one *Robert*, surnamed *Cummin*, who marched thither, with a considerable Body of Men, to take Possession of his Earldom; the *Northern* People, hearing of his Coming, prepared to resist him, and, at *Durham*, they destroy him, and rout his Party. The King comes with an Army to the North, to revenge the Death of the Earl; in his March, he killed and plundered all he met with; and, when he arrived in the North, he committed such a general Devastation, that, the next Year, there was so great a Dearth throughout all *England*, and especially in *Northumberland*, and the Countries next adjoining, that Men were forced to eat Horse-flesh, Cats, Dogs, and Man's Flesh. And all the Land, betwixt *Durham* and *York*, lay waste, without Inhabitants to till the Ground, for the Space of nine Years following.

He plundered all the Monasteries and Abbies in *England*, of all their Gold and Silver, not sparing even the Chalice and Shrines; in these Places he found vast Sums of Money, which were hid there, by other People, for Fear of the *Normans*.

Having ruined the Laity, he was resolved the Clergy should fare no better; he hindered all the *English* from being preferred to any vacant Churches, and, to rid his Hands of those that were in Possession, by the Consent of the Pope, he summoned a great Council, to be held at *Winchester*, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other Bishops, Abbots, and others, were deprived of their Livings, to make Room for the greedy *Normans*.

He oppressed the *English* Nobility and Gentry so intolerably, with a Design to force them to rebel against him, that from thence he might have a more colourable Pretence, to destroy them and their Families.

What I have in particular said of this Conquest, is not the twentieth Part of the People's Sufferings, neither will my intended Brevity permit me to enlarge upon this Subject; for, if all the Burnings of Towns, Slaughters of People, the several Torments which were inflicted upon the Inhabitants, and the Oppressions of all Sorts, which they endured, were mentioned, it would afford Matter enough for a Volume; but what I have declared, is sufficient to let us see what Miseries our Forefathers underwent, as also to oblige

as many of us, as have a Grain of Sense, or Courage left, to exert our utmost Abilities, to prevent the like Destruction from falling upon these populous and flourishing Kingdoms.

Our Malecontents are very much mistaken, if they expect any better Usage from a *French Conqueror*, at this Day, than their Ancestors did meet, in former Times, from the Taskmasters of the same Country: For let them assure themselves, that *Lewis the Fourteenth* is as well versed in the Methods of Villainy and Cruelty, as ever the *Norman* was, or could pretend himself to be; his Arts do far outdo all that went before him, for, besides the Calamities which our Forefathers suffered, he hath others in Store, which are much more insufferable, some of which follow:

First, You shall have a King, that fears neither God nor Man, that never observes his Oath, nor keeps any Promise, made with his Subjects or Strangers.

You shall be governed by a Prince, that is arbitrary in the highest Degree; your Lives and Fortunes will be absolutely at his Disposal, who values the Life of a Subject, not so much as another Man values the Life of an ordinary Dog.

Forts, Citadels, and Standing Armies will be your continual Plagues.

Nobility and Gentry must down, and betake themselves to the Plough, to make Room for the insolent Monsieur.

A Dog's Life (Hunger and Ease) will be much better than yours, for you must be very industrious, though the Fruits of your Labour must wholly result into the King's Coffers; you shall sow Wheat, but shall not eat one Bit of the Bread thereof, throughout the whole Year.

You shall be continually subject to as great a Burthen of Taxes, as your Backs can bear, or your slavish Industry pay. To prevent Extravagancy, you shall be constrained to wear the meanest Cloaths, and, for good Husbandry, you shall trot about in wooden Shoes, *Alamode de France*.

These are the Blessings, which a *French* despotical Power brings along with it. But this is not all that a Protestant Country is to endure under the Monsieur's Tyranny, for he will make your Souls suffer, as well as your

Bodies; and, therefore, I shall give you a short Account of the compendious Means, he will make Use of, to pervert Protestants to the idolatrous Popish Religion: He will send his infallible apostolick Dragoons amongst you, and this is their Way of Discipline, in Case you do not readily comply with them. The first Compliment they use, is to quarter themselves, by Violence, in your Houses, and take especial Care you do not make your Escapes, or hide any of your Goods or Effects; then they will proceed to consume all the Provisions you have in your Houses, and seize upon all Money, Rings, Plate, Jewels, &c. and, in short, whatever they can lay Hands on, and, afterwards, will expose your Goods to publick Sale, to the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

Having thus disposed of your Goods, in the next Place, they fall upon your Persons, and there is no Wickedness, or Horror, which they will not put in Practice, to force you to change your Religion; they will hang Men and Women, by the Hair or Feet, on the Roofs of the Chambers, or Chimney-hooks, and smook them with Wisps of wet Hay, till they will be no more able to bear it; and when they have taken them down, if they will not sign to what shall be proposed to them, they will hang them up immediately.

Another Way they make Use of, is, To throw People on great Fires, kindled for that Purpose, and forcibly keep them there, till they are half roasted; they also tie a Rope under their Arms, and plunge them to and fro into Wells, till they promise to quit their Religion and Conscience; and, in this Posture, with a Funnel filled with Wine, they pour it down their Throats, till the Fumes of it deprive their Reason, and then they obtain their Consents to be Catholics, as they call them.

Others they strip stark-naked, and, after having offered them a thousand infamous Indignities, they stick them with Pins from Head to Toe.

Some they cut, in several Places, with Pen-knives; and sometimes, with red-hot Pincers, they take them by the Nose, and, after that, drag them about the Room, till they promise to comply.

Others

Others they beat with Staves, and drag them, all bruised, to the Churches, where their forced Presence will be accounted for an Abjuration.

Some they keep from Sleep, for seven or eight Days together, relieving one another, to watch their Night and Day, to keep them awake continually.

They use to throw Buckets of Water, and torment them a hundred Ways besides, holding, over their Heads, Kettles turned downwards, and drum upon them continually, till the poor Creatures have lost their Senses.

If they find any Sick (either Men or Women) that keep their Beds, distempered with Fevers, or other Diseases, their Way is, to bring about twelve Drums, beating an Alarm, at the Bed-side, for whole Weeks together, without Intermission.

It is their usual Practice, upon these Occasions, to tie Fathers and Husbands to the Bed-posts, and ravish their Wives and Daugh-

ters before their Faces. They pluck off the Nails of the Hands and Toes of others; they blow up some with Bellows, even till they are ready to burst.

These, and ten-thousand other villainous Ways, the Jesuitical Spirit hath found out, to make new Converts; whoever hath the Curiosity to see them, let him but peruse the History of the Persecution of the Protestants in France, and he will find, that the ten primitive Persecutions were but Mercies, in Comparison of those monstrous Torments, lately invented, and put in Practice upon those miserable Creatures, by the Order of the Christian Turk, *Lewis the Fourteenth*.

If you fall into French Hands, you see what is like to become of you; your Bodies will be condemned to irretrievable Slavery; and your Souls (as far as it lies in their Power) shall be consigned to the Devil. If you are not so wise, as to regard either Body or Soul, I have done with you, and so farewell.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost: Or, England's Forewarner. Discovering a secret Consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spain. Together with his Tormenting of Count de Gondomar; and his strange Affrightment, Confession, and publick Recantation. Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subversion of England.

*Cresce, cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce,
Quod spero sitio, vah sitio, sitio.*

Destruction and Unhappiness is in their Ways, and the Way of Peace have they not known; there is no Fear of God before their Eyes, Psal. xiv. 7.

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ALTHOUGH the Liberty of these Times (wherein your Courants, Gazettes, Pasquils, and the like, swarm too abundantly) hath made all News, how serious or substantial soever, liable to the jealous Imputation of Falshood; yet this Relation, I assure you, although in some Circumstances it may lean too near the Flourish of Invention, yet, for the Pith or Marrow thereof, it is as justly allied to Truth, as the Light is to the Day, or Night to Darkness.

To hold thee, then, gentle Reader, in no further Suspence, be pleased to understand, that, some few Days after the Solemnity of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, according to the *Roman* and *Spanish* Computation, it pleased the Majesty of *Spain*, *Philip the Fourth*, to retire himself to his delicate House of Pleasure, called *Casa del Campo*, situated near the Town of *Madrid*, or *Madriill*, where his standing Court, for the most Part, continually remaineth: And the nearest in Attendance unto him, next to the Count de *Olivares*, was the Count de *Gondomar*, the arch Enemy to the flourishing Estate of our *England*, and the Fox, whose Stench hath not cured the Palsy, but rather impoisoned and brought into an Apoplexy many noble, and sometimes well deserving, *English* Hearts. Neither was the King, for his Pleasure, retired to this House of Pleasure, but rather through the Necessity of some special Affairs, the greatest whereof seemed to be gathered from the last Attempt of the *English* upon the Fort and Castle of *Punetall*, and the Town of *Cadiz*, or *Gales*; wherein, though the Loss was not so great or material as might either make the Assailant or Assailed offer Roses, or Nettles, upon the Altar of Fortune; yet, the Affront seemed to strike a more deep Impression in the Hearts of the *Spaniards*, than could be well taken away with Scorn, which is the Ensign of their Pride, or with the Hope of future Advantage, which only gives Life unto their Envy and Malice.

And, therefore now at this Time and in this Place, after many Consultations held with the Earl of *Gondomar*, whom the whole World baptised the *Butt slave*, or *Incendiary* of *Christendom*, the *Intelligencer*, *Ambassador*, and *Jesuitical Archbishop Ledger*, as his Practices in our Nation hath well witnessed, touching some notable Revenge to be had against

the State of *Great-Britain*, being the only Jewel on which *Spain* had long since fixed her Heart, to make her universal Monarchy every Way full and perfect, he is, by Command from the King, in the Person of the Count *Olivares*, to make his Appearance before the Pope's Nuncio, the Duke of *Lerma*, the Duke of *Cea*, the Duke of *Infantazgo*, and the Constable of *Castile*, who had a special Commission signed for that Purpose, and to deliver unto them all those secret Advantages, which he had, either by the Experience of Time, the continual Labour of his Brain, the Corruption of his Bribes, the Threatenings and Insinuations of his Popish Priests, the petulant Flatteries of his Papistical *English* Mistresses, diving into their Husbands Counsels, or, by any other direct or indirect Means, won unto himself a Knowledge or Instruction, for the Alteration or Subversion of that brave and flourishing *British* Monarchy. And, in this Charge, the Count de *Olivares*, according to the State and Magnificence of the *Spanish* Reservations, began to make a great Flourish of many demure and austere Circumstances unto the Earl of *Gondomar*, concerning the Greatness of his Engagement, the high Trust reposed in his singular Knowledge, and the infinite Expectations the King and the whole State had fixed upon the Wisdom of his Proceeding; adding thereunto sundry Admonishments, or Caveats, to call into his Remembrance, touching many Alterations in the State of *Great-Britain*, some defensive, some offensive, since his last Abode or Commencement in the same; and, amongst the rest, as a Thing of most especial Note, the Count began to repeat many Relations, which *Gondomar* himself had delivered unto him, touching the general Warlikeness of the *British* Nation, affirming, that he had heard him say, That he had seen the very Children and Boys in the Street make their Sport and Play a School of War, and, by Imitation from elder Knowledges, to express, in Child-play, the very Excellency and Perfection of Martial Discipline; which had summoned in him both Matter of Passion and Admiration, that he had often cried out, *What will the English do? Every Child will be an Hercules, and kill a Serpent in his Cradle.* This, *Olivares* told him, was but a small Shadow, or little Prick, to express a much greater Sublance now in Use; for, since the Death of King

James of ever living and famous Memory, the *Englishmen*, who, for the Space of twenty-two Years before, had, but as it were, dallied and played with Arms, rather seeking to affect it for Novelty than Necessity, were now, in one Year's deliberate and material Exercise, become so singular and exquisite, that the *Netherlands* blushed to see themselves overgone in a Moment, and that to be made familiar in an Instant, which they had laboured to obtain to in divers Ages.

Besides, *Olivares* assured him, that he had received infallible Intelligence out of the Archduchess's Countries, that an hundred and odd of the best experienced Soldiers, or Firemen (being all *English*) were sent from the States of the United Provinces, into *Great-Britain*, to educate and instruct, in Martial Discipline, every several Country and Province, inasmuch that the whole Island was Nothing now but a Nursery of excellent and exquisite Soldiers.

To this, *Gondomar* replied, that he had, from certain Jesuits in *England*, received the like Intelligence, and with this Addition, that those excellent selected Men in the *Low-Countries* found their equal School-Fellows, nay, many Tutors and experienced Masters, when they came into *England*; so that indeed their Necessity did but convert to Superfluity and a little Loss, to some that were of much better Deserving.

Yet, said *Gondomar* further, for my own Part, though this make much for our Terror and Amazement, and that we must, with *Curtius*, leap wilfully into a Gulph of certain Ruin, before we can hope for Revenge or Triumph, yet doth this new Military Course little move my Blood; for, though I must confess the *Netherlands* to be the only unparalleled School of War in the whole World, yet the only Thing it teacheth, is, Form and Fire, Intrenchment and Besiegement; but for the Use of the Sword, Push of the Pike, Bringing of Grosses Body to Body, and Hand to Hand, the Exercise of every private Strength, and the Fortune of Battles, Things which the *English* must of Necessity be exposed unto, *Hec raro aut nunquam*; and therefore, my Lord, I tell you, I more quake when I see an old *Irish* Commander drilling an *English* Company, who never beheld an Enemy, but he felt his Sword and knew his Target, than, when I see Infinites of golden Fellows, teaching Men only dance to the Tune of *Posture*, or fram-

ing *Chimera's* in their Brains, whether the Pike and the Bow, or the Pike and Dragoon, or Pike and long Pistol, be of greater Importance: But of these Things we shall have a larger Time to discourse and think upon; it sufficeth me that I know my Royal Master's Pleasure, and your honourable Instructions, all which I will study to satisfy: Only divers Things are (through other Employments) laid, as it were, aside from my Memory, not utterly forgotten; therefore I beseech I may have the Respite of some few Hours, to reckon with my former Knowledge, and so yield up the whole Sum of my Duty and Service.

To this, *Olivares* seemed exceeding willing, and so, for the Earl to make Choice of his best Time, they departed one from the other; *Olivares*, returning to satisfy the King, and *Gondomar*, taking his Litter, went back to *Madrid*, where, what Contention grew between him and his old acquainted Mischiefs, how every Minute he produced new and unnatural Cocks-Eggs, brooded them from the Heat of his Malice, hatched them from the Devilishness of his Policy, and brought forth Serpents able to poison all *Europe*, is a Discourse monstrous and almost inexpressible; I will therefore omit this Mutiny of his troubled Thoughts, and only pitch upon this one Accident, no less strange than memorable; wherein, as in a Mirror, every Eye may behold the Weakness of a guilty Thought, and how easily Frailty is surpris'd and overcome, when it encounters with these two main Enemies of our Blood, Fear and Amazement.

It so fell out, the Morning before the Noon on which *Gondomar* was to appear before the designed Commissioners, partly to refresh his perturbed Spirits with the pure Air, and to recollect unto himself all those Thoughts and Circumstances, which might make a glorious Passage for the huge and monstrous Body of Mischief, wherewithal he was, that Day, in Labour; that he caus'd his Attendants to bring him in his Litter to the *Prada*, near unto the City of *Madrid*, being a Place of Recreation and Pleasure for the Nobility and Gallantry of *Spain*, not much unlike to our new *Moorfield* Walks, near to the City of *London*, only, that this is more private and reserved; for, as ours is common to all Men of all Sorts, so is this *Prada* only but for the King, the *Grandees* of *Spain*, the Nobility, and some Gentlemen of the uppermost or best Quality.

After *Gondomar* had, in this Place of Recreation, taken a Turn or two in his Litter, whether he found his Ruminations disturbed with the uneasy Pace of his Mules, or, that that he had not Elbow-room enough in his Litter, to give Action and Grace to many of those damnable Thoughts, which, in that Hour, gave him singular Contentment, for the *Spaniard* is not of our dull *English* Quality, to let his Words pass from him as neglected Strangers, or Thoughts out of the Compass of his dearest Familiarity, but rather as dear Children, or choicest Friends, to lend them Admiration with his Eyes and Hands, to adorn them with Expectation in the Shrug of his Shoulders, and, with a Thousand other mimic Gestures, to make a Speech that is as trivial and unseasoned as Folly itself, to appear as serious as if it were a *Delphian* Oracle; upon some one or other of these *Spanish* Disguits, this Fox (our Earl) unkennels himself, and makes his Servants take him from his Litter; then, placing his Chair (the true sworn Brother, or, at least, the nearest Kinsman that might be to a Close-stool) under the Shadow of certain Trees, in a Walk more reserved than the rest, he commanded his Attendants to withdraw themselves; and he had Reason so to do for two principal Respects: The first, lest his antick Postures, Mumps, Moes, and Monkey-wry Faces might draw Laughter, or Scorn from his Vassals; or, lastly, lest the Violence of his Study and Meditations might make some Words fall from him, which he thought too precious for another Man's Bosom.

Being obeyed in all his Commandments, and seated thus alone by himself, only guarded by his two choice Friends *Malice* and *Mischief*, he had not called up many evil Thoughts to appear before him, when, on a sudden (according to the Weakness of his Apprehension) there shined round about him a most glorious and extraordinary Light, which might be taken rather for Fire and Flaming, than Shine or Glittering; and this appeared so suddenly, spread itself so largely, and increased so violently, that Terror, Fear, and Amazement, at one Instant, rose upon the Heart of the Earl, and, with their cold Qualities, did so stupify, dull, and contract all his Spirits, that, as if he had seen *Medusa's* Head, the poor Don was become altogether a Piece of Ice or Marble; he had no Spirit to remember there were Spirits; his Crossings and Blessings, his Holy Wa-

ter, and his *Agnus Dei*, his Monks Charms, and his Jesuits Conjurations, were all now turned to Quaking and Trembling, to Staring and stark Madness, to Gaping and Groaning, to Want of Words through Strife for Words, and, indeed, to what not that might shew the Singularness of a perplexed Astonishment! His Night-cap throws his Hat in the Dust, and his Hair makes his Cap fly into the Air like a Feather; he doeth Reverence, but sees no Saint; would fain utter either Salutations or Curfes but knows not by what Name to call his Controuler: In the End, starting and standing upright, seeming to see what he would not see, or to find out that with Curiosity, which he had rather lose with the best Care of his Spirits; straddling like a *Colossus*, as if he neither respected present Perils, nor feared those which were further off, he looked as if he would look through the pure Air, and, though it have truly no Colour, yet was his Search so diligent, that he appeared to find out a constant Complexion; yet all was but his new Fear, which neither his Manner of Life (which had ever been desperate, subtle, and reserved) the Condition of the Times (at that Time and in that Place, free from Perplexities and Incumbrance) the State of his Affairs (rather rising than declining) nor his present Negotiations, strong enough to have encountered with any *Goliath's* Amazement, was able now to keep constant any one Joint about him: I have read, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had like to have died at the Sight of the nine Worthies, which a Magician had discovered; but, our Don *Gondomar* is like now to die at the Sight of Nothing but Air, and his own Imagination, for he had every Symptom of Death about him, as a Body trembling, a Stomach swelling, Forehead turned yellow, Eyes dead or sinking, a Mouth gaping, and what not that could say, our Don is now upon the Pitch of departing. They say, that great Princes should never see the Portraiture of Fear, but upon their Enemies Backs; sure I am, *Gondomar* now saw both Fear and Cowardice upon his own Heart. But why should I drive you off with more Circumstance? The Nakedness of the Truth is, that, as he gazed thus fearfully about, there appeared, or seemed to appear before him, the Ghost of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, a noble famous *Englishman*, and a renowned Soldier: At this Apparition, the Earl fell down flat to the Earth upon his Face (for backward

he durst not, lest he might give an Offence to his Surgeon) and yet the Posture, in which this noble Gentleman appeared, however fearful to the Guilt of *Gondamar's* Conscience, was amiable and lovely to any pure and honest Composition, for he was armed at all Pieces, and those Pieces of Silver, which is the Ensign of Innocence and Harmlessness: In his right Hand, he brandished his Sword, which was an Instrument that had been ever fatal to *Spanish* Practices, and, had not the Edge been taken off by this Fox's Subtleties, I persuade myself, by this Time, it had near made a new Conquest of the *West-Indies*; in his left Hand, he seemed to carry a Cup of Gold filled with Blood, which Blood he sprinkled, some upon *Gondamar*, and some upon the Ground, uttering, in an hollow and unpleasant Voice, these or the like Words following:

Cresce cruor, sanguis satiatur sanguine, cresce, quod spero sitio, ab sitio, sitio.

Gondamar's Attendants, who had all this While, afar off, beheld their Lord's Actions, seeing him now falling down in this Trance, came with all possible Speed running unto him; but, before they could offer an Hand to his Assistance, they might hear him utter Words of that strange Nature and Quality, that their Fears bridled their Charities, and they were rather willing to let him lie still, bending their Attentions to his Words, than by a too officious Disturbance, to break off any Part of that Discourse which might make for the Bettering of the Knowledge of the State, or otherwise be applied to future Service, at which these unnatural and abortive Accidents ever point; and, therefore, fixing their Eyes and Ears constantly upon him, as he lay groveling on the Earth, they might hear these, or Words much like unto these, proceed from his perplexed and amazed Spirit:

Blessed Soul, noble Sir *Walter Raleigh*, What have I to do with thy Goodness, or wherefore hast thou left the Peacefulness of thy Rest, to torment, and call me to Account, before the prefixed and full Day of my Trial be come, and that I must stand Face to Face with thee, and a World of others, before the greatest Tribunal? I can confess mine Iniquities, and that I have been to the King my Master, as *Borgia Caesar* was to Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, an Instrument willing to take upon me any or all Manner of Sins, how odious or vile soever, so I might but make

Spain look fresh, and that those Imputations, which otherwise might have drowned her, might be but put into the Catalogue of my Services, though Defame and Curses were heaped upon me, in much greater Quantities than *Ossa*, *Pelion*, or *Pindus*. I do confess, I have been the very Nose of the *Spanish* State, through which hath been voided all the Excrements, both of the Head and the whole Body: I have been a Channel, or a Common-sewer, to the Church of *Rome*; and what either Pope, Priest, Knave, or Jesuit, could invent, I have not left to put in Practice: I knew the Odiousness of Conspiracies, and how hateful they are both to God and Man, yet had I never the Power to leave Conspiring: I knew both, that the Law of God, and the Law of Honour, tied Princes to detest Conspiracies, and had many Times read over that notable History of *Lewis the Eleventh*, and could repeat the noble and famous Praises which all *Europ*: gave him, for advertising his Arch-enemy, the Duke of *Burgundy*, of an Attempt against his Person: But what hath this wrought in me? Certainly, nothing but more Flame, and more Fuel, so long as my Thoughts were busied with the Study and Remembrance of an universal Monarchy.

I confess, I have many Times said, however I have believed, that those great ones, which seek to make away their Enemies, otherwise than by Justice, or the Event of War, shew Minds base and cowardly, and that their Souls are empty of true Courage, fearing that which they should scorn. I confess, I have admired the Goodness of *Paritius*, who delivered into *Pyrrhus's* Hand the Slave that should have poisoned him. I have made *Tiberius Caesar* a Demy-god, for answering a King of the *Celtes*, which made him an Offer to poison *Arminius*, 'That *Rome* did not use to be revenged of her Enemies secretly and by Deceit, but 'openly and by Arms;' but have I pursued this honourable Track? Have any of my ghostly Fathers, the Jesuits, or my Masters, the Inquisitors, given Examples for these Restrictions? No, their Lessons are of a clean contrary Nature; they say, *Flaminius* was an honest Man, when he made *Prusias* the King of *Bithynia*, violate all the Laws of Hospitality and Virtue, in the Murder of *Hannibal*; but the whole Senate condemned the Action for most odious, accused *Flaminius* of Cruelty

and Covetousness, of vain Glory, and of Ostentation : And questionless, had they had any Touch or Feeling of Divinity or Christianity; they could not have found any other Rank for him, than that next unto *Judas* : These fair Paths I have known, but these I have forsaken : And, as *Flaminius* was the Cause of *Hannibal's* Death, out of an ambitious Emulation, that he might, in the Histories of succeeding Times, be made notorious and eminent for so foul an Action : So I must confess, I, that have, the whole Course of my Life, laboured continually in the deep Mine of Policy, have not spared any Blood, how excellent soever, so I might be remembered in our after Annals, for one of the chief Master Workmen, which went to the Building up of the King my Master's Universal Monarchy : And, in this, I must confess, most blessed Soul, that thy Death, thy untimely, and to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, much too early Death, which with all Violence, and with all the Conjurations, Persuasions, and Examples, that could tie and bind together the Hearts and Bodies of Princes, I did both plot, pursue, effect, and consummate, was one of the greatest Master-pieces, in which I ever triumphed ; I have made myself fat with thy Downfall ; and the Blood, which issued from thy Wound, was Nectar and Ambrosia to my Soul ; for from thy Ending I knew right well must proceed *Spain's* Beginning ; for never could the *Spanish* King say, as the *French* King did, *Je suis Roy seul*, I am King alone of the *Indies*, as long as *Raleigh* lived, whose Knowledge and Experience was able to divert, convert, and turn topsy-turvy all his Conquests, all his Proceedings. I say, the tottering Ground, whereon my King's Title to the *Indies* stood, that it was nothing but Violence and Force, Tyranny and Usurpation, and that, if a stronger or more gentle Army should enter, How easy it was to set us besides the Cushion ? This I knew thou knewest, and what not besides, which belongs to so great an Attempt and Triumph. I must confess, I have called up into my Mind the Honour, the Antiquity and Greatness of thy great Family, how rich thou wert in Blood and Friends, the whole West of the *English* Nation depending on thine Alliance : The Manner of thine Education, which was not Part, but wholly Gentleman, wholly Soldier ; the Endowments of thy Virtues, which was Learning and Wisdom ; the

Advancement of those Endowments, which was to be by the greatest, the best, the most renowned Princes that ever breathed in *Europe* ; and in the greatest Time, of the greatest Actions, the busiest Time of the most troubled Estates, the wisest Time for the Discussion of the most difficult Affairs, and the only Time that did produce the Excellency and Perfection of Wisdom, War, and Government, so that nothing could be hid from thy Knowledge, neither wouldst thou suffer any Thing to be concealed from thine Experience, for thou hadst ever a Mind actively disposed ; and howsoever thy Fortune was accompanied with all Manner of Felicities, Things able in themselves to have drawn thy Mind, from all other Objects, and to have settled thee upon this Theory, That Solitariness is the most excellent Condition belonging unto Mankind, inasmuch as in it he only findeth the true Tranquillity of the Mind, for nothing is wanting in that quiet Habitation ; Manna falls there, the Ravens bring Bread from Heaven ; if the Waters be bitter, there is Wood to sweeten them : If the Combate of *Amaleck* and *Edom* be there, the Triumphs of *Moses* and *Joshua* are likewise there, for what cannot a Life retired either suffer or cure in its Contemplation ? Yet all this thou didst neglect, and both contradict and disprove ; thou knewest this Life unfit for thy Greatness, and thou wert not born for thyself but thy Country ; thou knewest the Sea, wherein every great Soul should wander, had no Haven but the Grave, and that, as they lived, so they ought ever to die in Action. Hence it came, that even in the very Flourish and Glory of all thy great Estate, thou betookest thyself to the Seas, and what thou hadst before, by thy Purse, and infinite great Charge in the Actions of other Men, won and annexed to the Diadem of thy great Mistress, now thou dost, in thine own Person, take a View and Survey of the same, applying Knowledge to Report, and making thine own Experience a Countroller to other Men's Relations : I dare not, for the Honour of my Nation, unfold the woeful Perplexity, in which *Spain* stood during this tedious Voyage ; how she quaked to think of the general View which thou hadst taken, without Impeachment of all the *West-Indies* ; but most of all, when she was advertised of thy long and laborious Passage upon the River *Oronoko*, the Distinguishments which thou hadst made, betwixt it, and the River

River of *Amazons*; and the Intelligences which thou hadst gotten for thine Ascent to the great City of *Manoa*, and Kingdom of *Guiana*; Designs, which if they had been pursued according to thy Willingness and Knowledge, we had not, at this Day, acknowledged one Foot of Earth for ours, in all the *West-Indies*: O the miserable Estate of *Spain*, if these Things had proceeded; she had then, which now threatens all, begged of all; and the Pistoles of Gold, and Pieces of Plate, wherewith it now corrupts and conquers Nations, had then been turned to Leather or Iron, or some other *Spanish* Stuff, more base and contemptible: Was it not now high Time to conspire against thee, to dig, mine, undermine, to enter into Familiarity with Male-contents, to seduce some, to bribe others, to flatter all; to preach a Thousand most damnable false Doctrines, for the Subversion of Princes, and the Destruction of their faithful Servants? Was it not Time for us to make Religion a Cloke for our Villainy, and under the Lamb's Furr to cover the Wolf's Policies? Believe me, blessed Shadow, had we either made Conscience of Sin, or Scruples for the Maintenance of Honour, we had not subsisted as we do, but had sadly lain, like those, which now lie captived below us. Can *Spain* ever forget thine Attempt, upon her own Confines, and in her securest Places? Call up *Cadiz* to Witness, she will shew you some of her Ashes; call the King's great Armada to Account, which was led by his twelve, supposed invincible Apostles, and the most of them must rise from the Bottom of the Seas, some must disembogue from your and our own Harbours: Let *Pharaoh* in *Portugal* speak, and she will confess that her Church will yet hardly cover her Idols. When I look upon the Islands of the *Azores*, methinks I see *Fiall* burning in the Flames, which you cast upon her, whilst all the rest bring in the Tributes of their best Wealths, to save themselves from perishing. Lastly, but not least, for from it I raised the Ground-work of thy fatal Destruction, I cannot but recount thine Action upon the Town of *St. Thomas*, standing upon the River of *Oronoko*, how fit it lay as a Bait to draw thee into Mischief, and how bravely it gave me Occasion never to desist till I saw thy Ruin; alas! Was that despised Town to be prized with thy Life, with thine Experience, with thine Ability to direct, or with the least Part of thine Actions?

No, it was not, only my Malice, made it ineffimable, and my continual Sollicitations, mine Imprecations, my Vows, mine Exclamations upon Justice, mine Instances on the Actions of pious and religious Kings, and the Darings of too bold and ambitious Subjects, was so importunate and violent, that but in the great Forfeiture of thy Blood, my Fury could find no Satisfaction; hence you fell, and that Fall was to me more than a double Banquet; for now methought I saw all Things secure about me: Now said I to myself, Who shall shake any one Stone in our Building; who shall give us Affright by Sea, or shew us the Terrors of the Land? What shall hinder us now to bring Home our Gold in Carviles, and our Merchandise in Hoys and Fly-boats; all is ours, the Ocean is ours, and the *Indies* are ours; this could we never boast before, yet this was my Work, and in this I triumphed.

At these Words, the Ghost appeared to shew Anger, and menacing him with Frowns, and the Shaking of his Sword, the poor Don, lifting up his Arms under his Cloke, shewed his red Badge of the Order of *Colotravia*; but, finding the Cross utterly void of Vertue, to divert that Charm, he began to cry out again in this Manner:

Do not mistake me, blessed Soul, in that I have said I triumphed, for I will now, with Grief and Repentance, buy from thy Mercy my Absolution. It is true, that then I triumphed, for what is he, that takes in Hand any Labour or Work, of high Consequence, but, when he hath finished it to Perfection, he sits down, and rejoiceth? So I, that saw (not afar off, but near at Hand) the infinite Hindrances, Rubs, and Impediments, which thy Knowledge, thy Valour, thy Command, and Experience, might bring to any Work, undertaken by my King, for the Advancement or Bringing forward of his universal Monarchy; and, when I pondered with myself, that no Nation, under Heaven, was so able in Power, so apt in the Nature and Disposition of the People, nor so plentiful in all Accommodations, both for Sea and Land, as this Island of *Great-Britain*, to oppose or beat back any, or all of our Undertakings: When I saw *France* busy, both at Home and Abroad; the *Low-Countries* careful to keep their own, not curious to increase their own: When I saw *Germany* afflicted with Civil Anger, *Denmark* troubled to take Trouble from

from his dearest Kinsman; the *Polander* watching of the *Turk*, and the *Turk*, through former Losses, fearful to give any new Attempt upon *Christendom*, and, that in all these, we had a main and particular Interest: When I saw every Way smooth for us to pass, and that nothing could keep the Garland from our Heads, or the Goal from our Purchase, but only the Anger or Discontent of this fortunate *British* Island: Blame me not then, if I fell to Practices unlawful, to Flatteries deceitful, to Bribery most hurtful, and to other Enchantments most shameful, by which, I might either win mine own Ends, or make my Work prosperous in the Opinion of my Sovereign. I confess I have, many Times, abused the Majesty of *Great-Britain* with curious Falshoods: I have protested against my Knowledge, and uttered Vows and Promises, which I knew could never be reconciled: I have made Delays sharp Spurs, to hasten on mine own Purposes, and have brought the swiftest Designs to so slow a Pace, that they have been lost like Shadows, and neither known nor regarded: I looked into your Commonwealth, and saw, that twenty-two Years Ease had made her grow idle: I saw the *East-Indies* eat up and devour your Mariners and Seamen, and Time and old Age consume and take away your Land-Captains; and, of all, none more material than yourself: Blame me not then, if I made thy End my Beginning, thy Fall the Fulness of my Perfection, and thy Destruction the last Work, or Master-piece of all my Wisdom and Policy. This is the Freedom of my Confession, and but from this Sin absolve me, and I will die thy Penitent in Sackcloth and Ashes.

At these Words, the Apparition seemed (in the fearful Imagination of the poor Don) to be more than exceeding angry, and looked upon him with such Terror and Amazement, that *Gondomar* fell, with the Affright, into a Trance, or deadly Sound, whilst the Ghost seemed to utter unto him these, or the like Words following:

To thee, whom base Flattery, Want, and Covetousness have gilded with these foolish and unfitting Hyperbole's, as to call thee, The Flower of the West, The Delight of Spain, The Life of Wit, The Light of Wisdom, The Mercury of Eloquence, The Glory of the Gown, The *Phæbus* in Court, *Nestor* in Coun-

cil, Christian Numa, and principal Ornament of this Time.

Lord *Diego Sarmiento de Acuna*, Most honourable Earl of *Gondomar*, Governor of *Menroyo*, and *Pennaroyo*, of the most honourable Order of *Colstravia*, Counsellor of State, one of the King's Treasurers, Ambassador for his Catholick Majesty to his Royal Majesty of *England*, Regent of the Town and Castle of *Bayon*, President of the Bishoprick of *Tuid* in *Galicia*, Chief Treasurer of the most noble Order of *Alcantara*, one of the four Judges of the sacred Privileges, Pronotary of the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Leon*, and *Galicia*, and Principality of *Asturias*, and Lord High-Steward of the most puissant *Philip the Fourth*, King of all the *Spains*, and of the *Indies*.

Lo thus I salute thee with thy true Stile, and eminent Inscription, according to thine absolute Nature, Quality, and Profession:

To thee then, that art The poisonous Weed of *Europe*, The *Atlas* of Spain's Sins and Conspiracies, The Devils's Fool, The Wiseman's Bugbear, The Mercury of knavish Policy, The Disgrace of Civility, The Buffoon in Court, *Ate* in Counsel, Atheist for the Pope's Advantage, and principal Intelligencer between Hell and the Jesuits.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Most dishonourable Earl of *Gondomar*, Poller and Piller of *Menroyo*, and *Pennaroyo*, of the rich covetous Order of *Colstravia*, Gazettist of State, one of the Consumers of the King's Purse, Intelligencer for his Catholick Majesty, against the Royal Majesty of *England*, Spoiler of the Town and Castle of *Bayon*, an ill Example to the Bishoprick of *Tuid* in *Galicia*, Chief Cash-keeper for the Order of *Alcantara*, one of the four Bribe-takers for the profane Privileges, Promoter for the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Leon*, and *Galicia*, and Principality of *Asturias*, and a continual Broker between the King of *Spain* and the Pope, and between the Jesuits, the Inquisitors, and the Devil.

Hearken to my Detection; and though I know thou canst steal and kill, swear and lie, weep and wound, and indeed do any Thing that is contrary to Truth and Justice; yet in this Accusation, Shame, and thine own putrefied Conscience shall be Witnesses so powerful and undaunted, that thou shalt not be able to resist any one Allegation or smallest Particlar.

To begin then with mine own End, though I know the Day of my Death was the greatest Festival that ever thy Fortune did solemnise, though it brought to *Spain* a Year of Jubilee, to thy Reputation *Absalom's* Pillars, and to every Papistical Minister in the World, the Praise of his Arts-master; yet poor despised Mortal, know, it was not you, but a more divine and inscrutable Finger, which pointed out my Destiny to this Manner of End and Destruction; neither is it fit for the Humility of ignorant Man to open his Eyes, as daring to presume to gaze on the radiant Beams of that Sovereign Power, which disposeth of second Causes, as he pleaseth; neither do I afflict thee as my particular Executioner, but as my Country's general Enemy: It sufficeth me, that the great God, who is Judge of Life and Death, hath disposed of my Life, and after this early Manner, that in it he might express the Effects of his Justice; therefore, trouble not thyself with my Death, which was thy Comfort, but be vexed at thine own Life, which is nothing but a continual Pilgrimage to Ambition, and an undermining Mole to dig down the Church of God, and to bring the Gospel of our blessed Saviour into eternal Captivity. Hast not thou been an untired Pack-horse, travelling Night and Day, without a Bait, and laden like an Ass, till thy Knees have bowed under the Burthen of strange and unnatural Designs, by which to advance thy Master to the universal Monarchy of all *Europe*? This thy Fear hath made thee confess, but this thy Flattery and Falshood will deny, should not the Efficacy of Truth make it most apparent and pregnant: Therefore, to enter into the first Streams from whence *Spain* hath gathered the great Ocean of its Sovereignty, there is no Fountain more remarkable than the Battle of *Alcazar* in *Barbary*, where the too forward Don *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, whether slain or not slain, engaging himself too unfortunately, gave Occasion to *Philip the Second* of *Spain*, to enter and usurp upon his Kinsman's Kingdoms, to expel Don *Antonio* from his Right and Inheritance, and as it is strongly supposed, to cause the true King himself to die in the Gallies; hence he became King of all the *Spains* and *Portugal*, pulled to himself the Sovereignty both of the Islands of the *Canaries*, and of the *Azores*; the one securing his Way forth, the other securing his

Way Home, from the *West-Indies*, and so made the Conquest thereof more safe and undoubted; he took also, by the same Interest, many Strong-holds, and merchantable Places, in the *East-Indies*, so that sitting now alone in *Spain*, without a Competitor, and having Treasure from the *West-Indies*, wherewith to pay Soldiers, and Merchandise from the *East-Indies*, wherewith to enrich his own Subjects, What could he, or what did he contemplate upon but the Augmentation of his Monarchy? Hence it came, that his War grew violent upon the *Low-Countries*, and under the Governments of the Duke of *Alva*, and Don *John*, Duke of *Austria*, the Tyrannies so insufferable, that all Manner of Freedoms were converted to Slaveries, and the Blood of the Nobility, made only Food for the Slaughter-house; yea such as were remote and stood farther off from his Cruelty, depending upon their own Rights and under the Cover of their own Guards, were not yet safe from *Spain's* Conspiracies; and that witness the Death and Murder of the famous Prince of *Orange*, the Imprisonment and Death of his eldest Son, and a World of infamous Practices against the Life of Count *Maurice*, the last Prince deceased, and against the Safety of Count *Henry* the Prince now surviving. What Incroachments were daily made upon these distressed Provinces, all the Princes of *Europe* blush to behold, and had not *Elisabeth*, my dread Lady and Mistress of famous and blessed Memory, taken them to her Royal Protection, they had long since been swallowed up in the Gulph of his Tyranny, and none of them, now living, had known the Name of free Princes; and as this Work was begun by *Philip the Second*, so it was continued by *Philip the Third*, and is now at this Hour as earnestly pursued by *Philip the Fourth*, and his Sister the Archduchess, and rather with Gaining than Losing; so that, should *England* but turn its Face a little away from their Succour, there would be a great Breach made in the Hope of their subsisting.

But you will answer, that if *Spain* had fixed down its Resolution upon an universal Monarchy, they had never then hearkened to a Peace with the *Netherlands*; to this thine own Conscience is ten-thousand Witnesses, that the Peace, which it entertained, was nothing else but a politick Delay to bring other,

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and imperfect Ends and Designs, to a more fit and solid Purpose, for Effecting of his general Conquest; for what did this Truce, but divert the Eyes of the *Netherlands* (which at that Time were growing to be infinite great Masters of Shipping) from taking a Survey of his *Indies*, and bring a Security to the Transportation of his Plate and Treasure, and make him settle and reinforce his Garisons, which then were grown weak and over-toiled, besides a World of other Advantages, which too plainly discovered themselves, as soon as the War was new commenced?

As he had thus gotten his Feet into the *Netherlands*, Had not *Spain*, in the same Manner, and with as much Usurpation, thrust his whole Body into *Italy*? Let *Naples* speak, let *Sicily*, let the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, the Dukedom of *Milan*, the Revolt of the *Valtolme*, and a World of other Places, some possessed, some lying under the Pretence of strange Titles, but come to give up their Account; and it will be more than manifest, that no Seignory, in all *Italy*, but stood upon its Guard, and hourly expected when the *Spanish* Storm should fall upon them. How many Quarrels have been piled against the State of *Venice*, some by the Pope, some by the King of *Spain*? How many Doubts have been thrown upon *Tuscany*? What Protestations have flown to *Genoa*, and what Threatenings against *Genova*? And all to put *Italy* into a Combustion, whilst the Pope's Holiness, and his Catholick Majesty, like *Saturn's* Sons, sat full gorged with Expectation to divide Heaven and Earth between them.

O! Was it not a brave politick Trick of *Spain*, neither was thine Advice absent from the Mischief, when the Difference fell between *Henry the Great of France*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, about the Marquisate of *Saluses*? The King then your Master, under Pretence of aiding the Duke, his Brother-in-Law, sent divers Regiments of *Spaniards*, which were quartered some in *Carbonieres*, some in *Montemellion*, *Savillan*, *Pigneroll*, and divers other Places, about *Savoy* and *Piedmont*; but when the Truce was concluded, Could the Duke, upon any Intreaty, or potent Message, make these *Spaniards* to quit his Country? No, by no Means, for they were so far from leaving their Foot-hold, having received divers Commandments to keep it, both from the Count de *Fuentes*, at that Time, Vice-roy of *Milan*, from thee

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by private Letters, and from the King your Master by sundry Commissions; that the Chiefs of those Troops peremptorily answered the Duke, that they would hold their Gettings, in Despight of all Opposition, and were indeed, full as good as their Words for a long Time; till at last, the Duke, forced thereunto, raised up a strong Army, and in a few Days put them all to the Sword. I would here repeat the *Spanish* Attempt against the Castle of *Nice*, being the very Key or Opener of an Entrance into the very Bowels of *Italy*; I could speak of the dangerous Quarrel, raised between the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, for the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, and how fatal it was likely to have been to the whole State of *Italy*, wherein *Fuentes*, and thyself, shewed all the Art of Practice that might be, which should become the Master Workman; but these Things are so pregnant and apparent, that they need little Discussion.

Let me now awaken thy Memory with some Stirrings up, or Practices against the Kingdom of *France*, no less but more pernicious than any of the former: Who was the Head or chief Sovereign (after the Death of *Henry the Third, King of France and Poland*) of that most unchristianlike Combination, intitled the *Holy*, but truly, *unholy League*? Was it not *Philip of Spain*, one of your most Catholick Masters, who made the great and valiant *Guise* his Sword and Servant, the old Queen-Mother his Intelligencer and Admirer, the Cardinals his Ministers and Seducers, and the Pope himself a prodigal Child, to bestow and give away whatsoever he required? Was not all this *Philip of Spain*, your Catholick Master? How long did he keep *Henry the Fourth*, surnamed, *the Great*, from his lawful Throne and Inheritance? What Cities did he possess? Even the greatest that *France* could number. What Countries under his Command? All that were rich or fruitful. And what Nobility had he drawn from their Obedience? Those that were most powerful and best beloved; insomuch that had not my most excellent Mistress, *Elizabeth*, of blessed and famous Memory, like a strong Rock against the Rage of a furious Sea, taken the Quarrel into her Hand, and by her Royal Protection, first under the Conduct of the Lord *Willoughby*, after under the Conduct of the Earl of *Essex*, staid and supported that reeling State, *France*, it is feared,

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at this Hour, had only spoken the *Spanish* Language; but God in his great Mercy had otherwise disposed of these Practices, and though with some Difficulties, brought the Crown of *France* to its true Owner; a Prince so absolutely excellent in every Perfection of true Honour and Magnanimity, that his Parallel hath not been found in all the History of *France*; and although he had in his very Youth, and almost Childhood, prevailed in divers Battles, as that at *Monconter*, and at *Rene-le Duke*; and although he had, been assailed in the Days of *Henry the Third*, and in the Space of four Years, by ten Royal Armies successively one after another, and sent one to refresh the other, and under the Conduct of great and most glorious Captains, against all which he prevailed, as witnessed his Victory at the Battle of *Contras*, and other Places; though he had given Succour to *Henry the Third*, and delivered him from his great Danger at *Tours*, bringing to his Obedience *Gargeau*, *Gien*, *la Charite*, *Pluviers*, *Estampes*, *Dourdan*, and divers other Places; though he had been generally fortunate in all his great Actions, yet after the Death of *Henry the Third*, this devilish Combination, or *Spanish Knot* of the League, is more ominous, fatal, and troublesome unto him, than all his former Undertakings; and he found that, although he might have come to the Crown of *France*, by Succession, which was the easiest Way, yet God, to try his Courage, to exercise the Force of his Mind, and to make a foolish Shadow, or *Ignis Fatuus* of *Spain's* Ambition, presented the most painful and difficult unto him, which was that of Conquest: He was forced to raise on Foot, by the Help of our *English* Nation, three Royal Armies, which he dispersed in three Provinces; the first into *Normandy*, where he was assisted by the Earl of *Essex*; the second into *Champaigne*; and the third into *Picardy*, where he was seconded by the Lord *Willoughby*, who brought him triumphantly into the Suburbs of *Paris*, and by the Blowing up of a Port, offered to deliver the whole City to his Subjection. The Earl of *Essex* did as much at *Roan*, but the King desired to win *France*, not to destroy it; yet before the Earl departed, he chased Rebellion out of the most Part of *Normandy*. The King gave his Enemies, the *Spanish* Faction, Battle upon the Plain of *Tury*, and won it, by which he re-

gained, in less than two Months, fifteen or sixteen great Towns, brought *Paris* to infinite Extremity, made the *Spaniards* with themselves on the other Side of the *Pyreneans*, and indeed, was such a general Amazement to all the unhappy *Leaguers*, that all stood agast, as uncertain, which Way to turn them.

This when your great Master beheld, and saw that all his Hopes were dying in an Instant, like a cunning Conjuror, he seeks to draw Fire and Lightning from Heaven, to consume what his Armies durst not approach, or disvalue; whence it came, that he rouses up *Gregory the Thirteenth*, then Pope, who, indeed, was the Oracle, or rather the Creature of *Philip* your Master, and makes him, of a common Father, between the Head of a rebellious and usurping Party, cast forth his Fulminations, with such Violence and Injustice, that the Bulls were taken and burnt, both at *Tours* and at *Chalons*; neither sent he out these Bulls by his ungodly and bloody Ministers, the Jesuits, or such like desperate and obscure Malecontents, but with an Army of a thousand Cackocks of watchet Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and Cyphers of Keys joined unto Swords; whose Errand was, to demand the Execution of these Bulls: Now, seeing the Difficulty wherein Affairs stood, upon the View of one-hundred Horse of the *French* King's white Cornet, they dare not, for all the Pope or the King of *Spain's* Hopes, or Commandments, abandon the very Shadow of the Walls of *Verdun*, but, like so many Foxes, lay lurking in their Kennels of Secularity, knowing they had to deal with Men, whose Swords were so well steeled, that they feared not the Lead of *Rome*; only, like so many Furies of Hell, they seek to break all Treaties of Peace, and made it an Action treasonable and most impious, to talk of an Unity between the Sovereign and the Subject.

But, for all this, great *Henry* lost no Time, for, *First*, he passed into *Normandy*, and secured his Friends there; thence he went into *Picardy*, besieged *Noyon*, and took it, even in the View of the *Spanish* Army, who, although they were three to one, yet durst not hazard the Battle; which Advantage the King wisely taking, and turning Head upon his Enemies, although he was advised to the Contrary by his chiefest Servants, yet his Cou-

rage bound him, rather to follow the Path of Danger with Honour, than that of Safety with Shame, saying as *Pompey* said, 'That, in striking his Foot against the Earth, he would raise up Legions'; so the Armies met together at *Aumale*, where though, upon the first Approach, the King was hurt with a Shot, yet he had Strength enough to cry, *Charge, Charge*; and, breaking through his Enemies, he put the Duke of *Parma*, and all his *Spaniards*, to a shameful Retreat; as this, so he beat his Enemies at *Bellencombe*, striped them at *Bure*, and made them to quit *Yvetot* with much Shame and Loss.

Thus this Royal King's Quarrel being just, and maintained by a good Sword, the Pride of *Spain* found, that, if the War continued longer, her Catholick Greatness could have more Wood to heat her Oven, than Corn to send to the Mill.

It is to no Purpose to speak of the Ruin of *Quibœuf*, the Recovery of *Espernay*, or that brave Assault, where eight Horses put three hundred to Rout; let it suffice me, in one Word, to conclude, That, in Despight of all the Engines, which the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, could use, *Henry of France* became triumphant, and your Master's universal Monarchy was turned topsy-turvy; nay, the League, the *Typhon* of Sedition, from whence sprung so many Serpents and Vipers of Disloyalty, was smothered under the *Ætna* of her own Presumption and Pride.

But did either *Spain* or *Rome* here stay their Malice? Fie, no, but rather *Anteus* like, they rose up with double Vigour, and, what publick War could not effect, private Practice and Conspiracy must bring to pass; for, before the great *Henry* was well warmed in his Throne, Hell, and the *Spanish* Gold, stirred up a Wretch, who undertook to kill him; the Tyger staid his Hand, at the Shining of a Glass, and, after his Apprehension, confessed, that he saw so much Piety and Zeal shining in the Eyes of this Prince, that he felt Horror in himself, to offend the sovereign Dignity ordained of God among Angels and Men. Hence it came, that all *France* beheld and took Notice of *Spain's* Ambition, and that, indeed, all their Labour was but to reduce that flourishing Nation to a private Province, which the Parliament of *Paris* (af-

ter it had vomited the Phlegm of temporising) taking to Heart, made forth a Decree, for the Dispersing and Banishing of all the *Spanish* Regiments; and now five great Dukes, formerly bewitched with Catholick Incantations, fall at the Foot of this great King, and confess how they were beguiled.

The first was the Duke of *Lorraine*, which obtained a general Peace for his Estate, through the Mediation of *Ferdinand*, the Archduke of *Tuscany*; the second was the Duke of *Mayenne*, who obtained Pardon, through the Wisdom of his Carriage, having still a watchful Eye, that no general Ruin might happen to the Kingdom; the third was the Duke of *Guise*, the Loss of whose Father and Uncle made his Interest the greatest in this Quarrel, yet had he the Honour to receive the King's first Embraces; the fourth was the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who, as soon as he had kissed the King's Hand, forsook the Troubles of the World, and betook himself to a solitary Life; and the last was the Duke *Mercure*, who brought to the King, not himself alone, but, with him, the Reduction of the goodliest Province in all *France*: To conclude, *Philip of Spain*, your Master, seeing upon what false Wheels his Engines ran, was content to intreat for Peace of this great Chieftain.

But did here Conspiracies and *Spanish* Plots end? No, nothing so; for, to come nearer to your own Touch, and to repeat Matters of thine own Prosecution, Is it not an History most remarkable, and, to *Spain*, most infamous, of that desperate Villain born at *Negrepelisse*, who, going into *Spain* upon some Discontents conceived against this great *Henry of France*, and, as it was strongly supposed, having taken some Directions from you, but full and material Instructions from the Devil's Post-horses, your Masters, the Jesuits, did, with all Violence, prostitute himself to murder this most Christian King; but the Matter being so important, and carried through so many several Hands; had lost so much Strength of Secrecy, that an Inkleling thereof came to the Ears of *de Barrant*, then ordinary Ambassador in *Spain* for the King of *France*, who instantly, out of Duty, and the Hatred which every true Christian ought to bear against these odious and most atheistical Practices, complained to the Pope's Nuncio,

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hoping for Redress, both against the Villain himself, and the Jesuit, who are both Villains, and yourself; but the Matter was fully blanced, and your impious Ear, that had listened to his abominable Sin, was excused, and the whole Offence of Subornation was laid upon a Creature of yours, but one of the King of *Spain's* Esquires, named, from the Place of his Birth, *Valdomoro*; who, upon Examination (having his Lesson before taught him, confessed all the Passages to the Duke of *Lerma*, and that, not only this Slave, but divers others, had tendered themselves to the like Service, yet this, with the greatest Violence, assuring him, that he knew the Means how to kill the King; which Proposition, upon some Conference with a Jesuit (who never take Distance at such a Practice) he had accepted of, but yet, with that Caution and Delay, that nothing proceeded therein, neither was likely to proceed, and so all Things were shut up, without any further Discovery, only that *de Barraut* advertised the King, his Master, thereof: But was this honourable or pious in *Spain*? No, the Praise had been more perfect, and the Merit more plain and evident, for the *Spaniards*, if they had punished the Traytor, made thyself, *Valdomoro*, and the Jesuit, Examples, not to listen or give Ear to such odious Conspiracies, and, by a careful Advertisement to the King, made others dread the Entering into so odious a Business; for it is true, in all the Laws of Hospitality, that this Slave ought not to have come out of *Spain* unchastised, for all Kings are Brothers, and all Kingdoms interested in these Attempts. But the Designs of *Spain* looked now another Way, and the Traytor had Leave to escape, who, returning afterwards into *France*, was, by *de Verdon*, first President of *Languedock*, apprehended at *Toulouse*, and there executed, and his Companion condemned to the Gallies. O how far was this Action short of that Royal and Princely Act of the famous late Queen *Elisabeth*! who, having received Intelligence of some *Spanish* Mischiefs pretended against this great King, forthwith gave him Intelligence, that a strange Gentleman, who was one of his Followers, had no good Meaning towards his Person, and related unto him every Circumstance as he had received it; but such was the Bounty of this great King, that, although Reason would

that he should have been apprehended, yet the King never discovered unto him a Frown, but he still remained in the Court well entertained, was mounted out of the King's Stable, and honoured with many of his trusty Commandments, till, in the End, tortured with his own Conscience, he stole away from the Court, and durst no longer abuse so Royal a Bounty; that this was a Favourite of *Spain*, yourself cannot deny; that he fled from *France* into *Spain*, your own Cabinet is a Witness; and, that you did preserve him for the like Exploits in other Places, the Mark on his Face, the Colour of his Beard, and his Cloaths, cut after the *Walloon* Fashion, were too apparent Testimonies.

I might here recount this great King's Death by *Ravillack*, from whose Blood, neither thyself, nor *Spain*, can wash themselves, though all the Rivers in the World were exhausted and thrust into one intire Bath, and so spent upon your particular Cleanings; but these Truths are so fresh in Memory, they need neither Repeating, nor Amplification.

I could to these add a World of others, as the Attempts upon the Life and Safety of the late Queen *Elisabeth*, of famous Memory, and the making of all those inhuman Creatures Pensioners of *Spain*, who had either by Rebellion, or other treasonable Practice, attempted any Thing for her untimely and sad Destruction.

Was our late dread Sovereign, King *James*, of blessed and happy Memory, that *Solomon* of his Time, a Prince so indulgent and careful for every good Thing that might happen to *Spain*, a Man so tender and vigilant for her Reputation, that he ever placed it in the next Rank to his own Honour? Was he, I say, was this good King free from the bloody Practices of *Spain*? No, to the eternal Infamy of ungrateful and bloody *Spain*, I may ever proclaim it, that he was more deeply plunged, and his like, more bitterly besieged and assaulted, than any whatsoever before rehearsed; and to this I call up the Plot of all Plots, that Devil of many Legions of Devils, the Gunpowder Conspiracy, that which should have destroyed all, not a single Prince, or a single Man; but many Princes, many Men's whole Generations; here was cruel *Spain*, and here indeed, had not God prevented, was a strong Foundation for an universal Monarchy; and, that *Spain* may

may not, in this, plead Not guilty, let her discover to the World what Occurrents they were which drew *Thomas Winter* into her Confinement, what Negotiation was that which he held with *de Laxis*? Whence came his Instructions and Letters commendatory into the Archduchess's Country? Where did *Guy Fawkes* receive his Breeding? Who gave Information of his Knowledge in Mining? And who preferred and advanced him to this Piece of most damnable Service? Questionless, let Truth answer to any of these Positions, and the Speech, it must utter, will be *Spanish* Language: Who in all this Nation was so intimate with you as the Archpriest *Garnet*? Or who, like him, found at your Hands equal Protection? He confessed and absolved the Traitors, and thou didst absolve and confess him, and thereby didst get unto thyself, from thine own Tribe, the Nick-name of Archbishop Ambassador.

Thus, I have brought *Spain's* Attempts for an universal Monarchy, from *Portugal* to the *Netherlands*, thence through *Italy*, and so into *France*; *England* was looked upon by the Way, in the Year 1588, but she was not so drowsy as others: There is now but *Germany* betwixt him and the End of his Ambition, but is that free and untouched? Woe to speak it, that of all is the worst and most horrid. O! the lamentable Estate of those once most happy Princes! How hath the House of *Austria* drowned them in Blood? And, by the Work of Civil Dissension, made them in their Furies to devour one another? Is there any Thing in this Age more lamentable or remarkable, than the Loss of the *Palatinate*? Or is there any Thing in which thy Villainy can so much triumph as in that politick Defeat? Why, the Lyes which thou didst utter to abuse the Majesty of *England*, and to breed Delays till thy Master's Designs were effected, were so curious and so

cunning, so apt to catch, and so strong in the Holding, that the Devil, who was formerly the Author of Lyes) hath now from thee taken new Precedents for Lying. I would here speak of thy Archduchess's Dissimulation; but she is a great Lady, and their Errors at the worst are weak Virtues.

Therefore to thee that hast lent both Fuel and Flame to all the Mischiefs of *Europe*, and that art now big in Labour with new Troubles and Vexations; Arise and collect thy Spirits; become once honest and religious; let thy Services depend upon good and necessary Affairs, and not upon malicious and bloody Practices; for behold, I, thy Tormentor, will never be absent from thine Elbow, and whatsoever thou shalt contrive or plot for the Hurt of *Great-Britain*, I, with the Help of the holy Angels, will return upon thine own Bosom, and the Bosom of thy Country, for the God of Heaven and Earth, who is the Protector of the Innocent, hath made Royal King *Charles*, and his Throne, precious in his Sight; therefore, if thou desirest to live and see good Days, touch not his Anointed, and do his Prophets no Hurt.

At these Words, the glorious Apparition, waving his Sword about, vanished out of his Sight, and the poor Don, as if awakened from a deadly or mortal Sleep, rose up, looking about with such ghastly Amazedness, as affrighted all that beheld him. In the End, espying his own Servants, with Tears in his Eyes, Terror in his Heart, and a general Trembling over all his Body, he went into his Litter, and returned Home; where, how he refreshed himself, how he appeared before the designed Commissioners, and how he answered the Expectation both of them, and the King his Master, shall be declared upon the next Return of the Woman-Post, which passeth betwixt the *English* and the *Spanish* Jesuits,

The Qualifications of Persons, declared capable by the Rump-Parliament, to elect, or be elected, Members to supply their House. Printed in the Year 1660. Quarto, containing sixteen Pages.

THE Representative of the Parliament of *England*, having for many Years employed their constant Endeavour, to impose Freedom and Liberty on the three Nations; notwithstanding their obstinate Reluctancy and Opposition thereunto, who would take upon them, against all Right and Reason, to be their own Judges; and being now, after two scandalous Ejectments, and as many signal Restorations, happily returned to discharge the remaining Fragment of their Trust; do find, to their unspeakable Grief, the Red-Coats, in whom they always loyally acquiesced, failing of their Pay, to fail likewise of their Trust, and, seduced by evil Counsel, to adhere unto the common Enemy; that is to say, the said three Nations, in complying with their Desires and Addresses, which are, to have this present Representative dissolved, and a Free Parliament speedily convened, which they tremble to think upon, or the secluded Members re-admitted, which they equally abominate, or the present House supplied with new Elections, which their Bowels sigh to reflect on. Nevertheless they have, after serious and mature Deliberation, resolved upon the least, that is to say, to fill up their House, as being, though of dangerous Consequence, less horrible and dreadful to themselves, than any other Way. And to the End the Persons to be elected may be of as near a Condition as may be, to match the present Members, and so, possibly, go Hand in Hand with them, in carrying on the said Work; they have agreed upon these following Qualifications, and do enact, and be it hereby enacted, that no Person whatsoever presume to elect or be elected, under Pain of Confiscation of his Estate, and Sale of his Person, that is, not allowed capable thereof, by the said Qualifications, in which they do profess, before the Searcher of all Hearts, that they have freely discovered the naked Truth of all their Intentions, as, if their Breasts were to be opened, and their Hearts taken out, which God defend, it would manifestly appear to all the World.

Qualification I. Whosoever hath at any Time been known to take the Name of God in vain, that is, to swear or forswear himself for nothing, without Advantage to the Publick, or his own particular Concernments, but

merely out of rash and needless Prophanation, is hereby declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, as a Member to serve in this present Parliament. For Oaths have been found, by Experience, to be wonderful Expedients in State-Affairs; and ought not to be made or broken; but with great and serious Consideration.

Qualific. II. Whosoever is noted to be a Sabbath-breaker, or Prophaner of the Lord's Day, is declared incapable to elect, or be elected, &c. For he that cannot one Day in seven observe, at least in Shew, one Commandment in ten, that costs nothing the Keeping, nor gains any thing by being broken, is not fitly qualified to sit in this Parliament: For all such Sins, as have no immediate Relation to the Service of this House, must be openly detested, that there may be the less Notice taken of such as are for the Advantage and Interest thereof.

Qualific. III. Whosoever hath at any Time, within the Space of these twenty Years last past, been observed to be disguised in Drink, unless he can bring Testimony that it is his usual Custom to drink himself drunk in private alone, to avoid giving evil Example, or in secret and well affected Company, without Healths, is declared incapable to elect or be elected: Provided that Surfeit and Gluttony be not included within this Incapacity, nor such other Alterations as may fall upon the Spirit of a Man, at Thanksgiving Dinners.

Qualific. IV. Whosoever doth live in Adultery, or Fornication, or hath at any Time had carnal Copulation with the Wife, Sisters, or Daughter, of any Member of Parliament, now sitting, without the Consent or Satisfaction of the said Member; or hath been seen, in the Day-time, to resort to Houses of evil Fame, or frequent the Company of common Women, is declared incapable to elect or be elected, &c. Provided, that this do not extend to any Person, that hath kept a Concubine or Concubines so long, that now there is no Notice taken thereof, or to such as by the Loss of their Eyes or Noses, Botches in their Skins, or Achs in their Bones, can bring Proof of their Repentance, and Resentment of their former Lives; as it hath been allowed in the Cases of *William Lord Viscount Monson*, *Sir Henry Martin*, *Mr. Secretary Scot*, *William Hveningham*, Esq; and others.

Qualific.

Qualific. V. Whosoever hath suffered for his Conscience, either by Imprisonment, Sequestration, or Sale of his Estate, or hath refused to take any Oath imposed by this Parliament, howsoever contradictory to any former Oath, by him taken: Or hath gained nothing by the Ruin of his Native Country, nor is liable to suffer by any Revolution, that may tend to the general Settlement thereof, but, being unbiassed by any Party, is at Liberty to promote the proper and natural Interests of the Nation in general: Or hath subscribed any Petition or Remonstrance for a Free Parliament; or for the Re-admission of the sequestered Members to their Right of Sitting; or, at a Time to be prefixed, to determine the Sitting of this present Parliament, or any Thing else against the Sense of this House, in order to the Settlement of the Nation: Or hath declared against Taxes, Excise, Free-Quarter, Plunder, Arbitrary Government, the Perpetuation and Supremacy of the present Parliament, Continuation of the Distractions, Decay of Trade, and Slavery of the *English* Nation. Any, and every such Person, is hereby declared not only incapable to be elected a Member of this present or any future Parliament, or of bearing any Office, or Place of Trust, in this Commonwealth, but shall suffer such farther Punishment, either by Sequestration, or Sale of his Estate or Person, as to the Wisdom of this House shall seem expedient.

Qualific. VI. Whosoever hath been engaged in the late Rebellions of Sir *George Booth*, Bart. or *Lambert Symnell*, Esq; or any Way aiding or assisting thereunto: Or hath sat or acted in, or under the late Committee of Safety, or had any Hand in the late Disturbances of this present Parliament, is, beside such other Punishment as this House shall judge fitting, declared incapable to elect, or be elected, to serve in this or any future Parliament: Provided that this shall not extend to such Members of this House, as were engaged in the said Insurrections. For, if all such should be impeached before the House be full, there would not be a Quorum left to make it a Parliament.

Qualific. VII. Whosoever hath called *Charles Stewart* King, or drunk his Health, or prayed God to restore him to his Right, and every honest Man to his own; or used any malignant and treasonable Expressions: Or hath called the

present Parliament *Rump*, *Arse*, *Bum*, *Tail*, or *Breech*: Or hath rejoiced at the Interruptions thereof, or wished it at an End: Or hath *Sued*, *Arrested*, *Reviled*, *Beaten*, *Kicked*, *Cuckolded*, *Trepanned*, or refused to trust any of the Members thereof, during the Intervals: Or hath Action of Debt, or Bill of Complaint against any Member now sitting; and doth refuse to give the said Member a full Discharge, and general Release; any, and every such Person, is declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, to serve in this present or any future Parliament, or of bearing any Office or Place of Trust in this Commonwealth.

Qualific. VIII. No Man shall be judged qualified, nor admitted to sit in this House as a Member thereof, that doth not first acknowledge this Parliament to be a Free Parliament, unfounded by the Laws of God or Man; that all Things are exposed to the Will of the Members thereof, who may freely dispose of the Estates, Persons, Consciences, and Lives of Men, as they please, and afterwards make it lawful. That this House hath a greater Power in Civil Affairs than the *Turk*, and in Spiritual than the Pope, for it is Head of Churches, not yet in Being, and Judge more of Faith, than all the General Councils ever were. That it can damn, and save, and bind, and loose in this World, in Despight of the next; make what it pleases Holy or Profane, True or False, Scripture or Apocrypha, and no Man dares to question its Infallibility; and that every Member thereof can vote and swear Contradictions, and make others do so too, or pay them for it.

Qualific. IX. No Man shall be judged rightly qualified, nor admitted to sit in this House, until he hath engaged to use his Christian Endeavour to carry on a thorough Reformation of the Calendar, that the *English* Nation may no more use the *Julian* Account, nor reckon by the Year of our Lord, but by the *Roman* Indiction, according to the Custom of the Christians in ancient Times; that is, reckon the Year by their Taxes, and not their Taxes by the Year: A Reformation, which this Parliament made some Progress in before their late Interruption, when they drew the whole Year within the Compass of four Months, and do intend, by God's Help, to bring to Perfection with all convenient Expedition.

Qualific.

Qualific. X. Whosoever makes Profession of Godliness and Holiness of Life, although he be commonly reputed to be both a Fool, and a Knave, a notorious Villain, and diabolical Hypocrite, shall, nevertheless, be allowed, if duly elected, to be rightly qualified to sit in this present Parliament. Provided that this Capacity do not extend to *Charles Fleetwood*, Esq; *John Desbrow*, Yeoman, and *Sir Henry Vane*, Knight, lately elected, or *John Hewson*, Cordwainer, of the City of London.

Ordered that *Dr. John Owen*, *Mr. Hugh Peters*, and Major *John Wildman* be included within this Qualification, notwithstanding they are in Orders.

Qualific. XI. Whosoever hath had a Hand in the late King's Blood, or hath petitioned to bring him to Tryal, or hath demolished his Houses, cut down his Woods, or pulled down Churches, to sell the Materials; or can bring Proof, that he hath been of one or more High-Courts of Justice, or at one or more Committees of Sale or Sequestration of the Committee for Propagation of the Gospel; or hath been a Commissioner of the Excise, a Sequestrator, Treasurer, or Trustee, for the Sale of King's Lands or Goods, or Bishops, and Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents Lands; and hath gotten a considerable Estate, by buying or selling the aforesaid Lands; and can make it appear, that his Head is forfeited to the Tower on London-Bridge, and the four Quarters of his outward Man to four respective Gates of the City, if any Revolution should happen to the general Settlement of the Nation. Any, and every such Person, is declared rightly qualified to sit in this present Parliament, and shall be admitted without taking any Oath at all; for a Man's Skin is tenderer than his Conscience, and this World much nearer to him than the next.

Qualific. XII. Whosoever can bring Proof, by the Loss of his Ears, or otherwise, that he hath stood on the Pillory for Perjury, Forgery, Faction, or Sedition, to hinder the Government of the late King; or that he hath been burnt in the Hand, Forehead, or Shoulder, thrown over the Bar, set in the Stocks, carted, or whipped at the Tail of a Cart, for any Thing by him done, said, or written against the said Government, before the Year 1642, shall be approved as most fully qualified to sit in this present Parliament.

Provided that this shall not extend to *William Prynn*, of *Swanwick*, Esq; *Utter Bench* of *Lincoln's-Inn*, nor to Major *William Poe*.

Qualific. XIII. Whosoever is Son, Brother, or Nephew, or can prove himself to be the natural Son or Bastard of any Member, or of the Mother, Sister, or Wife of any Member of this Parliament now sitting, or any Member thereof deceased, that sat since the Year 1648, and will engage to conform to the Sense of this House, according to the Example of the said Member unto whom he hath Relation, is hereby declared rightly qualified, either to elect, or be elected, a Member of this present Parliament.

Qualific. XIV. Whosoever can bring Proof, that he is a Man of a publick Spirit, fit for all Times and Occasions, of approved Liberty of Conscience, and of Courage and Resolution to encounter any Danger that extends to Soul or Body, if Need be, rather than live out of Authority and Command, or under the Laws of God or Man. That he hath proper Suits for the Service of the present Government, and can do the same Things by the Spirit of God, which other Men are drawn to by the Temptations of the Devil. That he can break Oaths by Providence, and forswear himself, to the Glory of God; deal falsely and treacherously with Men, out of Conscience; and verily believeth it to be a greater Sin to name Faith, than to break it. That Religion is his Trade, and God himself his Occupation. That he can hold forth any useful, though notorious Untruth, with convenient Obstinacy, until he believes himself, and so renders it no Sin. That he hath an excellent Spirit to find out Ways of raising Money, and will deserve his Share both of the Substance and Curses of the People. Any, and every such Person, is declared to be most aptly qualified to elect, or be elected, Member of this present Parliament. Provided that this Capacity do not extend to *Bulstrode Whitlock*, Esq; or *Richard Salway*, Grocer, lately ejected this House.

Qualific. XV. Whosoever can produce Testimony, that he hath taken the late Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, the Protestation, the solemn League and Covenant, the Engagement, to be true and faithful to the present Government, without King or House of Lords. That he hath subscribed the Addresses,

dress, to live and die with *Oliver and Richard Cromwell*; and taken the Oaths to be true and faithful to the Governments under them, and feels no Alteration in his Conscience, but is ready to take the Oath of Abjuration of *Charles Stewart*, King *Jesus*, or any other single Person. Any, and every such Person, is declared, as rightly qualified, to elect, or be elected, a Member of this present Parliament, and shall be admitted to sit, being duly elected, without taking any further Oath at all.

Qualific. XVI. Ordered, that a Bill be forthwith brought in, to make *Newgate*, *Bridewell*, and *Bedlam* Corporations, that Writs may be issued out, to empower them to chuse their respective Representatives, to serve in this present Parliament, in as full Manner, as the *Upper-bench* and the *Fleet* have already done.

Qualific. XVII. Any Nobleman, or late Peer of the Realm, that will renounce his Creation, or his Creator, and is otherwise qualified, shall be allowed capable (being first naturalised by an Act of this House) to be made a Knight, Citizen, or Burgess, and, being duly elected and sworn, shall be admitted to sit among the Rabble of this House, in as full Manner as *Philip Herbert*, Esq; late Earl of *Pembroke*, and *William Cecil*, late Earl of *Salisbury*, at this present do. Provided that this shall not extend to any Peer of the late other House, that, having a Trade to get his Living honestly by, did, nevertheless, betake himself to so lewd a Course of Life.

Qualific. XVIII. Whosoever, by Fraud, Coven, or otherwise, hath possessed himself of another Man's Estate, or hath gotten into his Hands any Office or Place, of considerable Value, by ejecting, indirectly, the right Owner thereof, and does not know how to maintain and justify the same so well, as by being chosen a Member of this House, shall be approved of, in so doing, to have given good Security for his Fidelity to the present Government, and be capable to elect, or be elected, &c.

Qualific. XIX. Resolved, that the Curses of the People shall, henceforth, that is to say, from this present Fourteenth of *February*, 1659, be reputed, and taken for their free Voices; and whosoever hath most of the Curses of his Country, shall be understod to

have most of their free Voices, and be approved, as most fitly qualified to sit in this present Parliament. For such will be very profitable Members to this House, when it shall be judged seasonable to make the People pay for their Cursing, as well as they have done for their Swearing.

Qualific. XX. No Man shall be admitted to sit in this House, as a Member thereof, howsoever duly qualified and elected, except before excepted, until he hath taken the following Oath upon the Holy Evangelists.

The Oath.

I *A. B.* do swear, in the Presence of Almighty God, and by the Contents of this Book, to be true and faithful to this present Government, as it is now unestablished, and to the Keepers of the Liberties, unsight unseen, whether they are of an invisible and internal Nature, as Fiends, Pugs, Elves, Furies, Imps, or Goblins, or whether they are incarnate, as Redcoats, Lobsters, Corporals, Troopers, or Dragoons. I do also swear, that neither *Charles Stewart*, nor any Person claiming from King *James*, shall ever be restored to the Crown of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, either by foreign or domestick Assistance, all Dispensations and Outgoings of Providence to the Contrary notwithstanding. I do likewise swear, never to understand, nor believe any Thing, that is against the Authority, Interest, or Sense of this House; and that I will never give my Vote, to determine the Sitting thereof, during the natural Life of every respective Member thereof now sitting, nor consent to the Establishment of any Thing, but Taxes, Excise, Free-quarter, Plunder, Confiscations, Arbitrary Government, High Courts of Justice, Committees of Sale and Sequestration, a Gospel-preaching Ministry, and Liberty of Conscience. I do further swear, that I will constantly believe in all the Privileges of Parliament, as the House believes; and that I will, to the utmost of my Power, maintain and defend the same, although I do not understand, nor ever will, what they are, or how far they extend. And lest the present Members should, when the House is full, be secluded by their own Votes (by which the secluded Members

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' are declared incapable of ever fitting in
' Parliament, or bearing any Office of Trust
' in this Commonwealth) I do swear, that
' the secluded Members, properly so called,
' are not these who have been twice secluded,
' that is to say, the present Members
' now sitting, but those who have been secluded
' but once, that is, the major Part of
' the Long Parliament. As also, that, when
' it shall seem good unto this Parliament to
' make every Member thereof an Officer or
' Commander of the Army, this House will,
' nevertheless, be no Council of Officers, but
' a very Parliament, and the Sword still in
' the Hand of the Civil Magistrate. I do also
' swear, that whatsoever Time shall hereafter
' produce (six Governments off) for the
' Advantage of the present Parliament, or
' whatsoever they shall at any Time do, say,
' or swear, in order thereunto, how contrary
' soever to any Thing by them formerly
' done, said, or sworn, is, and will be always
' the good old Cause, and the Work of
' the Lord. That the present Divisions
' are for his Glory, and the Peace of the Government,
' and that the Slavery of the
' *English* Nation is for the Liberty of the
' People. That, notwithstanding, they are
' barred to change their Masters, as Christian
' Bondslaves, as in *Turky*, and are conveyed
' from Government to Government, as Rogues
' are from Constable to Constable, still to be
' whipped and punished; all is for their Freedom
' and Protection in their ancient Laws,
' Rights, and Immunities. *Lastly*, I do swear
' never to divulge the Secrets of this House,
' nor discover the hidden Mysteries thereof.
' The admirable Art of managing Factions,
' with confederate Contests in ordinary Matters,
' and Staving, and Tailing with the Rab-

' ble of Parties in Businesses of Profit and
' Advantage, to carry on private Designs
' under the Masque of publick Good. The
' subtle Ways of packing Committees, and
' proroguing Business without Doors. The
' ingenious Artifices of Double-dealing, by
' selling with one Hand, and buying with
' the other, whereby several Members have
' afforded themselves good Bargains of Delinquents
' Estates, in suborned Purchasers
' Names. The most excellent Invention of
' advising Votes, and finding out the true
' Value of a leading or seconding Voice,
' third, fourth, or fifth; how many a lasting
' Voice goes for, like the last Trick at Picquet;
' how to balance all these upon Account,
' so that every Sharer may have his
' Due; with infinite other curious and occult
' Sciences, which the present Members, out
' of their long Practice and Experience, have
' found out, to the Glory of God, and Good
' of the Nation.'

So help me God.

Qualific. XXI. And lest the new-elected Members should (notwithstanding all these Oaths and Qualifications) oppose, and, being the greater Number, overvoted the present Members, like a new Piece of Cloth upon an old Garment, instead of patching, tear it wider: It is resolved, that but eight Writs for new Elections be issued forth, at one Time, and no more, until the new returned Members have been intrusted in the Practice of this House, and, being engaged by profitable Employments, have given Proof of their Conformity thereunto; or, in Case of Refusal, have been ejected.

The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be used. Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of *John Bill*, 1633. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

By the KING.

OUR dear Father of blessed Memory, in his Return from *Scotland*, coming through *Lancashire*, found that his Subjects were debarred from lawful Recreations upon *Sundays*, after Evening Prayers ended, and upon Holidays; and he prudently considered, that, if these Times were taken from them, the meaner Sort, who labour hard all the Week, should have no Recreations at all to refresh their Spirits. And, after his Re-

turn, he farther saw, that his loyal Subjects, in all other Parts of his Kingdom, did suffer in the same Kind, though, perhaps, not in the same Degree; and did, therefore, in his Princely Wisdom, publish a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be used at such Times; which was printed and published, by his Royal Commandment, in the Year 1618, in the Tenor which hereafter followeth:

By the KING.

WHEREAS, upon our Return the last Year out of *Scotland*, we did publish our Pleasure, touching the Recreations of our People in those Parts, under our Hand; for some Causes us thereunto moving, we have thought good to command these our Directions, then given in *Lancashire*, with a few Words thereunto added, and most applicable to these Parts of our Realms, to be published to all our Subjects.

Whereas we did justly, in our Progress through *Lancashire*, rebuke some Puritans and precise People, and took Order, that the like unlawful Carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the Prohibiting and unlawful Punishing of our good People, for using their lawful Recreations and honest Exercises, upon *Sundays* and other Holidays, after the Afternoon Sermon or Service: We now find, that two Sorts of People, wherewith that Country is much infected (we mean Papists and Puritans) have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable Proceedings; and therefore, lest our Reputation might, upon the one Side (though innocently) have some Aspersions laid upon it, and, upon the other Part, our good People in that Country be misled, by the Mistaking and Misinterpretation of our Meaning, we have therefore thought good hereby to clear and make our Pleasure to be manifested to all our good People in those Parts.

It is true, that, at our first Entry to this Crown and Kingdom, we were informed (and that too truly) that our County of *Lancashire* abounded more in Popish Recusants, than any County of *England*, and thus hath still conti-

nued since, to our great Regret, with little Amendment; save that now of late, in our last Riding through our said County, we find, both by the Report of the Judges, and of the Bishop of that Diocefe, that there is some Amendment now daily beginning; which is no small Contentment to us.

The Report of this growing Amendment amongst them made us the more sorry, when, with our own Ears, we heard the general Complaint of our People, That they were barred from all lawful Recreation and Exercise upon the *Sunday's* Afternoon, after the Ending of all Divine Service; which cannot but produce two Evils: The one, the Hindering of the Conversion of many, whom their Priests will take Occasion hereby to vex, persuading them, that no honest Mirth or Recreation is lawful, or tolerable, in our Religion; which cannot but breed a great Discontentment in our People's Hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the Point of Turning. The other Inconvenience is, That this Prohibition barreth the common and meaner Sort of People from using such Exercises, as may make their Bodies more able for War, when we, or our Successors, shall have Occasion to use them; and, in Place thereof, sets up filthy Tipplings and Drunkenness, and breeds a Number of idle and discontented Speeches in their Alehouses: For, When shall the common People have Leave to exercise, if not upon the *Sundays* and Holidays? Seeing they must apply their Labour, and win their Living in all Working-days.

Our exprefs Pleasure therefore is, That the Laws of our Kingdom, and Canons of our Church, be as well observed in that County, as in all other Places of this our Kingdom; and, on the other Part, That no lawful Recreation shall be barred to our good People, which shall not tend to the Breach of our aforesaid Laws, and Canons of our Church: Which to exprefs more particularly, our Pleasure is, That the Bishop, and all other inferior Churchmen, and Churchwardens shall, for their Parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the Ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in Religion; presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to our Judges and Justices; whom we likewise command to put the Law in due Execution against them.

Our Pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that Diocese take the like straight Order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the County, according to the Laws of our Kingdom, and Canons of our Church; and so to strike equally, on both Hands, against the Contemners of our Authority, and Adversaries of our Church. And, as for our good People's lawful Recreation, our Pleasure likewise is, That, after the End of Divine Service, our good People be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful Recreation, such as Dancing, either Men or Women; Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmless Recreation; nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitson-ales*, and *Morrice-dances*; and the Setting up of *May-poles*, and other Sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient Time, without Impediment or Neglect of Divine Service; and that Women shall have Leave to carry Rushes to the Church, for the Decoring of it, according to their old Custom. But, withal, we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful Games to be used upon *Sundays* only, as Bear and Bull-baitings, Interludes, and, at all Times, in the meaner Sort of People by Law prohibited, Bowling.

And likewise we bar, from this Benefit and Liberty, all such known Recufants, either Men or Women, as will abstain from coming to Church or Divine Service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful Recreation after the said Service, that will not first come to the

Church and serve God: Prohibiting, in like Sort, the said Recreations to any that, though conform in Religion, are not present in the Church, at the Service of God, before their Going to the said Recreations. Our Pleasure likewise is, That they, to whom it belongeth in Office, shall present, and sharply punish all such as, in Abuse of this our Liberty, will use these Exercises before the Ends of all Divine Services, for that Day. And we likewise straightly command, That every Person shall resort to his own Parish-church to hear Divine Service, and each Parish by itself to use the said Recreation after Divine Service; prohibiting likewise any offensive Weapons to be carried, or used in the said Times of Recreations. And our Pleasure is, That this our Declaration shall be published, by Order from the Bishop of the Diocese, through all the Parish-churches; and that both our Judges of our Circuit, and our Justices of our Peace, be informed thereof.

Given at our Mannor of Greenwich, the four-and-twentieth Day of May, in the sixteenth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and, of Scotland, the one-and-fiftieth.

Now, out of a like pious Care for the Service of God, and for Suppressing of any Humours that oppose Truth, and for the Ease, Comfort, and Recreation of our well-deserving People, we do ratify and publish this our blessed Father's Declaration; the rather, because of late, in some Counties of our Kingdom, we find, that, under Pretence of taking away Abuses, there hath been a general Forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called *Wakes*. Now our exprefs Will and Pleasure is, That these Feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that our Justices of the Peace, in their several Divisions, shall look to it, both that all Disorders there may be prevented, or punished, and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom, with manlike and lawful Exercises, be used. And we farther command our Justices of Assize, in their several Circuits, to see, that no Man do trouble or molest any of our loyal and dutiful People, in or for their lawful Recreations, having first done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to us and our Laws: And of this we command

all our Judges, Justices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers to take Notice of, and to see observed, as they tender our Displeasure. And we farther will, That Publication of this our Command be made, by Order from the Bishops, through all the Pa-

rish-churches of their several Dioceses respectively.

Given at our Palace of Westminster, the eighteenth Day of October, in the ninth Year of our Reign.

God save the KING.

A worthy Speech, spoken in the honourable House of Commons, by Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, for Accommodation, betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament. *July* the Ninth, 1642. *July* 18. Printed for *Richard Lownds*, 1642. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

IN the Way we are, we have gone as far as Words can carry us: We have voted our own Rights, and the King's Duty: No Doubt there is a relative Duty between a King and his Subjects; Obedience from a Subject to a King, Protection from a King to his People. The present unhappy Distance, between his Majesty and the Parliament, makes the whole Kingdom stand amazed, in a fearful Expectation of dismal Calamities to fall upon it: It deeply and conscientiously concerns this House to compose and settle these threatening, ruining Distractions. *Mr. Speaker*, I am touched, I am pierced with an Apprehension of the Honour of the House, and Success of this Parliament. The best Way to give a Stop to these desperate, imminent Mischiefs, is, to make a fair Way for the King's Return hither; it will likewise give best Satisfaction to the People, and will be our best Justification. *Mr. Speaker*, that we may the better consider the Condition we are now in, let us set ourselves three Years back: If any Man then could have credibly told us, that, within three Years, the Queen shall be gone out of England into the Low-Countries for any Cause whatsoever; the King shall remove from his Parliament, from London to York, declaring himself not to be safe here; that there shall be a total Rebellion in Ireland, such Discords and Distempers both in Church and State here,

as now we find; certainly we should have trembled at the Thought of it; wherefore it is fit we should be sensible now we are in it.

On the other Side, if a Man then could have credibly told us, that, within three Years, ye shall have a Parliament, it would have been good News; that Ship-money shall be taken away by an Act of Parliament, the Reasons and Grounds of it so rooted out, as that neither it, nor any Thing like it, can ever grow up again; that Monopolies, the High-commission Court, the Star-Chamber, the Bishops Votes shall be taken away, the Council-Table regulated and restrained, the Forests bounded and limited; that ye shall have a triennial Parliament, and, more than that, a perpetual Parliament, which none shall have Power to dissolve without yourselves, we should have thought this a Dream of Happiness; yet, now we are in the real Possession of it, we do not enjoy it, although his Majesty hath promised and published he will make all this good to us: We stand chiefly upon further Security, whereas the very Having of these Things is a convenient, fair Security, mutually securing one another; there is more Security offered, even in this last Answer of the King's, by removing the personal Votes of Popish Lords, and by the better Education of Papists Children, by supplying the Defects of Laws against Recusants, besides what else may be enlarged and improved

improved by a select Committee of both Houses named for that Purpose. Wherefore, Sir, let us beware we do not contend for such a hazardous unsafe Security, as may endanger the Loss of what we have already; let us not think we have Nothing, because we have not all we desire; and, though we had, yet we cannot make a mathematical Security: All human Caution is susceptible of Corruption and Failing; God's Providence will not be bound, Success must be his: He, that observes the Wind and Rain, shall neither sow nor reap; if he do Nothing, till he can secure the Weather, he will have but an ill Harvest.

Mr. *Speaker*, it now behoves us to call up all the Wisdom we have about us, for we are at the very Brink of Combustion and Confusion: If Blood once begin to touch Blood, we shall presently fall into a certain Misery, and must attend an uncertain Success, God knows when, and God knows what. Every Man here is bound in Conscience to employ his uttermost Endeavours to prevent the Effusion of Blood: Blood is a crying Sin, it pollutes a Land; let us save our Liberties, and our Estates, as we may save our Souls too. Now I have clearly delivered mine own Conscience, I leave every Man freely to his.

A Discourse, shewing in what State the three Kingdoms are in at this present. Printed in the Year 1641. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

S I R,

AS the Faces of all *Britain* shew their Hearts and Inclinations, so if their Hearts were glazed with a Chrystal, they would appear fearful of the future; were not the representative Body of the State careful to cure the present Malady, purge the distempered Humours, and save the much gangrened Body, by cutting some rotten and putrified Members off, which infect, infect, and invade the Republick; this makes me cheerful to discover the Conceptions of the Wise, and not as an Orator, but relate their Opinion as their Auditor: I hope it will take away from me Ostentation, and Trouble from the Reader, even to give Ease of Discourse.

Their profound Sighs, and earnest Prayers, might quicken my Ingeny, better than the Sound of excellent Instruments can revive the Spirit; to present this with all Obedience to my Sovereign, and Faith to the Country, and declare what is convenient to be done at this Time, submitting myself modestly to Head and Body.

Now if those Streams of Tears, and sweet Perfumes, make not my Pen fruitful and odorous, pardon my Rudeness, and consider the State we are now in.

When our miserable Condition perceived, before the Access of the universal Body, by the Wrinkles, put on the Brow of ruined Affairs, Counsel weakened, and Reputation of State blasted, that the People cry out against such Instruments; What miserable Condition are we brought to? Oh God! Suffer not ill Counsellors to be as a bad Spleen, to swell so big as to make lean the Commonwealth, that our empty Purses be not filled with Blood, though with Tears; wherefore, I humbly beseech the Head to produce such Effect, as the Sun on moist and cold Grounds; to reduce the general Capacity, to such an Influence of Justice, Peace, Religion, and Liberty; and that, in Lieu thereof, the People may make a rich and potent King.

As all Rivers return to the Ocean, so shall the Labyrinth, we are in, be by the Help of wise *Ariadne's* escaped, and the golden Fleece, Continence of Gospel, Justice, Peace, and downy Tranquillity, with the Help of those godly *Medea's*, be preserved and procured: Therefore, not as a Lawyer, give me Leave as a Well-wisher to the State, to put the Case by Way of Supposition.

If the fundamental Laws be quite overthrown, Religion altered, the Nobility taken away by Councils of War, as the Lord *Mount-*

Norris should have been; the meaner Sort used as *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*; the Propriety of Goods taken away from the Subject; an Army force an Arbitrary Way of Government, and Justice, bought and sold; What Misery will follow, when the Judges shall affirm it legal, the Clergy wrongfully in their Pulpits teach it, and the Cabinet-Council authorise the Convenience, for Matter of State? Therefore, to have our Lawsestablished, Religion maintained, the Pride of Prelates abased, Justice administered, Liberty settled, and Peace continued for after Times: It is necessary, the King, Lords, and Commons join in a most severe Punishment, that none, in the *Pestlea*, dare to enterprize, the Surprise and Ruin of the common Good; for it is an infallible Maxim, The King is richer in the Hearts, than in the Treasures of his Subjects.

Surely there was never a fitter Time, nor a more convenient Occasion then now, when three Kingdoms unite for their own Safety; when the *Scot* hath an Army on Foot for this Purpose, and the King hath promised they shall not be interrupted in their Counsels, and God requires it for his Glory.

Especially when Ministers of State have begun to act this fatal Tragedy, the Guiltiness by so many lively Testimonies proved, and the Treason by Precedents and weighty Authority assured, by Law maintained, and by all the Commons-house adjudged; who have Power by the 25th of *Edward the Third*; and when it is brought to so good a Pass by the Lords, who both have Legislative Power, Why should not Lords and Commons bring it to Perfection, that the King sign, That who shall dare to alter Religion, innovate Law, or take away Liberty of the Subject, be condignly punished, and for the future, cause an express Law to be made on Purpose, to attain Blood, forfeit Life, Lands, and Goods, if any shall essay such crying Exorbitances?

If by the Law it be high Treason to kill a Commissioner of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, in Time of Justice; *à majori*, to confound the whole Body, when a Commissioner, is but one poor Member of the Body Politick.

2. To make a Law, that none be capable of any Place of Government, that hath, or shall give such Counsel; and leave the rest to the triennial Parliament, and not grasp too much, lest all the Staples fly away.

Likewise it is necessary to make a Remonstrance of the Necessity of giving 300,000 Pounds, to the *Scots*, to give Satisfaction to future Ages, that it was no Puffillanimity, but upon mature Deliberation; because the evident Necessity, and inevitable Dangers cast upon us by ill Counsel, justly caused it.

To the Purpose, the House of Commons hath done wisely, to endeavour to clip the Wings of the Clergy, that they may fly into no temporal Place, whose Pens and Tongues have uttered such Poison against the common Good, and in their Pride, would willingly adhere to *Rome*; as by many Superstitions it plainly appears, they have introduced some *Babylonian* Ceremonies, and made a Bridge unto the Church, by the *Arminian* Opinion, to pass over to Popery.

The State of *Venice*, jealous of any their Members confederating with Enemies, cause them to be strangled, and hanged up between Columns, confiscate their Goods and Estates, banish their Children, and make them incapable of Government; if for Jealousy, much more, for so foul Acts committed, ought they to die, by the Law of God and Man.

Among the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Romans*; whosoever should go about to alter the Form of Government, or Laws, without publick Consent, hath been ever accounted the highest Traitor; witness their Ostracism, and many such exemplary Punishments, used to such Wretches.

If Destroying the Head be high Treason, then Ruining the State of the Body must be; for if it be suffocated with gross Spirits, the Head will not only ach, but be apoplectical or lethargical, such a Sympathy or rather Relation is betwixt Head and Members, that no Rhetorick or Eloquence can take it away: In this Case it is no Pity, but convenient to destroy the Brood of such Vipers, and by our Law the Intention makes it Treason. But how many Ways the Lord of *Strafford* hath perpetrated this Intention, hath been often proved.

In 18, and 21, *Jacobi*, the whole House adjudged it Treason, to alien the Hearts of the Subjects from the Sovereign, which hath been done by his Counsellors. His Imprisoning without Law, was high Treason, in Sir *Haukin Hamby*, 25. E. 3. Art. 61, who was drawn, hanged, and quartered.

Judge *Thorpe's* Giving such an Oath, contrary to Law, was high Treason; and is not his?

The Reason, *Richard the Second* was deposed, plainly manifested, was, because he suffered divers Malefactors to escape, condemned by Parliament, which caused the Oppression of the Subject and Ruin of the Kingdom.

In all Ages, a Lethargy in Kings hath caused their Ruin; witness *Edward the Second*, *Richard the Second*, and *Henry the Sixth*. I humbly desire God to bless his Majesty. But consider we, that the three Kingdoms will not be satisfied, unless the Wrong received be expiated with the Oblation of some, who have caused a Heretick Condition.

The Lord of *Strafford* hath had Counsel, in Case of Treason, when none hath had the like since the Conquest.

So the whole Word may see with what Tem-

per, Gravity, and Patience they proceed.

Edward Earl of Northumberland, in the 8th of *Richard II.*, because his Deputy let the *Scots* take *Berwick Castle*, was condemned of high Treason, and yet he never consented thereunto, for it was done without his Privy; but the Lord of *Strafford* writ to the Mayor of *Newcastle*, to let in the *Scots*, and caused the Arms to be taken away from the four adjacent Counties, making them incapable of Defence.

Wherefore it is visible as the Sun, he is guilty; besides his other Crimes; now his Delay of Punishment hath kindled such a Fire, as all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms are in a Flame, and will not be satisfied:

Ex parvis magna crescunt.

I pray God divert the Evil, and give us true Repentance.

Considerations touching a War with Spain. Written by the Right Honourable *Francis Lord Verulam*, Viscount of *St. Albans*. Imprinted, 1629. Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages.

Y OUR Majesty hath an Imperial Name: It was a *Charles* that brought the Empire first into *France*; a *Charles* that brought it first into *Spain*: Why should not *Great-Britain* have its Turn? But to lay aside all that might seem to have a Shew of Fumes and Fancies, and to speak Solids: A War with *Spain*, if the King shall enter into it, is a mighty Work; it requireth strong Materials and active Motions; he, that faith not so, is zealous, but not according to Knowledge: But, nevertheless, *Spain* is no such Giant; and he that thinketh *Spain* to be some great Over-match for this Estate, assisted as it is and may be, is no good Mint-man, but takes Greatness of Kingdoms, according to their Bulk and Currency, and not after their intrinsic Value.

Although therefore I had wholly sequestered my Thoughts from Civil Affairs, yet, because it is a new Case, and concerneth my Country infinitely, I obtained of myself to set down, out of long continued Experience in Business

of State, and much Conversation in Books of Policy and History, what I thought pertinent to this Business, and, in all Humbleness, to present it to your Majesty; hoping, that at least you will discern the Strength of my Affection, through the Weakness of my Abilities: For the *Spaniards* have a good Proverb, *Desnarissi Empre con la Calentura*. There is no Heat of Affection, but is joined with some Idleness of Brain.

To War are required a just Quarrel, sufficient Forces and Provisions, and a prudent Choice of the Designs. So then I will, *First*, justify the Quarrel, *Secondly*, balance the Forces. And, *Lastly*, propound Variety of Designs for Choice: For that were not fit for a Writing of this Nature, neither is it a Subject within the Level of my Judgment, I being in Effect, a Stranger to the present Occurrences.

Wars, I speak not of ambitious predatory Wars, are Suits of Appeals to the Tribunal of God's Justice, when there are no Superiors on Earth to determine the Cause, and they

they are as civil Pleas, either Plaints or Defences.

There are therefore three just Grounds of War with Spain; one upon Plaint, two upon Defence; *Solomon* saith, *A Cord of three is not easily broken*, but especially when every of the Lines will hold by itself: They are these: The Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and a just Fear of the Subversion of our Church and Religion: For, in the handling of these two last Grounds of War, I shall make it plain, that Wars preventive, upon just Fears, are true Defensives, as well as upon actual Invasions. And again, that Wars defensive for Religion, I speak not of Rebellions, are most just, though offensive Wars for Religion are seldom to be approved or never, except they have some Mixture of Civil Titles. But all that I shall say, in this whole Argument, will be but like Bottoms of Thread close wound up, which, with a good Needle, perhaps may be flourished into large Works.

For the Asserting of the Justice of the Quarrel, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, I shall not go so high, as to discuss the Right of the War of *Bohemia*, which, if it be freed from Doubt on our Part, then there is no Colour nor Shadow, why the *Palatinate* should be retained, the Ravishing whereof was a mere Excursion of the first Wrong, and a Super-injustice. But I do not take myself to be so perfect in the Customs, Records, Transactions, and Privileges of that Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as to be fit to handle that Part; and I will not offer at that I cannot master. Yet this I will say in Passage positively and resolutely, That it is impossible and repugnant in itself, that an elective Monarchy should be so free and absolute as an Hereditary, no more than it is possible for a Father to have so full Power and Interest in an adoptive Son, as in a natural, *‘Quia naturalis obligatio fortior civili.’* And again, that received Maxim is almost unshaken and infallible, *‘Nil magis naturæ consentaneum est quam ut eisdem modis res dissolvantur quibus constituuntur.’* So that, if Part of the People or Estate be somewhat in the Election, you cannot make them Nulles or Cyphers in the Prorivation or Translation; and, if it be said, that this is a dangerous Opinion for the Pope, Emperor, and all elective Kings; it is true, it is a dangerous Opinion, and ought to be a dangerous Opinion to such personal Popes, Emperors, or elective

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Kings, as shall transcend their Limits, and become Tyrannical.

But it is a safe and sound Opinion for their Sees, Empires, and Kingdoms, and for themselves also, if they be wise: *‘Plenitudo potestatis est plenitudo tempestatis;’* but the chief Cause why I do not search into this Point, is, because I need it not. And, in handling the Right of a War, I am not willing to intermix Matters doubtful, with that which is out of Doubt: For as, in capital Causes, wherein but one Man's Life is in Question, *in favorem Vitæ*, the Evidence ought to be clear, so much more in the Judgment of a War, which is capital to Thousands. I suppose therefore the Worst, that the offensive War upon *Bohemia* hath been unjust, and then make the Case, which is no sooner made than resolved; if it be made, not enwrapped, but plainly and perspicuously, it is this in these: An offensive War is made, which is unjust to the Aggressor; the Prosecution and Race of the War carrieth the Defendant to assail and invade the ancient and indubitate Patrimony of the first Aggressor, which is now turned Defendant, Shall he sit down, and not put himself in Defence, or, if he be disposed, shall he not make a War for the Recovery? No Man is so poor of Judgment, as will affirm it. The Castle of *Gadmus* was taken, and the City of *Thebes* itself invested by *Phebidas*, the *Lacedæmonian*, insidiously and in Violation of League: The Process of this Action drew on a Refurprise of the Castle by the *Thebeans*, a Recovery of the Town, and a Current of the War, even unto the Walls of *Sparta*: I demand, Was the Defence of the City of *Sparta*, and the Expulsion of the *Thebeans*, out of the ancient *Læconian* Territories, unjust? The Starving of that Part of the Duchy of *Milan*, which lieth upon the River of *Adda*, by the *Venetians*, upon Contract with the *French*, was an ambitious and unjust Purchase. This Wheel, set on going, did pour a War upon the *Venetians*, with such a Tempest, as *Padua* and *Trivigi* were taken from them, and all their Dominions upon the Continent of *Italy* abandoned, and they confined within the salt Waters: Will any Man say, that the memorable Recovery and Defence of *Padua*, when the Gentlemen of *Venice*, unused to the Wars, out of the Love of their Country, became brave and martial the first Day; and so

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like.

likewise the Redemption of *Trivigi*, and the rest of their Dominions, was Matter of Scruple, whether just or no, because it had Force from a Quarrel ill begun. The Wars of the Duke of *Urbine*, Nephew to Pope *Julius the Second*, when he made himself Head of the *Spanish* Mutineers, was as unjust as unjust might be, a Support of desperate Rebels, and Invasion of *St. Peter's* Patrimony, and what you will. The Race of this War fell upon the Loss of *Urbine* itself; which was the Duke's undoubted Right, yet in this Case not penitentiary, though he had enjoined him never to strain Penance to expiate his first Offence, and would have counselled him to have given over the Pursuit of his Right, for *Urbine*; which after he obtained prosperously, and hath transmitted to his Family, yet until this Day.

Nothing more unjust than the Invasion of the *Spanish* Armada, in Eighty-eight, upon our Seas, for our Land was Holy Land to them, they might not touch it; Shall I say therefore, that the Defence of *Lisbon* or *Cales* afterwards was unjust? There be Thousands of Examples, 'Utor in re non dubia exemplis non necessariis.' The Reasons are plain, Wars are Vindict, Revenges Reparations; but Revenges are not infinite, but according to the Measure of the first Wrong or Damage. And therefore, when a voluntary offensive War, by the Design or Fortune of the War, is turned into a necessary defensive, the Scene of the Tragedy is changed, and it is a new Act to begin: For, though the particular Actions of Wars are complicate in Fact, yet they are separate and distinct in Right, like to Cross-suits in Civil Pleas, which are sometimes both just; but this is so clear, as needeth not further to be insisted upon. And yet, if, in Things so clear, it were fit to speak of more or less clear, in our present Cause, it is the more clear on our Part, because the Possession of *Bohemia* is settled with the Emperor; for, though it be true, that *Non datur compensatio injuriarum*; yet were there somewhat more Colour to detain the *Palatinate*, as in the Nature of a Recovery in Value or Compensation, if *Bohemia* had been lost, or were still the Stage of the War. Of this therefore I speak no more. As for the Title of Proscription or Forfeiture, wherein the Emperor, upon the Matter, hath been Judge and Party, and hath justified himself: God forbid, but that it should well endure an Appeal to a

War; for, certainly, the Court of Heaven, I take it, is as well a Chancery to save and debar Forfeitures, as a Court of common Law to decide Rights, and there would be Work enough in *Germany*, *Italy*, and other Parts, if Imperial Forfeitures should go for good Titles.

Thus much for the first Ground of War with *Spain*, being in the Nature of a Plaintiff for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, omitting that here, which might be the Seed of a larger Discourse, and is verified by a Number of Examples; which is, That whatsoever is gained by an abusive Treaty, ought to be restored *in integrum*. As we see the daily Experience of this in Civil Pleas, for the Images of great Things are best seen contracted into small Glasses; we see, I say, that all Pretorian Courts, if any of the Parties be entertained, or laid asleep, under Pretence of an Arbitrement or Accord, and that the other Party, during that Time, doth cautelously get the Start and Advantage at Common Law, though it be to Judgment and Execution, yet the Pretorian Court will set back all Things *in statu quo prius*, no Respect being had to such Eviction, or Dispossession. Lastly, Let there be no Mistaking, as if, when I speak of a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, I meant, that it must be *in linea recta* upon that Place; for look in *Jus Feciale*, and all Examples, and it will be found to be without Scruple, that, after a Legation *ad res repetendas*, and a Refusal, and a Denunciation or Indiction of a War, the War is no more confined to the Place of the Quarrel, but is left at large, and to Choice (as to the particular conducting Designs) as Opportunities and Advantages shall invite.

To proceed therefore to the second Ground of a War with *Spain*: We have set it down to be a just Fear of the Subversion of our Civil Estate; so then the War is not for the *Palatinate* only, but for *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, our King, our Prince, our Nation, all that we have. Wherein two Things are to be proved; the one, That a just Fear, without an actual Invasion or Offence, is a sufficient Ground of a War, and in the Nature of a true Defensive; the other, That we have, towards *Spain*, Cause of just Fear; I say just Fear; for, as the Civilians do well define, that the legal Fear is '*justus metus, qui cadit in constantem virum,*' in private Cases; so there

there is 'justus metus, qui cadit in constantem Senatum in causa publica,' not out of Umbrages, light Jealousness, Apprehensions afar off, but out of clear Foresight of imminent Danger.

Concerning the former Proposition, it is good to hear what Time saith.

Thucydides, in his Inducement to his Story of the great War of *Peloponnesus*, sets down in plain Terms, That the true Cause of that War was the over-growing Greatness of the *Athenians*, and the Fear that the *Lacedemonians* stood in thereby; and doth not doubt to call it 'a Necessity imposed upon the *Lacedemonians* of a War;' which are the very Words of a mere Defensive; adding, That the other Causes were but specious and popular: 'Verissimam quidem, sed minime sermone celebratam arbitror extitisse belli causam, Athenienses magnos effectos, & Lacedæmoniis formidolosos, necessitatem illis imposuisse bellandi; quæ autem propalam ferebantur utrinque, causæ istæ fuerunt, &c.' *i. e.* The truest Cause of this War, though least voiced, I conceive to have been this: That the *Athenians*, being grown great, to the Terror of the *Lacedemonians*, did impose upon them the Necessity of a War; but the Causes, that went Abroad in Speeches, were these, &c.

Sulpitius Galba, Consul, when he persuaded the *Romans* to a preventive War with the latter *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, in Regard of the great Preparations, which *Philip* had then on Foot, and his Designs to ruin some of the Confederates of the *Romans*, confidently saith, That they, who took that for an Offensive War, understood not the State of the Question: 'Ignorare videmini mihi, Quirites, non utrum bellum, an pacem habeatis vos consuli; neque enim liberum id vobis permittet *Philippus*, qui terra marique ingens bellum molitur; sed utrum in Macedonia legiones transportetis, an hostem in Italiam accipietis:' *i. e.* You seem to me, you *Romans*, not to understand, that the Consultation before you is not, Whether you shall have War or Peace; for *Philip* will take Order you shall be no Chusers, who prepareth a mighty War both by Land and by Sea; but, Whether you shall transport the War into *Macedonia*, or receive it into *Italy*.

Antiochus, when he incited *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, at that Time in League with the

Romans, to join with him in War against them, setteth before him a just Fear of the overspreading Greatness of the *Romans*, comparing it to a Fire, that continually took and spread from Kingdom to Kingdom: 'Venire Romanos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nullum usquam orbis terrarum, nisi Romanum imperium esset; Philippum & Nabin expugnatos, se tertium peti, ut quisque proximus ab oppresso sit per omnes velut continens incendium pervasurum:' *i. e.* That the *Romans* came to pull down all Kingdoms, and to make the State of *Rome* an universal Monarchy; that *Philip* and *Nabis* were already ruined, and now was his Turn to be assailed: So that, as every State lay next to the other, that was oppressed, so the Fire perpetually grazed. Wherein it is well to be noted, That, towards ambitious States, which are noted to aspire to great Monarchies, and to seek upon all Occasions to enlarge their Dominions, 'crefcent argumenta justæ metus; *i. e.* All particular Fears do grow and multiply out of the Contemplation of the general Courses and Practices of such States; therefore, in Deliberations of War against the *Turk*, it hath been often with great Judgment maintained, That Christian Princes and States have always a sufficient Ground of invasive War against the Enemy, not for the Cause of Religion, but upon a just Fear; so far as it is a fundamental Law, in the *Turkish* Empire, That they may, without any other Provocation, make War upon *Christendom*, for the Propagation of their Law; so that there lieth upon the Christians a perpetual Fear of a War hanging over their Heads from them; and therefore they may at all Times, as they think good, be upon the Prevention.

Demothenes exposeth to Scorn Wars which are not preventive, comparing these that make them to Country-fellows in a Fence-school, that never ward till the Blow be past: 'Ut barbari pugiles dimicare solent, ita vos bellum geritis cum Philippo; ex his enim is, qui ictus est, ictui semper inhæret; quod si eum alibi verberes illo manus transfert, ictum autem propellere aut prospicere neque scit, neque vult:' *i. e.* As Country-fellows use to do, when they play at Waiters, such a Kind of War do you, *Athenians*, make with *Philip*; for, with them, he that gets a Blow straight falleth to ward, when the Blow is past; and, if you strike him in another Place,

thither goes his Hand likewise ; but to put by, or foresee a Blow, they neither have the Skill, nor the Will.

Clinias the *Candian*, in *Plato*, speaks desperately and wildly, as if there were no such Thing as Peace between Nations, but that every Nation expects but his Advantage to war upon another.

But yet, in that Excess of Speech, there is thus much, that may have a civil Construction ; namely, That every State ought to stand upon its Guard, and rather prevent, than be prevented. His Words are : ‘ *Quam rem fere vocant pacem, nudum & inane nomen est ; reversa autem omnibus adversus omnes civitates bellum sempiternum perdurat* :’ i. e. That, which Men for the most Part call *Peace*, is but a naked and empty Name ; but the Truth is, that there is ever between all States a secret War. I know well, this Speech is the Objection, and not the Decision, and that it is afterwards refused ; but yet, as I said before, it bears thus much of Truth, That, if that general Malignity and Predisposition to War, which he untruly figureth to be in all Nations, be produced and extended to a just Fear of being oppressed, then it is no more a true Peace, but a Name of Peace.

As for the Opinion of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, it demands not so much towards a War, as a just Fear, but rather cometh near the Opinion of *Clinias*, as if there were ever amongst Nations a Brooding of a War, and that there is no sure League, but Impuissance to do Hurt. For he, in the Treaty of Peace with the *Lacedemonians*, speaketh plain Language, telling them, There could be no true and secure Peace, except the *Lacedemonians* yielded to those Things, which being granted, it would be no longer in their Power to hurt the *Athenians*, though they would.

And, to say the Truth, if one mark it well, this was in all Memory the main Piece of Wisdom in strong and prudent Councils, to be in perpetual Watch, that the States about them should neither by Approach, nor by Increase of Dominion, nor by Ruining Confederates, nor by Blocking of Trade, nor by any the like Means, have it in their Power to hurt or annoy the States, they serve ; and, whensoever any such Cause did but appear, straightway to buy it out with a War, and never to take up Peace at Credit, and upon Interest. It is so memorable, that it is yet fresh, as if it were

done yesterday, how that Triumvirate of Kings, *Henry the Eighth of England*, *Francis the First of France*, and *Charles the Fifth*, Emperor, and King of *Spain*, were, in their Times, so provident, that scarce a Palm of Ground could be gotten by either of the three, but that the other two would be sure to do their best to set the Balance of *Europe* upright again. And the like Diligence was used, in the Age before, by that League (wherewith *Guicciardini* beginneth his Story, and maketh it, as it were, the Calendar of the good Days of *Italy*) which was contracted between *Ferdinando King of Naples*, *Lorenzo of Medicis*, Potentate of *Florence*, and *Lodovico Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, designed chiefly against the growing Power of the *Venetians*, but yet so, that the Confederates had a perpetual Eye one upon another, that none of them should overtop. To conclude therefore : Howsoever some Schoolmen (otherwise reverend Men, yet fitter to guide Penknives than Swords) seem precisely to stand upon it, That every Offensive War must be *ultio*, a Revenge, that presupposeth a precedent Assault, or Injury ; yet neither do they descend to this Point, which we now handled, of a just Fear, neither are they of Authority to judge this Question against all the Precedents of Time ; for, certainly, as long as Men are Men (the Sons of the Poets allude of *Prometheus*, not of *Epimetheus*) and, as long as Reason is Reason, a just Fear will be a just Cause of a preventive War ; but especially, if it be Part of the Cause, That there be a Nation, that is manifestly detected to aspire to Monarchy and new Acquisitions, then other States assuredly cannot be justly accused for not staying for the first Blow, or for not accepting *Polyphemus*’s Courtesy, to be the last that shall be eaten up.

Nay, I observe further, that, in that Passage of *Plato*, which I cited before, and even in the Tenet of that Person, that beareth the resolving Part, and not the objecting, a just Fear is justified for a Cause of an invasive War, though the same Fear proceed not from the Fault of the foreign State to be assailed ; for it is there insinuated, that, if a State, out of the Distemper of their own Body, do fear Sedition and intestine Troubles to break out amongst themselves, they may discharge their own ill Humours upon a foreign War for a Cure ; and this Kind of Cure was tendered by *Jasper Coligni*, Admiral of *France* to *Charles*
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the Ninth, the French King, when, by a vive and forcible Persuasion, he moved him to make War upon *Flanders*, for the better Extinguishment of the Civil Wars of *France*; but neither was that Counsel prosperous, neither will I maintain that Proposition; for I will never set Politicks against Ethics, especially, for that true Ethics are but as a Handmaid to Divinity and Religion: Surely St. Thomas, who had the largest Heart of the School Divines, bendeth chiefly his Stile against depraved Passions, which reign in making Wars, out of St. Augustine, 'Nocendi cupiditas, ulciscendi crudelitas, implacatus & implacabilis animus, feritas rebellandi, libido dominandi & si quæ sunt similia, hæc sunt quæ in Bellis jure culpantur.' And the same St. Thomas, in his own Text, defining of the just Causes of the War, doth leave it upon very general Terms, 'Requiritur ad Bellum causa justa, ut scilicet illi qui impugnantur propter aliquam culpam impugnationem mereantur;' for *impugnatio culpæ* is a far more general Word, than *ultio injuriæ*.

And thus much for the first Proposition of the second Ground of a War with *Spain*, namely, That a just Fear is a just Cause of a War, and that a preventive War is a true defensive. The second, or minor Proposition, was this, That this Kingdom hath Cause of a just Fear of Overthrow from *Spain*, wherein it is true, that Fears are ever seen in dimmer Lights, than Facts; and, on that other Side, Fears use many Times to be represented in such an imaginary Fashion, as they rather dazzle Men's Eyes, than open them; and, therefore, I will speak in that Manner which the Subject requires, that is probably, and moderately, and briefly; neither will I deduce these Fears to the present Occurrences, but point only at general Grounds, leaving the rest to more secret Councils.

It is nothing, that the Crown of *Spain* hath enlarged the Bounds thereof, within this last six-score Years, much more than the *Ottomans*; I speak not of Matches or Unions, but of Arms, Occupations, Invasions. *Granado*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Portugal*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, all these are actual Additions to that Crown, and in Possession; they have a great Mind to *French Britain*, the lower Part of *Picardy* and *Piedmont*, but they have let fall their Bit; they have, at this Day, such a

hovering Possession of the *Valteline*, as an Hobby hath over a Lark, and the *Palatinate* is in their Talons; so nothing is more manifest, than that this Nation of *Spain* runs a Race still of Empire, when all other States of *Christendom* stand, in Effect, at a Stay.

Look then a little further into the Titles, whereby they have acquired, and do now hold these new Portions of their Crown, and you will find them of so many Varieties, and such Natures, to speak with due Respect, as may appear to be easily minted, and such as can hardly, at any Time, be wanting; and, therefore, so many new Conquests and Purchases, so many Strokes of the Alarum-bell of Fear and Awaking to other Nations, and the Facility of the Titles, which, Hand over Head, have served their Turn, do ring the Peal so much the sharper, and the louder.

Shall we descend from their general Disposition, to enlarge their Dominions; to their particular Dispositions, and Eye of Appetite, which they have had towards us? They have now fought twice to impatronise themselves of this Kingdom of *England*, once by Marriage with Queen *Mary*, and, the second Time, by Conquest, in 1588, when their Forces, by Sea and Land, were not inferior to those they have now; and, at that Time, in 1588, the Counsel and Design of *Spain* was, by many Advertisements, revealed, and laid open, to be, that they found the War, upon the *Low-Countries*, so churlish and longsome, as they grew then to a Resolution, That, as long as *England* stood in State to succour those Countries, they should but consume themselves in an endless War; and, therefore, there was no other Way, but to assail and depress *England*, which was a Back of Steel to the *Flemings*; and who can warrant, I pray, that the same Counsel and Design will not return again? So that we are in a strange Dilemma of Danger; for, if we suffer the *Flemings* to be ruined, [they are our Outwork, and we shall remain naked and dismantled; if we succour them strongly, as is fit, and set them upon their Feet, and do not withal weaken *Spain*, we hazard to change the Scene of the War, and to turn it upon *Ireland* or *England*, like unto Rheums and Defluxions, which, if you apply a strong Repercussive to the Place affected, and do not

take

take away the Cause of the Disease, will shift, and fall straightways to another Joint or Place. They have also twice invaded *Ireland*, once under the Pope's Banner, when they were defeated by *Gray*, and after, in their own Name, when they were defeated by *Mountjoy*; so let this suffice for a Taste of their Disposition towards us. But it will be said, this is an Almanack for the old Year; since 1588, all hath been well, *Spain* hath not assailed this Kingdom, howsoever, by two several Invasions from us, mightily provoked. It is true, but then consider, that, immediately after they were embroiled, for a great Time, in the Protection of the League of *France*, whereby they had their Hands full; after being brought extreme low, by their vast and continual Embracements, they were inforced to be quiet, that they might take Breath, and do Reparations upon their former Wastes; but now, of late, Things seem to come on apace to their former Estate, nay, with far greater Disadvantage to us; for now that they have almost continued, and, as it were, arched their Dominions from *Milan*, by the *Valtoline* and *Palatinate*, to the *Low-Countries*; we see how they thirst and pant after the utter Ruin of those States, having, in Contempt almost the *German Nation*, and doubting little Opposition, except it come from *England*; whereby, we must either suffer the *Dutch* to be ruined, to our own manifest Prejudice, or put it upon the Hazard I spoke of before, that *Spain* will cast at the fairest. Neither is the Point of internal Danger, which groweth upon us, to be forgotten; this, that the Party of the Papists in *England* are become more knotted, both in Dependence towards *Spain*, and amongst themselves, than they have been; wherein again comes to be remembered the Cause of 1588; for then also it appeared, by divers secret Letters, that the Design of *Spain* was, for some Years before the Invasion attempted, to prepare a Party in this Kingdom, to adhere to the Foreign at his Coming; and they bragged, that they doubted not, but to abuse and lay asleep the Queen and Council of *England*, as to having any Fear of the Party of Papists here; for that they knew, they said, the State would but cast the Eye, and look about to see, whether there were any eminent Head of that Party, under whom it might

unite itself; and, finding none worth the Thinking on, the State would rest secure, and take no Apprehension; whereas they meant, they said, to take Course to deal with the People, and, particularly, by Reconcilements and Confessions, and secret Promises, and cared not for any Head of Party; and this is the true Reason why, after that, the Seminaries began to blossom, and to make Missions into *England*, which was about the twenty-third of Queen *Elizabeth*; at which Time, also, was the first Suspicion of the *Spanish* Invasion; then, and not before, grew the sharp and severe Laws to be made against the Papists, and, therefore, the Papists may do well to change their Thanks; and whereas they thank *Spain* for their Favours, to thank them for their Perils and Miseries, if they should fall upon them, for that nothing ever made their Case so ill, as the Doubt of the Greatness of *Spain*; which adding Reason of State, and Matter of Conscience and Religion, doth whet the Laws against them; and this Cause also seemeth, in some Sort, to return again at this Time, except the Clemency of his Majesty and the State do superabound. As for my Part, I wish it should, and, that the Proceedings towards them may rather tend to Security, and Providence, and Point of State, than to Persecution for Religion.

But to conclude, these Things, briefly touched, may serve as in a Subject conjectural, and future, for to represent, how just Cause of Fear this Kingdom may have towards *Spain*, omitting, as I said before, all present and more secret Occurrents.

The third Ground of a War with *Spain* I have set down to be a just Fear of the Subversion of our Church and Religion, which needeth little Speech; for, if this War be a defensive, as I have proved it to be, no Man will doubt, that a defensive War, against a Foreigner, for Religion is lawful; of an offensive War there is no Dispute; and yet, in that Instance of the War for the *Holy Land* and *Sepulchre*, I do wonder sometimes, that the Schoolmen want Words to defend that, which St. *Bernard* wanted Words to commend; but I, that, in this little Extract of a Treatise, do omit Things necessary, am not to handle Things unnecessary; no Man, I say, will doubt, but, if the Pope, or King of *Spain*, would demand of us to forsake our Religion,

ligion, upon Pain of a War, it were as unjust a Demand, as the *Persians* made to the *Grecians*, of Land and Water, or the *Ammonites* to the *Israelites*, of their right Eyes; and we see all the Heathens did stile their defensive War *pro aris & focis*, placing their Altars before their Hearths; so that it is in Vain of this to speak further, only this is true, that the Fear of the Subversion of our Religion from *Spain* is the more just, for that all other Catholick Princes and States content and contain themselves, to maintain their Religion within their own Dominions, and meddle not with the Subjects of other States; whereas the Practice of *Spain* hath been, both in *Charles the Fifth's* Time, in *Germany*, and, in the Time of the League, in *France*, by War, and now, with us, by Conditions of Treaties, to intermeddle with foreign States, and to declare themselves Projectors-general of the Party of Catholicks through the World, as if the Crown of *Spain* had a Title of this, that they would plant the Pope's Law by Arms, as the *Ottomans* do the Law of *Mahomet*. Thus much concerning the first main Point of justifying the Quarrel, if the King shall enter into a War; for this that I have said, and all that followeth to be said, is but to shew what he may do. The second main Part of that I have propounded to speak of is the Balance of Forces between *Spain* and us; and this also tendeth to no more but what the King may do, for what he may do is of two Kinds, what he may do as just, and what he may do as possible; of the one I have already spoken, of the other I am now to speak. I said *Spain* was no such Giant, and yet, if he were a Giant, it will be but as it was between *David* and *Goliath*, for God is on our Side. But to leave all Arguments that are supernatural, and to speak in an human and pollick Sense, I am led to think that *Spain* is no Over-match for *England*, by that which leadeth all Men, that is, Experience and Reason; and with Experience I will begin, for there all Reason beginneth. Is it Fortune shall we think, that in all Actions of War, or Arms, great and small, which have happened these many Years, ever since *Spain* and *England* have had any Thing to debate one with the other, the *English* upon all Encounters, have perpetually come off with Honour, and with the better? It is not For-

tune sure, she is not so constant: There is somewhat in the Nations and natural Courage of the People, or some such Thing. I will make a brief List of the Particulars themselves, in an historical Truth, no Ways stretched nor made greater by Language. This were a fit Speech, you will say, for a General, in the Head of an Army, when they are going to Battle; yes, and it is no less fit Speech to be spoken in the Head of a Council upon a Deliberation of an Entrance into a War; neither speak I this to disparage the *Spanish* Nation, whom I take to be of the best Soldiers in *Europe*. But that forteth to our Honour, if we still have had the better Hand. In the Year 1578, was that famous *Lammas-Day* which buried the Reputation of *Don John of Austria*, himself not surviving long after: *Don John*, being superior in Forces, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, *Mansell*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, charged the Army of the States near *Rimenant*, bravely and furiously at the first, but, after a Fight maintained by the Space of a whole Day, was repulsed, and forced to a Retreat, with great Slaughter of his Men, and the Course of his farther Enterprizes, wholly arrested; and this chiefly by the Prowess and Virtue of the *English* and *Scottish* Troops, under the Conduct of *Sir John Norris* and *Sir Robert Steward*, Colonels, which Troops came to the Army but the Day before, harraressed with a long and wearisome March. And, as it is left for a memorable Circumstance in all Stories, the Soldiers, being more sensible of a little Heat of the Sun, than of any cold Fear of Treaty, cast away their Armour and Garments from them, and fought in their Shirts; and, as it was generally conceived, had it not been that the Count of *Bosse* was slack in charging the *Spaniards* upon their Retreat, this Fight had turned to an absolute Defeat; but it was enough to chastise *Don John* for his insidious Treaty of Peace, wherewith he had abused the States at his first Coming. And the Fortune of the Day, besides the Testimony of all Stories, may be ascribed to the Service of the *English* and *Scottish*, by Comparison of this Charge near *Rimenant*, where the *English* and *Scottish*, in great Numbers, came in Action, with the like Charge given by *Don John*, half a Year before at *Guy-lours*, where the Success was contrary, there being at that Time in the Army but a Handful

of *English* and *Scottish*, and put in *Difaray* by the Horsemen of their own Fellows.

The first Dart of War, which was thrown from *Spain* or *Rome* upon the Realm of *Ireland*, was in the Year 1580, for the Design of *Stuckley* blew over into *Africk*, and the Attempt of *Sanders* and *Fitz Morris* had a Spice of Madnes. In that Year *Ireland* was invaded by *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, under the Pope's Banner and the Conduct of *St. Josepho*, to the Number of seven-hundred, or better, which landed at *Smerwicke* in *Kerry*. A poor Number it was to conquer *Ireland* to the Pope's Use, for their Design was no less, but, withal, they brought Arms for five-thousand Men above their own Company, intending to arm so many of the Rebels of *Ireland*; and their Purpose was to fortify in some strong Place of the wild and desolate Country, and that to nestle till greater Succours came, they being hastened upon this Enterprize upon a special Reason of State not proper to the Enterprize itself, which was by the Invasion of *Ireland*, and the Noise thereof, to trouble the Council of *England*, and to make a certain Diversion of certain Aids that were then preparing from hence for the *Low-Countries*. They chose a Place where they erected a Fort, which they called the *Fort del Or*, and from thence they bolted like Beasts of the Forest, sometimes into the Woods and Fastnesses, and sometimes back again to their Den. Soon after, Siege was laid to the Fort by the Lord *Gray*, then Deputy, with a smaller Number than those were within the Fort, venturously indeed, but Haste was made to attack them before the Rebels came in to them. After the Siege of four Days only, with two or three Sallies, with Loss on that Part, they, that should have made good the Fort for some Months, till new Succours came from *Spain*, or at least from the Rebels of *Ireland*, yielded up themselves without Conditions, at the End of those four Days; and for that there were not in the *English* Army enough to keep every Man a Prisoner; and for that also the Deputy expected instantly to be assailed by the Rebels, and again there was no Barque to throw them into, and send them away by Sea, they were all put to the Sword, with which Queen *Elisabeth* was afterwards much displeased.

In the Year 1582, was that memorable Retreat of *Ghent*, than the which there hath not

been an Exploit of War more celebrated, for, in the true Judgment of Men of War, honourable Retreats are no Ways inferior to brave Charges, as having less of Fortune, more of Discipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the Number of three-hundred Horse, and many thousand Foot, *English*, commanded by Sir *John Norris*, charged upon an Advantage taken by the Prince of *Parma* coming upon them with seven thousand Horse; besides that, the whole Army of the *Spaniards* was ready to march on. Nevertheless, Sir *John Norris* maintained a Retreat without *Difaray* by the Space of some Miles, Part of the Way Champaign unto the City of *Ghent*, with less Loss of Men than the Enemy: The Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange*, beholding this noble Action from the Walls of *Ghent*, as in a Theatre, with great Admiration.

In the Year 1585, followed the prosperous Expedition of *Drake* and *Carlisle* into the *West-Indies*. In which I set aside the Taking of *St. Jago* and *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, as Surprises rather than Encounters. But that of *Carthagena*, where the *Spaniards* had Warning of our Coming, and had put themselves in their full Strength, was one of the hottest Services and most dangerous Assaults hath been known, for the Access to the Town was only by a Neck of Land between the Sea on the one Part, and the Harbour-water or Minor-sea on the other, fortified clean over a strong Rampart Barricado, so as upon the Ascent of our Men they had both great Ordnance and small Shot that thundered and showered upon them from the Rampart in Front, and from the Gallies that lay at Sea in Flank; and yet they forced the Passage, and won the Town, being likewise very well manned. As for the Expedition of Sir *Francis Drake* in the Year 1587, for the Destroying of the *Spanish* Shipping and Provision upon their own Coast, as I cannot say that there intervened in that Enterprize any sharp Fight or Encounter, so nevertheless it did straightly discover, either that *Spain* is very weak at Home, or very slow to move, when they suffered a small Fleet of *English* to make an hostile Invasion or Incursion upon their Havens and Roads from *Cadiz* to *Cape Sacre*, and thence to *Cascous*, and to fire, sink, and carry away at the least ten-thousand Ton of their greater Shipping, besides fifty or sixty of their smaller Vessels, and that in the Sight

and under the Favour of their Ports, and almost under the Eye of their great Admiral, the best Commander of *Spain* by Sea, the Marquis de *Santa Cruce*, without ever being disputed with by any Fight of Importance. I remember *Drake*, in the vaunting Stile of a Soldier, would call this Enterprize the Singeing of the King of *Spain's* Beard. The Enterprize of 88, deserveth to be stood upon a little more fully being a Miracle of Time. There arrived from *Spain*, in the Year 1588, the greatest Navy that ever swam upon the Seas, for, tho' there have been far greater Fleets for Number, yet the Bulk and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Provisions, never the like. The Design was not to make an Invasion only, but an utter Conquest of this Kingdom. The Number of Vessels were one-hundred-thirty, whereof Gallies and Gallies seventy-two goodly Ships, like floating Towers or Castles, manned with thirty thousand Soldiers and Mariners. This Navy was the Preparation of five whole Years at the least; it bare itself also upon Divine Assistance, for it received special Blessing from Pope *Sixtus*, and was assigned as an Apostolical Mission for the Reducement of this Kingdom to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*. And, in further Token of this holy Warfare, there were, amongst the rest of these Ships, twelve called by the Names of the twelve Apostles. But it was truly conceived that this Kingdom of *England* could never be overwhelmed, except the Land-Waters came in to the Sea-tides: Therefore, was there also in Readiness in *Flanders* a mighty Army of Land Forces, to the Number of fifty-thousand veteran Soldiers, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Parma*, the best Commander, next the *French* King, the Fourth of his Time. These were designed to join with Forces at Sea, there being prepared a Number of flat-bottom Boats, to transport the Land Forces, under the Wing and Protection of the great Navy, for they made no other Account, but that the Navy should be absolutely Master of the Seas. Against these Forces, there were prepared on our Part, to the Number of near one-hundred Ships, not of so great Bulk indeed, but of a more nimble Motion, and more serviceable, besides a less Fleet of thirty Ships, for the Custody of the narrow Seas. There were also in Readiness at Land two Armies, besides other Forces, to the Number of Ten-

thousand, dispersed amongst the Coast Towns, in the Southern Parts; the two Armies were appointed, one of them consisting of twenty-five-thousand Horse and Foot, for the Repulsing of the Enemy, at their Landing, and the other of thirty-five Thousand, for Safeguard and Attendance about the Court, and the Queen's Person. There were also other dormant Mustres of Soldiers, throughout all Parts of the Realm, that were put in Readiness, but not drawn together. The two Armies were assigned to the Leading of two Generals, noble Persons; but both of them rather Courtiers, and assured to the State, than martial Men, yet loved and assisted, with subordinate Commanders, of great Experience and Valour.

The Fortune of the War made this Enterprize, at first, a Play at Base: The *Spanish* Navy set forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, and was dispersed and driven back by Weather: Our Navy set forth somewhat later out of *Plymouth*, and bare up towards the Coast of *Spain*, to have fought with the *Spanish* Navy; and partly upon Advertisement, that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon some Doubt also, that they might pass by towards the Coast of *England*, while we were seeking them afar off, returned likewise into *Plymouth*, about the Middle of *July*. At that Time, came more constant Advertisement, though false, not only to the Lord Admiral, but to the Court, that the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forwards that Year; whereupon our Navy was upon the Point of disbanding, and many of our Men gone a-shore. At that very Time, the *invincible Armada* (for so it was called, in a *Spanish* Ostentation, throughout *Europe*) was discovered upon the Western Coast: It was a Kind of Surprise, for that, as we said, many of our Men were gone on Land, and our Ships ready to depart. Nevertheless, the Admiral, with such Ships only, as as could suddenly be put in Readiness, made forth towards them; inso much as, of one-hundred Ships, there came scarce thirty to Work. Howbeit, with them, and such as came duly in, we set upon them, and gave them the Chace. But the *Spaniards*, for Want of Courage, which they called *Commission*, declined the Fight, casting themselves continually into Roundels, the strongest Ships walling in the rest, and in that Manner, they made a flying March, towards *Calais*. Our Men, by the

Space of five or six Days, followed them close, fought with them continually, made great Slaughter of their Men, took two of their great Ships, and gave divers others of their Ships their Deaths Wounds, whereof soon after they sank, and perished, and in a Word, distressed them, almost in the Nature of a Defeat, we ourselves, in the mean Time, receiving little or no Hurt. Near *Calais* the *Spaniards* anchored, expecting their Land Forces, which came not. It was afterwards alledged, that the Duke of *Parma* did artificially delay his Coming; but this was but an Invention, and Pretension, given out by the *Spaniards*, partly upon a *Spanish* Envy, against the Duke, being an *Italian*, and his Son a Competitor to *Portugal*, but chiefly to save the monstrous Scorn and Disreputation, which they and their Nation received by the Success of that Enterprize; therefore, their Colours and Excuses forsooth were, that their General by Sea had a limited Commission, not to fight, until the Land Forces were come in to them, and that the Duke of *Parma* had particular Reaches, and Ends of his own, under Hand, to cross the Design. But it was both a strange Commission, and a strange Obedience to a Commission, for Men, in the Midst of their own Blood, and being so furiously assailed, to hold their Hands, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Necessity. And, as for the Duke of *Parma*, he was reasonably well tempted to be true to that Enterprize, by no less Promises, than to be made Feudatory, or Beneficiary, King of *England*, under the Signory in Chief of the Pope, and the Protection of the King of *Spain*. Besides it appeared, that the Duke of *Parma* held his Place long after in the Favour and Trust of the King of *Spain*, by the great Employments and Services that he performed in *France*. And again, it is manifest, that the Duke did his best to come down, and to put to Sea; the Truth was, that the *Spanish* Navy, upon these Proofs of Fight, which they had with the *English*, finding how much Hurt they received, and how little they did, by Reason of the Activity, and low Building of our Ships, and Skill of our Seamen, and being also commanded by a General of small Courage and Experience, and having lost, at the first, two of their bravest Commanders at Sea, *Petro de Valdez* and *Michael de Oquenda*, durst not put it to a Battle at Sea, but set up

their Rest wholly upon the Land Enterprize. On the other Side, the Transporting of the Land Forces failed, in the very Foundation, for whereas the Council of *Spain* made full Account, that their Navy should be Master of the Sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the Vessels of Transportation, it fell out to the contrary, that the great Navy was distressed, and had enough to do to save itself, and again, that the *Hollanders* impounded their Land Forces, with a brave Fleet of thirty Sail, excellently well appointed; Things, I say, being in this Case, it came to pass, that the Duke of *Parma* must have flown, if he would have come into *England*, for he could get neither Barque nor Mariner to put to Sea; yet, certain it is, that the Duke looked still for the Coming back of the Armada, even at that Time, when they were wandering and making their Perambulation, upon the Northern Seas. But to return to the Armada, which we left anchored at *Calais*; from thence, as *Sir Walter Raleigh* was wont prettily to say, they were suddenly driven away with Squibs, for it was no more but a Stratagem of Fireboats manless, and sent upon them, by the Favour of the Wind, in the Night-time, that did put them in such Terror, as they cut their Cables, and left their Anchors in the Sea. After they hovered many Days about *Graveling*, and there again were beaten in a great Fight, at which Time our second Fleet, which kept the narrow Seas, was come in, and joined with our main Fleet. Thereupon the *Spaniards*, entering into further Terror, and finding also divers of their Ships every Day to sink, lost all Courage, and instead of Coming up into the *Thames* Mouth for *London*, as their Design was, fled on towards the North, to seek their Fortunes, being still chased by the *English* Navy at the Heels, until we were fain to give them over, for Want of Powder. The Breath of *Scotland* the *Spaniards* could not endure, neither durst they, as Invaders, land in *Ireland*, but only ennobled some of the Coasts thereof with Shipwrecks, and so going Northwards aloof, as long as they had any Doubts of being pursued, at last, when they were out of Reach, they turned and crossed the Ocean to *Spain*, having lost Fourscore of their Ships, and the greater Part of their Men. And this was the End of that Sea Giant, the invincible Armada, which having not so much as fired a Cottage

tage of ours at Land, nor taken a Cockboat of ours at Sea, wandered through the Wilderness of the Northern Seas, and according to the Curse in the Scripture, came out against us one Way, and fled before us seven Ways, serving only to make good the Judgment of an Astrologer, long before given, *Octogesima octavus mirabilis annus*; or rather indeed, to make good, even to the Astonishment of all Posterity, the wonderful Judgments of God, poured down commonly upon vast and proud Aspirings.

In the Year that followed, 1589, we gave the *Spaniards* no Breath, but turned Challengers and invaded the Main of *Spain*; in which Enterprize although we failed of our End, which was to settle Don *Antonio*, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, yet a Man shall hardly meet with an Action, that doth better reveal the great Secret of the Power of *Spain*, which well fought into, will be found rather to consist in a veteran Army, such as, upon several Occasions and Pretences, they have ever had on Foot in one Part of other of *Christendom*, now by the Space almost of six-score Years, than in the Strength of their several Dominions and Provinces; for what can be more strange or more to the Disvaluation of the Power of the *Spaniards*, upon the Continent, than that with an Army of eleven-thousand *English* Land Soldiers, and a Fleet of twenty-six Ships of War, besides some weak Vessels for Transportation, we should, with the Hour-glass of two Months, have won one Town of Importance by *Escalida*, battered and assaulted another, overthrown great Forces in the Field, and that, upon the Disadvantage of a Bridge strongly barricadoed, landed the Army in three several Places of his Kingdom, marched seven Days in the Heart of his Countries, lodged three Nights in the Suburbs of his principal City, beat his Forces into the Gates thereof, possessed two of his frontier Forts, and after all this came off with small Loss of Men, otherwise than by Sicknesh. And it was verily thought, that had it not been for four great Disfavours of that Voyage, that is to say, in the Failing of sundry Provisions that were promised, especially of Cannons for Battery, the vain Hopes of Don *Antonio*, concerning the People of his Country, to come in to his Aid, the Disappointment of the Fleet, that was directed to come up the River of *Lisbon*, and

lastly, the Diseases which spread in the Army, by Reason of the Heat of the Season, and of the Soldiers Misrule in Diet, the Enterprize had succeeded, and *Lisbon* had been carried. But howsoever it makes Proof to the World, that an Invasion of a few *English* upon *Spain* may have just Hope of Victory, or at least of a Pass-port to depart safely.

In the Year 1591, was that memorable Fight of an *English* Ship, called the *Revenge*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenfield*; memorable, I say, beyond Credit, and to the Height of some heroical Fable. And, though it was a Defeat, yet it exceeded a Victory, being like the Act of *Sampson*, that killed more Men at his Death, than he had done in the Time of all his Life. This Ship, for the Space of fifteen Hours, sat like a Stag amongst Hounds at the Bay, and was sieged and fought with, in Turn, by fifteen great Ships of *Spain*, Part of a Navy of fifty-five Ships in all, the rest, like Abettors, looking on afar off. And, amongst the fifteen Ships that fought, the great *St. Philip* was one, a Ship of fifteen-hundred Tons, Prince of the twelve Sea Apostles, which was right glad, when she was shifted off from the *Revenge*. This brave Ship, the *Revenge*, being manned only with two-hundred Soldiers and Mariners, whereof eighty lay sick; yet, nevertheless, after a Fight maintained, as was said, of fifteen Hours, and two Ships of the Enemy sunk by her Side, besides many more torn and battered, and great Slaughter of Men, never came to be entered, but was taken by Composition; the Enemies themselves having in Admiration the Virtue of the Commander, and the whole Tragedy of that Ship.

In the Year 1596, was the second Invasion that we made upon the main Territories of *Spain*, prosperously achieved by that worthy and famous Earl, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, in Confort with the noble Earl of *Nottingham*, that now liveth, then Admiral. This Journey was with Lightness, for, in the Space of fourteen Hours, the King of *Spain*'s Navy was destroyed, and the Town of *Cadiz* taken: The Navy was no less than fifty-nine tall Ships, besides twenty Gallies to attend them; the Ships were straightways beaten, and put to Flight, with such Terror, as the *Spaniards* were their own Executioners, and fired them all with their own Hands: The Gallies, by the

the Benefit of the Shores and Shallows, got away; the Town was a fair, strong, well-lit, and rich City, famous in Antiquity, and now most spoken of for this Disaster: It was manned with four-thousand Soldiers on Foot, and some four-hundred Horse; it was sacked and burnt, though great Clemency was used towards the Inhabitants: But that, which is no less strange than the sudden Victory, is the great Patience of the *Spaniards*, who, though we staid upon the Place divers Days, yet never offered us any Play, nor never put us in Suit by any Action of Revenge, or Reparation of any Times after.

In the Year 1600, was the Battle of *Newport* in the *Low-Countries*; where the Armies of the Arch-duke, and the States, tried it out by a just Battle.

This was the only Battle that was fought in those Countries these many Years, for Battles in the *French Wars* have been frequent, but in the Wars of *Flanders* rare, as the Nature of a Defensive requireth. The Forces of both Armies were not much unequal, that of the States exceeded somewhat in Number, but that again was recompensed in the Quality of the Soldiers; for those of the *Spanish* Part were of the Flower of all their Forces. The Archduke was the Assailant, and the Preventer, and had the Fruit of his Diligence and Celerity, for he charged certain Companies of *Scotishmen*, to the Number of eight-hundred, sent to make good a Passage, and thereby severed from the Body of the Army, and cut them all in Pieces; for they, like a brave Infantry, when they could make no honourable Retreat, and would take no dishonourable Flight, made good the Place with their Lives. This Entrance of the Battle did whet the Courage of the *Spaniards*, though it dulled their Swords, so as they came proudly on, confidently to defeat the whole Army. The Encounter of the main Battle, which followed, was a just Encounter, not hastening to a sudden Rout, nor the Fortune of the Day resting upon a few former Ranks, but fought out to the Proof by several Squadrons, and not without Variety of Success, ‘*Stat pede pes densusque viro vir.*’ There fell out an Error in the Duke’s Army, by the overhasty Medley of some of their Men with the Enemies, which hindered the Playing of their great Ordnance: But the End was, that the

Spaniards were utterly defeated, and five-thousand of their Men, in the Fight and in the Execution, slain and taken, amongst whom were many of the principal Persons of their Army. The Honour of the Day was, both by the Enemy, and the *Dutch* themselves, ascribed much to the *English*; of whom Sir *Francis Vere*, in a private Commentary, which he wrote of that Service, leaveth testified, that, of fifteen-hundred in Number (for they were no more) eight-hundred were slain in the Field, and, which is almost incredible in a Day of Victory, of the rest, two only came off unhurt. Amongst the *English*, Sir *Francis Vere* himself had the principal Honour of the Service, unto whom the Prince of *Orange*, as is said, did transmit the Direction of the Army for that Day; and, in the next Place, Sir *Horace Vere*, his Brother, that now liveth, who was the Principal in the active Part. The Service also of Sir *Edward Cecil*, Sir *John Ogle*, and divers other brave Gentlemen was eminent.

In the Year 1601, followed the Battle of *Kinsale* in *Ireland*. By this *Spanish* Invasion of *Ireland*, which was in *September* that Year, a Man may guess how long Time *Spaniards* will live in *Irish* Ground, which is a Matter of a Quarter of a Year, or four Months, at the most; for they had all the Advantages in the World, and no Man would have thought, considering the small Forces employed against them, that they could have been driven out so soon: They had obtained, without Resistance, in the End of *September*, the Town of *Kinsale*, a small Garison of one-hundred and fifty *English*, leaving the Town upon the *Spaniards* Approach, and the Townsmen receiving the Foreigners as Friends. The Number of *Spaniards*, that put themselves into *Kinsale*, was two-thousand Men, Soldiers of old Bands, under the Command of Don *John de Aquila*, a Man of good Valour. The Town was strong of itself, neither wanted there any Industry to fortify it on all Parts, and make it tenable, according to the Skill and Discipline of *Spanish* Fortification. At that Time the Rebels were proud, being encouraged upon former Successes; for, though the then Deputy, the Lord *Mountjoy*, and Sir *George Carew*, President of *Munster*, had performed divers good Services to their Prejudice, yet the Defeat they had given to the *English*,

English, at the *Black-water*, not long before, and the Treaty, too much to their Honour, with the Earl of *Essex*, was yet fresh in their Memory. The Deputy lost no Time, but made Haste to recover the Town, before new Succours came, and sat down before it in *October*, and laid Siege to it by the Space of three Winter-months, or more, during which Time, some Sallies were made by the *Spaniards*, but they were beaten in with Loss. In *January* came fresh Succours from *Spain*, to the Number of two-thousand more, under the Conduct of *Alonso D' Ocampo*; upon the Comforts of these Succours, *Tyrone* and *O-neale* drew up their Forces together, to the Number of seven-thousand, besides the *Spanish* Regiments, and took the Field, resolved to rescue the Town, and to give the *English* Battle.

So here was the Case, an Army of *English*, of some six-thousand, wasted and tired with a long Winter's Siege, enraged in the Midst, between an Army of a greater Number than themselves, fresh, and in Vigour, on the one Side, and a Town, strong in Fortification, and strong in Men, on the other Side; but what was the Event? This in few Words: That, after the *Irish* and *Spanish* Forces had come on, and shewed themselves in some Bravery, they were content to give the *English* the Honour, as to charge them first; and, when it came to the Charge, there appeared no other Difference between the Valour of the *Irish* Rebels, and the *Spaniards*, but that the one ran away before they were charged, and the other straight after; and again, the *Spaniards*, that were in the Town, had so good Memory of their Losses, in their former Sallies, as the Confidence of an Army, which came for their Deliverance, could not draw them forth again: To conclude, there succeeded an absolute Victory, for the *English*, with the Slaughter of above two-thousand of the Enemy, the Taking of nine Ensigns, whereof six *Spanish*, the Taking of the *Spanish* General, *D' Ocampo*, Prisoner, and this with the Loss of so few of the *English*, as is scarce credible, being (as hath been rather confidently, than credibly reported) but one Man, the Cornet of Sir *Richard Greame*, though not a few hurt: There followed, immediately after the Defeat, a present Yielding up of the Town by Composition; and not

only so, but an Avoiding, by exprefs Article of Treaty accorded, of all other *Spanish* Forces throughout all *Ireland*, from the Places and Nests where they had settled themselves in greater Strength, as in Regard of the natural Situation of the Places, than that was of *Kinsale*, which were *Castle-haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Beer-haven*. Indeed they went away with Sound of Trumpet, for they did nothing but publish and trumpet all the Reproaches, they could devise against the *Irish* Land and Nation; infomuch as *D' Aquila* said, in open Treaty, That, when the Devil upon the Mount did shew Christ all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and the Glory of them, he did not doubt, but the Devil left out *Ireland*, and kept it for himself.

I cease here, omitting not a few other Proofs of the *English* Valour and Fortune, in these latter Times; as at the Suburbs of *Paris*, at the *Raneline*, at *Drus in Britain*, at *Ostend*, and divers others; partly, because some of them have not been proper Encounters between the *Spaniards* and the *English*, and partly, because others of them have not been of that Greatness, as to have sorted in Company with the Particulars formerly recited. It is true, that, among all the late Adventures, the Voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins*, into the *West-Indies*, was unfortunate, but yet, in such Sort, as it doth not break, or interrupt our Prescription, to have had the Better of the *Spaniards* upon all Fights; for the Disaster of that Journey was caused chiefly by Sicknefs, as well might appear by the Deaths of both the Generals, Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, of the same Sicknefs amongst the rest. The Land-enterprise of *Panama* was an ill-measured and immature Counsel, for it was grounded upon a false Account, that the Passages, towards *Panama*, were no better fortified, than *Drake* had formerly left them; but yet it sorted not to any Fight of Importance, but to a Retreat, after the *English* had proved the Strength of their first Fort, and had Notice of the two other Forts beyond, by which they were to have marched. It is true, that, in the Return of the *English* Fleet, they were set upon by *Avellaneda*, Admiral of twenty great *Spanish* Ships, our Fleet being but Fourteen, full of sick Men, deprived of their two Generals by Sea, and having no Pretences,

but to journey Homewards; and yet the *Spaniards* did but salute them about the Cape de las *Corientes*, with some small Offer of Fight, and came off with Loss: Although it was such a new Thing, for the *Spaniards* to receive so little Hurt, upon Dealing with the *English*, as *Avellandea* made great Brags of it, for no greater Matter, than the Waiting upon the *English* afar off, from Cape de las *Corientes* to Cape *Antonio*, which, nevertheless, in the Language of a Soldier, and of a *Spaniard*, he called a *Chace*.

But, before I proceed further, it is good to meet with an Objection, which, if it be not removed, the Conclusion of Experience, from the Time past to the Time present, will not be sound and perfect; for it will be said, that, in the former Times, whereof we have spoken, *Spain* was not so mighty, as now it is; *England*, on the other Side, was more a-forehand in all Matters of Power; therefore, let us compare, with Indifference, these Disparities of Times, and we shall plainly perceive, that they make for the Advantage of *England* at this present Time. And, because we will less wander in Generalities, we will fix the Comparisons to precise Times, comparing the States of *Spain* or *England*, in the Year 1588, with this present Year that now runneth. In handling this Point, I will not meddle with any personal Comparisons of the Princes, Counsellors, and Commanders, by Sea or Land, that were then, or are now in both Kingdoms, *Spain* and *England*, but only rest upon real Points, for the true Balancing of the State of the Forces and Affairs of both Times; and yet these personal Comparisons I omit not, but that I could evidently shew, that, even in these personal Respects, the Balance sways on our Side, but because I would say nothing, that may favour of the Spirit of Flattery, or Censure of the present Government.

First, Therefore, it is certain, that *Spain* hath not now a Foot of Ground, in quiet Possession, more than it had in 1588. As for the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*, it is a Maxim in State, That all Countries of new Acquisition, till they be settled, are Matters rather of Burthen, than of Strength. On the other Side, *England* hath *Scotland* united, and *Ireland* reduced to Obedience, and planted, which are mighty Augmentations.

Secondly, In 1588, the Kingdom of *France*, able to counterpoise *Spain* itself, much more in Conjunction, was torn with the Party of the League which gave Law to their King, and depended upon *Spain*. Now *France* is united under a valiant young King, generally obeyed, if he will himself King of *Navarre*, as well as of *France*, and one that is no Ways taken Prisoner, though he be tied in a double Chain of Alliance with *Spain*.

Thirdly, In 1588, there sat, in the See of *Rome*, a fiery thundering Friar, that would set all at Six and Seven, or at Six and Five, if you allude to his Name. And, though he would have after turned his Teeth upon *Spain*, yet he was taken Order with before it came to that. Now there is ascended to the Papacy a Personage, that came in by a chaste Election, no Ways obliged to the Party of the *Spaniard*; a Man bred in Ambassages and Affairs of State, that hath much of the Prince, and nothing of the Friar; and one, that though he love the Chair of the Papacy well, yet he loveth the Carpet above the Chair that is in *Italy*, and the Liberties thereof well likewise.

Fourthly, in 88 the King of *Denmark* was a Stranger to *England*, and rather inclined to *Spain*; now the King is incorporated to the Blood of *England*, and engaged in the Quarrel of the *Palatinate*. Then also *Venice*, *Savoy*, and the Princes and States of *Germany*, had but a dull Fear of the Greatness of *Spain*, upon a general Apprehension only, of the spreading and ambitious Designs of that Nation; now, that Fear is sharpened and pointed by the *Spaniards* late Enterprises in the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*, which come nearer them.

Fifthly, and *Lastly*, the *Dutch* (which are the *Spaniards* perpetual Duellists) have now, at this Present, five Ships to one, and the like Proportion in Treasure and Wealth, to that they had in 88; neither is it possible (whatsoever is given out) that the Coßers of *Spain* should now be fuller than they were in 88, for, at that Time, *Spain* had no other Wars save those of the *Low Countries*, which was grown into an ordinary; now they have had, coupled with it, the extraordinary of the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*; and so I conclude my Answer to the Objection raised, touching the Difference of Times, not entering into more secret Passages of State, but keeping the Character

rather of Stile whereof *Seneca* speaketh, *Plus significat quam loquitur.*

Here I could pass over from Matter of Experience, were it not that I held it necessary to discover a wonderful erroneous Observation that walketh about, and is commonly received contrary to all the true Accounts of Time and Experience: It is, that the *Spaniard*, where he once getteth in, will seldom or never be got out again; but, Nothing is less true than this; Not long since they got Footing at *Bress*, and some other Parts in *French Britany*, and after quitted them; they had *Calais*, *Ardes*, and *Amiens*, and rendered them, or were beaten out; they had since *Verfailles*, and fairly left it; they had the other Day the *Valloime*, and now have put it in Deposit; what they will do with *Ormus*, which the *Persian* hath taken from them, we shall see; so that, to speak truly of latter Times, they have rather poached and offered at a Number of Enterprises, than maintained any constantly, quite contrary to that idle Tradition.

In more ancient Times, leaving their Purchases in *Africk*, which they, after their great Emperor *Charles* had clasped *Germany* almost in his Fist, he was forced in the End to go from *Icksparg*, and, as if it had been in a Mask by Torch-light, to quit every Foot in *Germany* round, that he had gotten, which I doubt not will be the hereditary Issue of this late Purchase of the *Palatinate*; and so I conclude the Ground that I have to think that *Spain* will be no Over match to *Great Britain*, if his Majesty shall enter into a War out of Experience, and the Records of Time.

For Grounds of Reason, they are many; I will extract the principal, and open them briefly, and, as it were, in the Bud. For Situation, I pass it over, though it be no small Point; *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and our good Confederates, the United Provinces, lie all in a Plump together, not acceffible but by Sea, or at least, by Passing of great Rivers, which are natural Fortifications; as for the Dominions of *Spain*, they are so scattered, as it yieldeth great Choice of the Ascents of the War, and promisseth slow Succours unto such Parts as shall be attempted.

There be three main Parts of military Puissance, viz. Men, Women, and Confederates. For Men, there are to be considered Valour and Number; of Valour, I speak not; take it from the Witnesses that have been produced

before; yet the old Observation is, untrue, That the *Spaniards* Valour lieth in the Eye of the Looker on, but the *English* Valour lieth about the Soldier's Heart; a Valour of Glory, and a Valour of natural Courage, are two Things; but let that pass, and let us speak of Number. *Spain* is a Nation thin sown of People, partly by Reason of the Sterility of the Soil, and partly, because their Natives are exhausted by so many Employments, in such vast Territories as they possess, so that it hath been counted a Kind of Miracle to see ten or twelve Thousand native *Spaniards* in an Army; and it is certain (as we have touched it a little before in Passage) that the Secret of the Power of *Spain* consisteth in a veteran Army, compounded of miscellany Forces of all Nations, which, for many Years, they have had on Foot upon one Occasion or other; and, if there should happen the Misfortune of a Battle, it would be a long Work to draw on Supplies. They tell a Tale of a *Spanish* Ambassador that was brought to see the Treasure of *St. Mark*, at *Venice*, and still he looked down to the Ground; and, being asked why he looked down, said, He was looking to see whether their Treasure had any Root, so that, if it were spent, it would grow again, as his Master's had. But, howsoever it be of their Treasure, certainly their Forces have scarce any Root, or at least such a Root, as buddeth forth poorly and slowly. It is true they have the *Walloons*, who are tall Soldiers, but that is but a Spot of Ground; but, on the other Side, there is not in the World again such a Spring and Seminary of brave military People, as in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the United Provinces; so as, if Wars should mow them down never so fast, yet they may be suddenly supplied and come up again.

For Money, no Doubt, it is the principal Part of the Greatness of *Spain*, for by that they maintain their veteran Army, and *Spain* is the only State of *Europe*, that is a Money-grower; but, in this Part, of all others, is the most to be considered the ticklish and brittle State of the Greatness of *Spain*. Their Greatness consisteth in their Treasure, their Treasure in their *Indies*, and their *Indies*, if it be well weighed, are indeed but an Accession to such as are Masters by Sea, so as this Axletree, whereupon their Greatness turneth, is soon cut in two, by any that shall be stronger than they by Sea: Herein, therefore, I refer me

to the Opinion of all Men, Enemies, or whomsoever, whether that the Maritime Forces of Great-Britain, and the United Provinces, be not able to beat the *Spaniards* at Sea; for, if that be so, the Links of that Chain, whereby they hold their Greatness, are dissolved. Now if it be said, that, admit the Case of *Spain* to be such as we have made it, yet we ought to descend into our own Case, which we shall find, perhaps, not to be in a State, for Treasure, to enter into a War with *Spain*; to which I answer, I know no such Thing, the Mint beateth well, and the Pulses of the People's Heart-beat well: But there is another Point that taketh away quite this Objection; for, whereas Wars are generally a Cause of Poverty or Consumption, on the contrary Part, the special Nature of this War with *Spain*, if it be made by Sea, is like to be a lucrative and a restorative War; so that if we go roundly on at the first, the War in Continuance will find itself, and therefore you must make a great Difference between *Hercules's* Labours, and *Jason's* Voyage by Sea for the Golden Fleece.

For the Confederates, I will not take upon me the Knowledge how the Princes, States, and Councils in *Europe*, at this Day, stand affected towards *Spain*, for that trencheth into the secret Occurrents of the present Time, wherewith, in all this Treatise, I have forbore to meddle, but to speak of that which lieth open and in View: I see much Matter of Quarrel and Jealousy, but little of Amity and Trust towards *Spain*, almost from all other States: I see *France* is in Competition with them for three noble Portions of their Monarchy, *Navarre*, *Naples*, and *Milan*, and now freshly in Difference with them about the *Valtoline*. I see once in thirty or forty Years cometh a Pope, that casteth his Eye upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, to recover it to the Church, as it was in the Minds of *Julius the Second*, *Paul the Fourth*, and *Titus the Fifth*. As for the great Body of *Germany*, I see they have greater Reason to confederate themselves with the Kings of *France* and *Great-Britain*, or *Denmark*, for the Liberty of the *German* Nation, and for the Expulsion of the *Spanish* and foreign Forces, than they had in the Years 1552 and 1553; at which Time they con-

tracted a League with *Henry the Second*, the *French* King, upon the same Articles, against *Charles the Fifth*, who had impatronised himself of a great Part of *Germany*, through Discord of the *German* Princes, which himself had sown and fomented; which League at that Time did the Deed, and drove out all the *Spaniards* out of that Part of *Germany*, and re-integrated that Nation in their ancient Liberty and Honour. For the *West-Indies*, though *Spain* hath had yet not much actual Disturbance there, except it have been from *England*, yet, nevertheless, I see all Princes lay a Kind of Claim upon them, accounting the Title of *Spain* but as a Monopoly of those large Countries, wherein they have, in great Parts, but an imaginary Possession; for *Africk* upon the West, the *Moors* of *Valencia* expelled, and their Allies, do yet hang as a Cloud or Storm over *Spain*; *Gabor*, on the East, is like an anniversary Wind that riseth every Year once upon the Part of *Austria*; and *Persia* hath entered into Hostility with *Spain*, and given them the first Blow by Taking of *Ormus*. It is within every Man's Observation also, that *Venice* doth think their State almost unfixed, if the *Spaniards* hold the *Valtoline*; that *Savoy* hath learned by fresh Experience, that Alliance with *Spain* is no Security against the Ambition of *Spain*; and that *Bavaria* hath likewise been taught, that Merits and Service do oblige the *Spaniards* but from Day to Day; neither do I say for all this, but that *Spain* may rectify much of this ill Blood, by their particular and cunning Negotiations; but yet there is in the Body, and may break out no Man knows when, into ill Accidents; but, at least, it sheweth plainly that which serveth for our Purpose, that *Spain* is much destitute of assured and confident Confederates. And here I will conclude this Part, with a Speech of a Counsellor of State; he said to his Master, the King of *Spain* that now is, upon Occasion: Sir, I will tell your Majesty thus much for your Comfort, your Majesty hath but two Enemies, whereof the one is all the World, and the other is your own Ministers. And thus I end the second main Part I propounded to speak of, which was, the Balancing of the Forces between the King's Majesty and the King of *Spain*, if Wars must follow.

The A S S E M B L Y - M A N.

Written in the Year 1647.

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤ. Χαρακτ. ιγ'. περὶ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑΣ.

Διεγείρειν τὰς μαχομένους, καὶ ἧς ἔ γινώσκει ἀτραπὴν ἡγήσασθαι· καὶ ὁμνῆσαι μέλλων,
εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰς περιεσχηκότας, ὅτι τὸ πρότερον πολλάκις ὁμώμοκα, i. e.

He seditiously stirs up Men to fight : He will teach others the Way whereof himself is most ignorant ; and persuades Men to take an Oath, because himself had sworn it before.

London, Printed for Richard Marriott, and are to be Sold at his Shop under St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1662-3. Quarto, containing twenty-two Pages.

Reader,

THIS Pamphlet was torn from me, by those who say, they cannot rob, because all is theirs. They found it where it slept many Years forgotten ; but they awakened it, and made false Transcripts. They Excised what they liked not ; so mangled and reformed, that it was no Character of an Assembler, but of themselves. A Copy of that Reforming had crept to the Press. I seized and stopped it, unwilling to father other Men's Sins. Here therefore you have it, as it was first scribbled, without Addition of a Syllable ; I wish I durst say here is nothing lopped off ; but Men and Manners are changed, at least they say so. If yet this Trifle seem born with Teeth, you know whose Hands were Knuckle-deep in the Blood of that renowned Chancellor of Oxon, Archbishop Laud, though, when they cut up that great Martyr, his two greatest Crimes were the two greatest Glories Great-Britain can boast of, St. Paul's Church, and the Oxford Library. Where you find no Coherence, remember this Paper hath suffered Decimation : Better Times have made it worse, and that is no Fault of

J. B.

AN Assembler is Part of the State's Chattels, not Priest, nor Burgess, but a Participle that sharks upon both. He was chosen, as Sir Nathaniel, because he knew least of all his Profession, not by the Votes of a whole Diocese, but by one whole Parliament-man. He has sat four Years towards a new Religion,

but, in the Interim, left none at all ; as his Masters, the Commons, had a long Debate, Whether Candles, or no Candles, but all the mean While sat still in the Dark ; and therefore, when the Moon quits her old Light, and has acquired no new, Astronomers say she is in her Synode. Shew me such a Picture of Judas, as the Assembler, a griping, false, reforming Brother.

Brother; who rails at Waste spent upon the Anointed; persecutes most those Hands which ordained him; brings in Men with Swords and Staves; and all for Money from the honourable Scribes and Pharisees. One Touch more (a Line tied to his Name-sake, *Elder-tree*) had made him *Judas Root and Branch*. This Assembly at first was a full Century, which should be reckoned, as the Scholiast's Hecatombs, by their Feet, not Heads; or count them by Scores; for, in Things without Heads, Sixscore go to an Hundred. They would be a new *Septuagint*; the old translated Scripture out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, these turn it to four Shillings a Day; and all these Assemblers were begot in one Day, as *Hercules's* fifty Bastards all in one Night. Their first List was sprinkled with some Names of Honour (Dr. *Sanderfon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, &c.) but these were Divines too worthy to mix with such scandalous Ministers, and would not assemble without the Royal Call. Nay, the first List had one Archbishop, one Bishop, and an Half; for Bishop *Brownrigg* was then but Elect; but now their Assembly, as Philosophers think the World, consists of Atoms, petty small Levites, whose Parts are not perceptible; and yet these inferior Postern Teachers have intoxicated *England* (for a Man sometimes grows drunk by a Clyster.) When they all meet, they shew Beasts in *Africa*, by promiscuous Coupling, ingender Monsters. Mr. *Selden* visits them, as *Perfians* use, to see wild Asses fight; when the Commons have tired him with their new Law, these Brethren refresh him with their mad Gospel: They lately were gruelled betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Jericho*; they knew not the Distance betwixt those two Places; one cried twenty Miles, another ten; it was concluded seven, for this Reason, That Fish was brought from *Jericho* to *Jerusalem*-market: Mr. *Selden* smiled, and said, Perhaps, the Fish was Salt-fish; and so stopped their Mouths. Earl *Philip* goes thither to hear them spend; when he heard them toss their *National*, *Provincial*, *Classical*, *Congregational*, he swore damnable, That a Pack of good Dogs made better Musick: His Allusion was proper, since the Elder's Maid had a four-legged Husband. To speak Truth, this Assembly is the two Houses Attiring-room, where the Lords and Commons put on their Vizards and Masks of Religion: And their Honours have so sifted

the Church, that at last they have found the Bran of the Clergy; yet such poor Church-menders must reform and shuffle, though they find Church-government may a thousand Ways be changed for the worse, but not one Way for the better. They have lately published Annotations on the Bible, where their first Note; on the Word *Create*, is a Libel against Kings, for Creating of Honours, Their Annotation on *Jacob's* two Kids is, That two Kids are too much for one Man's Supper; but he had, say they, but one Kid, and the other made Sauce. They observe, upon *Herod*, what a Tyrant he was, to kill Infants under two Years old, without giving them a legal Trial, that they might speak for themselves. Commonly they follow the *Geneva* Margin, as those Seamen, who understood not the Compass, crept along the Shore; but, I hear, they threaten a second Edition, and, in the Interim, thrust forth a paltry Catechism, which expounds nine Commandments, and eleven Articles of the Creed. Of late they are much in Love with Chronograms, because, if possible, they are duller than Anagrams. O how they have torn the poor Bishops Names, to pick out the Number Six-hundred sixty-six! little dreaming, that a whole Baker's Dozen of their own Assembly have that beastly Number in each of their Names, and that as exactly, as their Solemn League and Covenant consists of six-hundred sixty-six Words. But, though the Assembler's Brains are Lead, his Countenance is Brass; for he damned such as held two Benefices, while himself has four or five, besides his Concubine-lecture. He is not against Pluralities, but Dualities; he says, it is unlawful to have two of his own, though four of other Men's; and observes how the *Hebrew* Word for *Life* has no singular Number. Yet it is some Relief to a sequestered Person to see two Assemblers snarl for his Tithes; for, of all Kinds of Beasts, none can match an Assembler, but an Assembler. He never enters a Church by the Door, but clambers up through a Window of Sequestration, or steals in, through Vaults and Cellars, by clandestine Contracts with an expecting Patron. He is most sure no Law can hurt him, for all Laws died in *England*, the Year before the Assembler was born. The best Way to hold him is, as our King *Richard* bound the King of *Cyprus*, in silver Chains. He loves to discourse of the new *Jerusalem*, because her Streets

Streets are of fine Gold, and yet could like *London* as well, were *Cheapside* paved with the Philosopher's Stone; nay, he would say his Prayers with Beads, if he might have a Set made all of Diamonds: This, this is it which tempts him to such mad Articles against the loyal Clergy, whom he dresses as he would have them appear, just as the Ballad of Dr. *Faustus* brings forth the Devil in a Friar's Weed. He accused one Minister for saying the Blessed Virgin was the *Mother of God* (*Θεοτόκος*, as the Ancients call her.) Another he charged for a common Drunkard, who, all the Country knows, has drunk nothing but Water these six-and-twenty Years. But the Assembler himself can drink Widows Tears, though their Husbands are not dead. Sure, if *Paracelsus's* Doctrine were true, That to eat Creatures alive will perpetuate Man's Life, the Assembler were immortal; for he swallows quick Men, Wives, and Children, and devours Lives as well as Livings, as if he were born in that Pagan Province, where none might marry, till he had killed twelve Christians. This makes him kneel to Lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, as *Indians* to the Devil; for he saw *Oliver* first threw——, then——, and can, with a Wink, do as much for——; like *Milo*, in the *Olympicks*, who, by Practising on a Calf, grew strong enough for a Bull, and could with Ease give a Lift to an Ass. The Great *Turk* was sending his Ambassador to congratulate the Assembly's Proceedings against the Christians; he ordered them Thanks for Licencing his Alcoran to be printed in *English*; but, hearing Ottoman *Cromwell* had talked of Marching to the Walls of *Constantinople*, that Ambassy was stopped. The only Difference betwixt the Assembler and a *Turk* is, that one plants Religion by the Power of the Sword, and the other by the Power of the Scimeter: Nay, the greatest Strife in their whole Conventicle is, Who shall do worst; for they all intend to make the Church but a Sepulchre, having not only plundered, but anatomised all the true Clergy; whose Torment is heightened in being destroyed by such dull Instruments, as the Prophet *Isaiah* was fawn to Pieces with a wooden Saw. The Assembler wonders that the King and his Friends live still in Hope; he thinks them all St. *Clemens's* Case, drowned with an Anchor tied about his Neck. He has now got Power to visit the Universities; where these blinking

Visitors look on eminent Scholars (as the blind Man, who saw Men like Trees) as Timber growing within the Root-and-Branch Ordinance. The Assembler has now left Scholars so poor, that they have scarce Rags, wherewith to make Paper. A Man would think, the two Houses intend to transport the Universities, since they load Asses with College-revenues: For, though these Assemblers made themselves Heads, they are rather the Hands of Colleges, for they all are Takers, and take all. And yet they are such creeping Tyrants, that Scholars are expelled the two Universities, as the old *Thracians*, forced from their Country by Rats and Mice; so that Learning now is so much advanced, as *Arrowsmith's* Glass-eye sees more than his natural. They never admit a good Scholar to a Benefice; for the Assembly's Balance is the Lake of *Sodom*, where Iron swims, and Feathers sink. Their Divinity-disputations are with Women, or Laymen; and it is only on one Question, *Episcopacy*, where the Assembler talks all that he and his Friends can say; though his best Medium, to prove Presbyters more ancient than Bishops, is, That Scribes, Pharisees, Priests, and Elders were before the Apostles; yet, if a Scholar, or good Argument come, he flies them, as much as if they were his Text. This made him curse Dr. *Steward*, Dr. *Laney*, and Dr. *Hammond*; and, had he not had more Brags in his Face, than in his Kitchen, he had hanged himself at *Uxbridge*, and ended with that Treaty; for he has nought of Logick, but her clutched Fist, and rails at Philosophy as Beggars do at Gentlemen. He has very bad Luck, when he deals in Philology, as one of them (and that no mean Man) who, in his Preface to the Reader, says, That St. *Paul* had read *Eusebius* upon *Homer*; though the Apostle died a thousand Years before *Eusebius* was born. The Assembler's Diet is strangely different; for he dines wretchedly on dry Bread at *Westminster*, four Assemblers for thirteen Pence; but this sharpens and whets him for Supper, where he feeds *gratis* with his City-landlord, to whom he brings a huge Stomach, and News; for which crammed Capons cram him. He screws into Families, where there is some rich Daughter, or Heir; but whoever takes him into their Bosom, will die like *Cleopatra*. When it rains, he is coached (a *Gloss* of them together) rolling his Eyes, to mark who beholds him. His shortest Things

Things are his Hair and his Cloke; his Hair is cut to the Figure of Three; two high Cliffs run up his Temples, whose Cape of shorn Hair shoots down his Forehead, with Creeks indented, where his Ears ride at Anchor. Had this false Prophet been carried with *Habakkuk*, the Angel had caught fast Hold of his Ears, and led him, as he leads his Auditory. His Eyes are Part of his Tithe at *Easter*, which he boils at each Sermon; he has two Mouths, his Nose is one, for he speaks through both; his Hands are not in his Gloves, but his Gloves in his Hands; for betwixt Sweatings, that is, Sermons, he handles little else, except his dear Mammon: His Gown, I mean his Cloke, reaches but his Pockets: When he rides in that Manner, with a Hood on his Shoulders, and a Hat above both, Is he not then his own Man of Sin with the triple Crown? You would swear some honest Carpenter dressed him, and made him the Tunnel of a Country-chimney: His Doublet and Hose are of dark Blue, a Grain deeper than pure *Coventry*; but of late he is in Black, since the loyal Clergy were persecuted into Colours: His two longest Things are his Nails and his Prayer; but the cleanest Thing about him is his Pulpit-cushion, for he still beats the Dust out of it. To do him Right, commonly he wears a Pair of good Lungs, whereby he turns the Church into a Belfry; for his Clapper makes such a Din, that you cannot hear the Cymbal for the Tinkling. If his Pulpit be large, he walks his Round, and speaks as from a Garison; his own Neck is palisadoed with Ruff: When he first enters his Prayer before Sermon, he winks and gasps, and gasps and winks, as if he prepared to preach in another World: He seems in a Slumber, then in a Dream; then rumbles a While; at last he sounds forth, and then throws so much Dirt and Nonsense towards Heaven, as he durst not offer to a Member of Parliament. Now, because Scripture bids him not curse the King in his Thought, he does it in his Pulpit, by Word of Mouth; though Heaven strike him dumb in the very Act, as it did *Hill* at *Cambridge*, who, while he prayed, 'Depose him, O Lord, who would depose us,' was made the dumb Devil. This, one would think, should gargle his foul Mouth; for his only Hope, why God should hear him against the King, is, The Devil himself, that great Assembler, was heard against *Job*. His whole Prayer is such an irra-

tional Bleating, that, without a Metaphor, it is the *Calves of his Lips*; and commonly it is larded with fine new Words, as, *Savingable, Muchly, Christ-Jesusness, &c.* and yet he has the Face to preach against Prayer in an unknown Tongue. Sometimes he is foundered, and then there is such hideous Coughing! but that is very seldom, for he can glibly run over Nonsense, as an empty Cart trundles down a Hill. When the King girt round the Earl of *Essex* at *Lestwythiell*, an Assembler complained, That God had drawn his People into the Wilderness; and told him, he was bound in Honour to feed them; for, 'Lord, said he, since thou givest them no Meat, we pray thee, O Lord, to give them no Stomachs.' He tore the Liturgy, because, forsooth, it shackled his Spirit, he would be a Devil without a Circle; and now, if he see the Book of *Common-Prayer*, the Fire sees it next, as sure as the Bishops were burnt who compiled it. Yet he has Mercy on *Hopkins* and *Sternbold*, because their Meetres are sung without Authority (no Statute, Canon, or Injunction at all) only, like himself, first crept into private Houses, and then into Churches. Mr. *Rous* moved those Meetres might be sequestered, and his own Rhimes to enjoy the Sequestration; but was refused, because *John Hopkins* was as ancient as *John Calvin*; besides, when *Rous* stood forth for his Trial, *Robin Wisdom* was found the better Poet. It is true, they have a Directory, but it is good for nothing, but *Adoniram*, who sold the Original for four hundred Pounds, and the Book must serve both *England* and *Scotland*, as the Directory Needle points North and South. The Assembler's only Ingenuity is, that he prays for an extempore Spirit, since his Conscience tells him, he has no Learning. His Prayer thus ended, he then looks round, to observe the Sex of his Congregation, and, accordingly, turns the Apostle's Men, Fathers, and Brethren, into Dear Brethren and Sisters. For his usual Auditory is, most Part, Female; and as many Sisters flock to him, as, at *Paris*, on *St. Margaret's Day*, when all come to Church, that are, or hope to be with Child that Year. He divides his Text, as he did the Kingdom, makes one Part fight against another; or, as *Burges* divides the Dean of *Paul's House*, not into Parts, but Tenements, that is, so as it will yield most Money. And properly they are Tenements; for each Part must

must be dwelt upon, though himself comes near it but once a Quarter, and so his Text is rather let out, than divided. Yet sometimes, to shew his Skill in *Keckerman*, he butchers a Text, cuts it, just as the *Levite* did his Concubine, into many dead Parts, breaking the Sense and Words all to Pieces, and then they are not divided, but shattered, like the Splinters of Don *Quixot's* Lance. If his Text be to the Occasion, his first Dish is Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver, yet he tells not the People what Pictures those were. His Sermon and Prayer grin at each other, the one is Presbyterian, the other Independent; for he preaches up the Classes, yet prays for the Army. Let his Doctrine and Reason be what they will, his Use is still to save his Benefice, and augment his Lecture. He talks much of Truth, but abhors Peace, lest it strip him as naked as Truth; and therefore hates a Personal Treaty, unless with a Sister. He has a rare simpering Way of Expression; he calls a married Couple, Saints that enjoy the Mystery, and a Man drunk, is a Brother full of the Creature; yet, at Wedding-sermons, he is very familiar, and, like that Picture in the Church at *Leyden*, shews *Adam* and *Eve* without Fig-leaves. At Funerals, he gives infallible Signs, that the Party is gone to Heaven; but his chief Mark, of a Child of God, is to be good to God's Ministers. And hence it is, he calls his Preachment, *Manna*, fited not to his Hearers Necessity, but their Palate, for it is to feed himself, not them. If he chance to tire, he refreshes himself with the People's Hum, as a Collar of Bells cheers up a Pack-horse. It is no Wonder he will preach, but that any will hear him, and his constant Auditors do but shew the Length of their Ears; for he is such an *Ἀσπιδρομος*, that, to hear him, makes good Scholars sick, but, to read him, is Death. Yet, though you heard him three Hours, he will ask a Fourth, as the Beggar at *Delph* craves your Charity, because he eats four Pounds of Bread at a Meal. It was from his Alarm, the Watch-makers learned their infinite Screw. His Glass and Text are equally handled, that is, once an Hour; nay, sometimes, he fallies, and never returns, and then we should leave him to the Company of *Lorimers*, for he must be held with Bit and Bridle. Who ever once has been at his Church, can never doubt the

History of *Balaam*. If he have got any new Tale or Expression, it is easier to make Stones speak, than him to hold his Peace. He hates a Church, where there is an Echo, for it robs him of his dear Repetition, and confounds the Auditory as well as he. But, of all Mortals, I admire the short-hand Men, who have the Patience to write from his Mouth; had they the Art to shorten it into Sense, they might write his whole Sermon on the Back of their Nail; for his Invention consists in finding a Way to speak nothing upon any Thing; and, were he in the Grand Signior's Power, he would lodge himself with his Mutes; for nothing, and nothing to Purpose, are all one. I wonder in Conscience, he can preach against Sleeping at his Opium-sermons. He preaches, indeed, both in Season, and out of Season; for he rails at Popery, when the Land is almost lost in Presbytery, and would cry *Fire, Fire*, in *Noah's* Flood. Yet all this he so acts with his Hands, that, in this Sense too, his Preaching is a Handicraft. Nor can we complain, that Plays are put down, while he can preach, save only his Sermons have worse Sense, and less Truth. But he blew down the Stage, and preached up the Scaffold; and, very wisely, left Men should track him, and find where he pilfers all his best Similes (the only Thing wherein he is commendable, *St. Paul* himself having culled Sentences from *Meander's Thais*, though it was his worst, that is, unchast Comedy.) Sometimes, the Assembler will venture at the Original, and then, with the Translator of Don *Quixot*, he mistakes Sobs and Sighs for Eggs and Collops. But commonly, for Want of *Greek* and *Latin*, he learns *Hebrew*, and straight is illuminated, that is, mad; his Brain is broke by a Brickbat, cast from the Tower of *Babel*; and yet this empty windy Teacher has lectured a War quite round the Kingdom: He has found a Circulation of Blood for Destruction (as famous *Harvey* for Preservation) of Mankind. It was easy to foresee a great Mortality, when Ravens were heard in all Corporations; for, as Multitude of Frogs preface a Pestilence, so croaking Lecturers foretold an Assembly. Men come to Church, as the great *Alexander* went to Sacrifice, led by Crows. You have seen a small Elder-tree grow in Chinks and Clefts of Church-walls; it seems rather a Weed, than a Tree, which, lend it Growth,

makes a Rent in the Wall, and throws down the Church. Is not this the Assembler? Grown from Schisms, which himself begot, and, if permitted, will make the Church but a Floor, or Church-yard: Yet, for all this, he will be called Christ's Minister and Saint, as the Rebels, against King *John*, were the Army of God. Sure, when they meet, they cannot but smile; for the dullest amongst them needs must know, that they all cheat the People; such gross low Impostors, that we die the Death of the Emperor *Claudius*, poisoned by Mushrooms. The old Hereticks had Skill and Learning, some Excuse for a seduced Church; those were Scholars, but these are Assemblers, whose very Brains, as *Manichæus's* Skin, are stuffed with Chaff; for they study little, and preach much, ever sick of a Diabetes; nor do they read, but weed Authors, picking up cheap and refuse Notes, that, with *Caligula*, they gather Cockle-shells, and, with *Domitian*, retire into their Study to catch Flies. At Fasts and Thanksgivings, the Assembler is the State's Trumpet, for then he doth not preach, but is blown, proclaims News very loud, the Trumpet and his Forehead being both of one Metal; and yet, good Man, he still prays for Boldness; he hack-nies out his Voice, like a Crier, and is a Kind of spiritual Adjutant, receives Orders, and spreads them. In Earnest, the States cannot want this Tool, for, without him, the Saints would scarce assemble; and, if the Zealots chance to fly out, they are charmed Home by his founding Brass. There is not, on Earth, a baser Sycophant; for he ever is chewing some Vote or Ordinance, and tells the People how savoury it is; like him, who licked up the Emperor's Spittle, and swore it was sweet. Would the two Houses give him Cathedral Lands, he would prove Lords and Commons to be *Jure Divino*; but, should they offer him the self-denying Ordinance, he would justify the Devil, and curse them to their Faces; his Brother Kirk-man did it in *Scotland*. It is pleasant to observe, how finely they play into each other's Hands; *Marshall* procures Thanks to be given to *Sedgwick*, for his great Pains; *Sedgwick* obtains as much for *Marshall*, and so they all pimp for one ano-

ther; but yet, to their great Comfort be it spoken, their whole seven Years Sermons, at *Westminster*, are now to be sold in *Petter-lane* and *Pye-corner*. Before a Battle, the Assembler ever speaks to the Soldiers, and the Holding up of his Hands must be as necessary as *Moses's* against the *Amalekites*; for he pricks them on, tells them, That God loves none but the Valiant; but, when Bullets fly, himself runs first, and then cries, All the Sons of *Adam* are Cowards! Were there any Metempsychosis, his Soul would want a Lodging; no single Beast could fit him, being wise as a Sheep, and innocent as a Wolf; his sole Comfort is, he cannot out-sin *Hugh Peters*; sure as Satan hath possessed the Assembler, so *Hugh Peters* hath possessed Satan, and is the Devil's Devil; he, alone, would fill a whole Herd of *Gadarenes*; he hath sucked Blood ever since he lay in the Butcher's Sheets, and now, like his Sultan, has a Shambles in his Countenance, so crimson and torrid, you may there read, how *St. Laurence* died, and think the three Children were delivered from his Face. This is *St. Hugh*, who will level the Assembler, or the Devil's an Ass. Yoke these Brethren, and they two couple like a Sadduce and a Pharisee, or a *Turk* and a *Persian*, both *Mahometans*. But the Assembler's deepest, highest Abomination, is his solemn League and Covenent; whereby he strives to damn, or beggar the whole Kingdom, out-doing the Devil, who only persuades, but the Assembler forces to Perjury or Starving. And this, whoever lives to observe it, will, one Day, sink both him and his Faction; for he, and his Oath, are so much one, that, were he half-hanged and let down again, his first Word would be, *Covenant! Covenant!*

But I forget, a Character should be brief, though tedious Length be his best Character; therefore I will give you, what he denies the sequestered Clergy, but a fifth Part; for weigh him single, and he has the Pride of three Tyrants, the Forehead of six Jailers, and the Fraud of twelve Brokers; or take him in the Bunch, and their whole Assembly is a Club of Hypocrites, where six Dozen of Schismatics spend two Hours, for four Shillings a-piece.

Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, humbly submitted to the most Noble Assembly of Lords and Commons at the great Convention at *Westminster*. *London*, printed for *Joseph Watts*, at the *Angel* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

I. **T**HAT *Ireland* is Part of the Dominions of England, and a Kingdom subordinate to it.—This appears not only by the Appeals that are made from the *Chancery* there, to the House of Lords here, and by Writ of Error from the *King's-Bench* there, to the *King's-Bench* here; but also by the Patents which often pass under the Great Seal of England, for Lands, Honours, and Offices in *Ireland*, and by the Obligation which an *English* Act of Parliament lays on *Ireland*, when it is particularly named.

II. That the Crown of England hath good Title to *Ireland*.—Not only by Descent from *Eva*, Daughter of *Dermond Mac Morough*, King of *Leinster*, whose Ancestors were Monarchs of *Ireland*; but also by lawful Conquest in a just War, and by the repeated Oaths and voluntary Submissions of the *Irish* Potentates and Gentry in all Ages, and by several Statutes of Recognition, and Acts of Parliament in that Kingdom, and by above five-hundred Years Prescription.

III. That whoever hath the Crown of England, is, ipso facto, Sovereign of *Ireland*; and to levy War, against such Person, is Treason.—This is the natural Result of the first Assertion; and besides what may be collected from the Statute of 11 Hen. vii. of paying Obedience to the King for the Time being; it was so at Common Law, and cannot be otherwise in Reason; for there is that Correlation between Protection and Allegiance, that they must stand and fall together, and there is no Difference in this Case, between *Ireland* and the Isle of *Wight*, or any other Part of the Dominions of the Crown of England.

IV. That the Lords and Commons of England have always been zealously concerned for, and liberally contributed to the Preservation of *Ireland*.—

This appears by the many Subsidies and other Aids, they have in all Ages given towards the Support of that Kingdom; for *Ireland* was always a Charge to England, until the Act of Settlement was made: It cost this Kingdom near three-hundred thousand Pounds per Annum for some Years in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; and the Rebellion, in 1641, drained England of some Millions of Money, and of many Thousands of Men, and yet all this was well spent, because,

V. Without the Subjection of *Ireland*, England cannot flourish, and, perhaps, not subsist.—For every Harbour in *Munster* would be more prejudicial to the Trade of England, than either *Sallee* or *Algiers* ever was, that Island being so situate, that England cannot trade with *Spain*, the *Levant*, *Africa*, the *East-Indies* or the *West*, without Sailing almost in View of the old Head of *Kinsale*, so that England must traffick at vast Disadvantage, Hazard, and Charge, in armed and double-manned Vessels, or with great Convoys. Add to this, that *Ireland* would be always in close League with the Enemies of England, and yearly supply a vast Number of able Bodies to annoy it.

VI. That *Ireland* was never in so much Danger as it is now;—For the Confederacy was never so general before, the *Irish* never had such Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, they never had the City of *Dublin*, they never had the whole Kingdom in their Possession, or under their Power; and, which is more than all the rest, they never had the Colour or Pretence of Authority before this Time.

VII. That the Protestants there, unless speedily relieved, must necessarily be ruined.—For the *Irish*, having no Money, cannot support their vast Army, without free Quarter on the *English*. Add to this, the Decay and full Stop of Trade, and the many other insupportable Difficulties

sculties they labour under, and their Ruin will appear inevitable without present Relief.

VIII. *That no People in the World are in so miserable a Condition as the Protestants of Ireland.*—For they are not only insulted over by their own Servants, and in a certain Way of Beggary, but are also in continual Fear, and under imminent Danger of being massacred.

IX. *That the English Government hath been easy and favourable to the Irish.*—And this evidently appears by one slight Instance, *viz.* That the Grand Jury, and the whole County of *Cork*, had more Trouble and Charge to get rid of two *Irish* Attornies in the Sheriff's Court, and at last could not effect it; than the *Irish* have had to turn out most of the Civil and Military Protestant Officers in that Kingdom, though some of them had good Patents for their Places; and it is beyond Dispute, that, for many Years past, the *Irish* never wanted such Friends at *Whitehall*, as made their Affairs run glib in all Courts of Judicature, and elsewhere.

X. *That, nevertheless, many of the Irish, and some degenerate English, would rather live under any Government than that of England.*—And this happens partly from the Difference of Humours, Manners, and Customs between them and us, and partly, because they look upon the first Conquest of *Ireland*, and the subsequent Consecrations to be injurious, and think a Foreigner would restore them; but chiefly this Aversion is to be attributed to the Difference in Religion, they conceiving us to be obstinate incorrigible Hereticks, and therefore they have often invited the Pope, *French*, and *Spaniard*, to accept of the Government of that Kingdom.

XI. *That ten thousand English, well furnished and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the Irish in that Kingdom.*—The first Assertion is true, and the second is rational; for, allowing the *Irish* Gentry to be brave enough, yet the Commons have not Courage or Skill equal to the *English*, or near it; nor can the *Irish* keep more than ten or twelve thousand Men together any long Time, for Want of Forage and other Necessaries.

XII. *However, less than fifteen, or perhaps twenty thousand Men, ought not now to attempt Ireland;*—because it will be necessary to make Descents in several Places; and, when Garrisons, and other necessary Detachments,

are deducted, there will remain above ten or Twelve thousand for the Field.

XIII. *If these Twenty thousand were divided into three Bodies, in all Probability there would be none, or very weak and short Resistance.*—For if Four thousand landed in *Ulster*, Six thousand in *Munster*, and Ten thousand in the Heart of the Kingdom, the *Irish* would be distracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither Officers nor Soldiers capable to make three distinct Armies; Experience will manifest, that, in that Case, finding themselves attacked on all Sides, *Tyrconnel* would retire to *Athlone*, and thence to *Galway*, and, in the first Ship he could get, shift for himself as well as he could.

XIV. *However, reasonable Conditions should not be denied them, if they will submit quietly.*—For, besides that it may prevent much Mischiefe, and save the Effusion of Christian Blood, it is unchristian to force them to Desperation; they should have Indemnity for what is past, and a Connivance at the private Exercise of their Religion, by a competent Number of Priests, for the future: This Offer justifies our Moderation, and, if refused, leaves them without Excuse.

XV. *Whatever Conditions are offered them, will be rejected or postponed, unless backed with a sufficient Force.*—For they are in Hopes of Aid from *France*, and have very little Foresight of what is future; it is not unusual amongst them, to defy one Day what they tremble at the next: It has been always a principal Maxim in their Politicks, to procrastinate and delay their Submission, in Hopes of imaginary Succours, until they plunged themselves sometimes into a Sea of Misery, and it looks as if their Destiny inclines that Way now.

XVI. *That the Irish Estates are sufficient to defray the Charge of reducing them to their Duty.*—For of ten Millions of Plantation-acres of Land, which there are in *Ireland*, the *Irish* have a fourth Part, which, to be purchased, is worth three Millions of Pounds.

XVII. *That the Protestants are already damaged to that Value, and in three Months more will suffer as much again.*—For, besides the Interruption in Trade and Business, bad Debts, and the particular Wrongs and Injuries done them, the Losses of those that were forced to fly to *England* and elsewhere, the very Land is one third Part lessened in the yearly Value;
and

and the two Thirds remaining are not worth so many Years Purchase by a third Part, as they were *Anno* 1684. For Example, Three hundred *per Annum*, at twelve Years Purchase, being three Thousand six-hundred Pounds, is now but two hundred Pounds, at eight Years Purchase, which is one-thousand six hundred Pounds.

XVIII. *The Protestants of Ireland had been eternally ruined, if it were not for the glorious Achievements of the Prince of Orange.*—For, if they are in so ill Condition at this Day, in what Case would they have been, if *France* had Leisure and Means to assist the *Irish*, and *England* (in a Civil War) not able to relieve the Protestants there?

XIX. *The Policy and true Scheme of Government was totally overturned in Ireland.*—For where Reason and the Interest of *England* required, That the *English* Colony should be protected by an *English* Army; and whereas a Protestant Parliament in *Ireland* had raised a great Revenue to the Crown, mostly paid by Protestants, in order to maintain a Protestant Army, on the quite contrary, that Army was disbanded, with Circumstances as bad as the Fact, and Papists introduced to guard us against themselves; and *Irish* brought to garison within those Walls, that were purposely built to keep them out.

XX. *The Law was likewise subverted.*—For the Force and Energy of the Law being resolved into Trials by Jury: When the Judge, Sheriff, Jury, Witness and Party were all of a-piece, and that in a Country where Perjury is so frequent, that *Irish Evidence* is become, proverbially scandalous, What could an *English* Protestant expect, but that many notorious Murders should pass unpunished, many forged Deeds should be trumped up, and many Hundreds of *English* indicted, drawn in Question, and prosecuted, without so much as a Probability, or Colour of Truth?

XXI. *These Injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our Religion and Nation destroyed there by Law.*—For they dissolved all Corporations, on forged or frivolous Pretences, and in so precipitate a Manner, that they did not give competent Time to draw, much less to review the Pleadings. They projected to call the eldest Sons of Popish Noblemen by Writ, and so made themselves sure of both Houses of an *Irish* Parliament.

XXII. *That the disbanded Protestant Officers deserve, and are fit to be employed in the Recovery of Ireland.*—They deserve it, and all the Countenance that can be shewn them, because they have suffered much (and few People consider how much) merely for their Religion and Country. And they are fit, because they are acquainted with the Country, the Climate, and the Inhabitants, and are, beyond Objection, zealous in this Cause.

XXIII. *That the Prince wants neither Courage, Conduct, Reputation, or Zeal.*—His Attempt in *England* manifested his Courage, his Success demonstrated his Conduct, and confirmed his Reputation; and, for the rest, the same Motives, that induced him to come hither, are still in Being, and will prevail to advance his victorious Arms to *Ireland*.

XXIV. *There is Nothing wanting but a settled legal Authority and Money.*—For, though Necessity justifies *pro hac vice*, yet our Law knows no Authority but what is Regal; without that there can be no Parliament, nor indeed no Obligation to Obedience (or at most but temporary.) And as for Money, though it is impossible to make a general Tax seasonably for the Relief of *Ireland*, yet, perhaps, a good Vote of espousing the *Irish* Concern may give Credit to raise a Fund, for a Service so necessary and beneficial to *England*.

XXV. *The Army will be in more Danger of Famine than Sword.*—For, besides that the Enemy will destroy and burn all he can, there is not in the Country Provision enough for both Armies, and therefore great Magazines must be erected at *Chester*, *Bristol*, *Milford*, &c. how much Money soever it may cost.

XXVI. *All private Undertakings, in this Matter of Ireland, are vain.*—For no one Body is able to do much, and Confederacies and Partnerships are lame and uncertain, because the Failure of any one spoils all. Nor did any private Undertaker of publick Affairs ever succeed in *Ireland*; witness Sir *Thomas Smith's* Project in the *Ardes*, and *Walter Earl of Essex's* in *Clandeboy* and the *Ferry*.

XXVII. *That whoever takes Commission here, to raise Men in Ireland, does that Country a great deal of Wrong.*—For either he takes some poor dispirited People, or such Farmers, Labourers, or Tradesmen, as would be more useful in their Vocation; or he takes others, that would, of their own Accord, and without Pay in the Militia,

Militia, or otherwise, fight for their Lives, Families, and Estates; every Way he robs the Country of People, and hinders those that else would be raised here, and go from hence; and he makes the Government depend on a broken Reed, for it is impossible any Men should be raised and accounted there Time enough to do Service, and fit to do it.

Lastly, *Though the Irish should submit, yet Ireland will need a considerable English Army.*—

For that Kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be Danger of some *French* Attempt. But, besides all this, he knows little of *Ireland*, who thinks that the *Irish* Army (when disbanded) will ever be brought to work for their Living. On the contrary, many of them will turn Tories; so that, if there be not a good Army in the Kingdom, it will be as unsafe and troublesome as in Time of War.

A true and most exact Relation of the Taking of the goodly Ship, called, *The Saint Esprit*, belonging unto the *French* King; which was built in *Holland*, and furnished with fifty-four Pieces of great Ordnance; was surprised on the twenty-eighth Day of *September*, by Sir *Sackville Trevor*, Knight, and since brought over, by him, unto *Harwich* in *Essex*. Likewise, the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Grace, in the Isle of *Ree*; the Killing of the base Brother of the *French* King, at the new Fort before *Rochelle*, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and also the appointed Place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet threatened from Foreign Parts to raise the Siege at the Isle of *Ree*: With many other Particulars. Published by Authority. *London*: Printed by *A. M.* for *Thomas Walkley*; and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the *Eagle and Child*, in *Britain's Burse*. 1627. Quarto, containing fourteen Pages.

THE *French* resolving to build some Ships, for the Strengthening of their Navy, and wanting Materials and Ship-wrights in the Kingdom, they determined to build them in *Holland*, at *Amsterdam*, and *Enchuyfen*; a Thing which the States of the United Provinces could not deny them, it being at their proper Cost, in Respect of those Obligements which bind them to that Nation.

The Notice whereof, together with their supposed Time of Launching, being advertised into *England*, his Majesty, to crush this Crocodile in the Shell, and to prevent the

Storm of the Danger before it fell, sent out Sir *Sackville Trevor*, after his Return from the River of *Elbe*, where he made the *Hamburgers* come to Reason, and searched their Ships in Despight of all Opposition.

He had with him in this last Expedition a Fleet of eight Sail, whereof four were of the King's Navy Royal, the rest were Merchants.

His Commission enjoined him to ply up and down, upon the Coast of *Holland*, and to take all *French* Ships which he could meet withal.

He observing carefully these Orders, used all possible Speed, and on *Friday* the Twenty-eighth

eighth of September, he arrived at the *Texel*, a great Road in *North-Holland*, about Eight of the Clock at Night, with all his Fleet in Safety.

The Names of his Ships were these:

The King's good Ship, called the *Affurance*, carrying thirty-eight Pieces of brass Ordnance, wherein Sir *Sackville* himself went as Admiral.

The King's good Ship, called the *Adventure*, carrying twenty-six brass Pieces, wherein Captain *George Allen* commanded as Vice-Admiral.

The good Ship, called the *Ambrose*, carrying eighteen Pieces of iron Ordnance, wherein Capt. *John Pette*, the Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, commanded.

The King's good Ship, called the *St. Mary of Roan*, carrying sixteen great Pieces, besides Murderers, the Captain whereof was Capt. *Thomas Bardefey*.

Capt. *Cheyney's* Ship, called the *May Flower* of *London*.

Capt. *Hook's* Ship, called the *Lion of Ipswich*.

Capt. *Morgan's* Ship, called the *Jacob*.

Capt. *Needham*, a Pinnace belonging to the King, called the *Maria*, carrying six Pieces of brass Ordnance.

These four latter Ships were of no great Burthen, but were well manned, and of quick Steerage, and carried in all, besides the Murderers, which they had upon their Upper Decks, twenty Pieces of brass and iron Ordnance.

Sir *Sackville Trevor* got a *Dutch* Pilot upon the Coast, who being demanded concerning the Ships that lay in the *Texel*, told him, that besides sixteen *Hollandish* Men of War, and divers other Vessels of good Burthen, there lay one goodly *French* Ship, called the *St. Esprit*, which was of the Burthen of eight-hundred Tons, the upper Works whereof were richly gilt with double Angel Gold, in the Inside and Outside of her, in those Places which were fittest to expresse Pomp and Statelines, as also the very Port-holes were curiously carved with Lions Heads gaping that were richly double gilt.

The Pilot, after he had been fully questioned by Sir *Sackville Trevor* concerning all Particulars, which might tend to the Service, told

him, that if he would give him Gold, he would bring him to the Side of her; whereupon Sir *Sackville* gave him a double *Portugue* in Gold, valuing four Pounds, *Sterling*.

We coming near unto their *French* Ship, presently the sent out her long Boat, being manned with *French* and *Dutch* to hale us, and to see what we were: But our Admiral commanding the Men to come Aboard us, we surpris'd the Long-boat, and pinioned the Men, and put them in the Hold.

Afterwards the *Esprit*, discovering us to be Enemies, began to fight, and discharged, but without any Effects of Hurt, three great Shot, and one-hundred small Shot. Then Sir *Sackville Trevor*, being willing to take Occasion by the Foretop, and to slack no Time for Fear of losing Advantage, came up close to her, and gave her a whole Broad-side; so likewise did our Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral, and the *St. Mary*, where Capt. *Thomas Bardefey* commanded; which Shot was discharged with that quick Motion, and working Advantage, that their main Mast and Bow-sprit being pierced through, they cried out for Quarter, which for good Considerations was granted them; so that by Ten of the Clock at Night, which was two Hours after our Coming into the *Texel*, we became Masters of this great and warlike Ship.

Before we came up close to her, but after they had discovered us to be Enemies, those of the *St. Esprit* made a Train in a Chest filled with Gunpowder, and other combustible Materials, to blow up the Ship, and our Men that should enter it. But this Resolution was again altered, because their long Boat being taken by our Admiral, they saw no other Means of escape, but only by submitting themselves unto our Mercy.

That Night we disposed of her Men severally in our Ships, being one-hundred *French*, and fifty *Dutch*. We gave all fair Quarter to the *Dutch*, but the *French* were kept Prisoners until the Day before we came out of the *Texel*, and then they were all set on Land in *North-Holland*.

After we had taken this Ship, there came unto us Captain *Dapper*, in the *True Love* of *Ipswich*, and Capt. *Wall*, in the *Susan* of *Al-borough*, on the Sunday following, whom we welcomed after the Manner of the Sea.

There

There was another goodly *French Ship*, which was newly come over *Wearing Flats*; distant eight Miles from the *Texel*, who receiving Intelligence of our Strength, and of what we had done, got Hoys, Lighters, and other small Vessels of Transportation; in which having lighted herself of her Ordnance, she got over the Flats to *Enchuyzen*, before our Men could come up to her.

We came up with eight Sail of Ships to take her, but losing our Labour, by Means that she was safely harboured in *Enchuyzen*, we returned back again unto our Admiral, who expected our Coming in the *Texel Road*.

Some of the States of the neighbour Towns came a-board us, and demanded peremptorily, by Virtue of what Commission we came to fetch that Ship out of their Road. Our Admiral told them, that he had Commission to take all *French Ships* which he could meet withal, and he was assured that this was a *French Ship*, and therefore he adventured to take her, without any further Commission.

Capt. *George Allen*, our Vice-Admiral, and some others of this Fleet, stay upon the Coast of *Holland*, for the Intercepting of this, and other *French Ships*; the rest under the Conduct of Sir *Sackville Trevor* brought Home the surprised Ship to *Harwich*.

This goodly Ship taken on the Twenty-eighth of *September*, as is aforesaid, had forty-two Pieces of Ordnance mounted, twelve Pieces unmounted in her Hold, two-hundred and six Armourers, one-hundred and fifty Musquets, and sixty Barrels of Gun-powder.

The Specification of her Ordnance, and other Particulars, follows:

Item, Upon her lower Tier, twenty whole Culverings of Brass of full Size, being in Height five Inches and a Quarter.

In her Steerage, two demy Culverings of Brass, in Height four Inches, one Quarter, and better.

Item, Two Drakes upon the half Deck, being Brass, of Sacker Bore.

24 Brass.

Item, Upon her upper Tier twelve Demiculverings of Iron, in Height four Inches and a Quarter.

Item, Four Sackers of Iron, upon the half Deck.

18 Iron.

Sum total mounted is 42.

Item, It is reported, there are in Hold twelve Pieces of Iron, all whole Culverings; we took the Height of two, being five Inches, the rest we could not come to.

The Length of the Ship, by the Keel, is one-hundred and five Feet.

The Breadth, by her Beam, is thirty-five Feet.

From the Kilchin to the Deck in Depth twelve Feet.

Item, Two-hundred and six Armourers.

Item, One-hundred and fifty Musquets.

Item, Sixty Barrels of Gun-powder.

Concerning the Proceedings of our Army and Navy in the Island of *Roe*, commonly called *St. Martin's*, there hath happened no memorable Accident, as far as we can understand, since the *Wednesday* Se'nnight after Sir *John Burrows* was slain, upon the Night of which Day, our Men surprised many Boats, as they were passing to the Fort with Victuals; the Particulars of which Exploit were related in our last Journal; but concerning the Occurrences happening in the Main, we have received their Advertisements, by Letters out of *France*, on *Wednesday* last, being the Third of *October*.

That the *French King*, being fully bent to follow his Designs against *Rachel*, and to pluck out that Thorn, which, as the Cardinal intimated unto him, had so long stuck in the Sides of his Sovereignty, continues the Building of his new Fort, on Purpose to debar the Townsmen from all Ingress and Egress by Water. He follows this Work with great Charge and greater Labour, as well knowing how important the Finishing thereof will be for his farther Ends and Intentions. He hath caused twelve whole Cannons to be mounted before the Breast of this Fort, with which his Cannoniers make divers random Shot into the Town, but with more Terror than Danger. Some Ships of our Fleet, riding not far from the Fort, have bestowed divers Shot upon the *French*, though without Point-blank Distance. One of which fell so fortunately for us, and so unfortunately for them, that it killed a base Son of that great *Henry the Fourth*, which he had by a Sister of the Duke of *Orleans*. The same Shot did likewise kill another Duke, of whose Name we are not as yet certain. And the Wind of that Bullet struck down the Mon-

fieur,

sieur, the legitimate Brother of the *French* King, as he was conferring with the other two.

It is further confirmed, that two principal Men of the *French* Nobility were slain by the late Ambush of the *Rochellers*. Which two Noblemen, with divers other brave Chevaliers, were drawn within Danger by a Stale made by twenty common Soldiers, in the Habit of Gentlemen, who sallied forth of the Town of *Rochel*.

The *Rochellers* are very careful to furnish our Fleet and Army, with all necessary Provisions, which their Store or Procuration can afford; and these they transport in twenty long Boats, which in Token of the Service that they owe unto the King of *England*, carry red Crosses for the Device of their Colours. Divers *English*, who have been either sick or wounded, are in the Town, amongst whom is that honourable Knight, Sir *Charles Rich*,

who is cured of his Wound, but hath not as yet recovered the perfect Use of his Arm. His Presence is much desired of my Lord Duke, and is expected in the Army every Day.

His Excellency, to avoid the Extortion of Victuallers, who like the Milt in Man's Body grow fat by the Leanness of others, hath out of his noble Disposition, published a Proclamation for the Price of Bread, Wine, and other Necessaries, according to the Rates of which Proclamation, the Islanders and others from the Continent do bring in Victuals.

There is a confident Report in all those Parts of *France*, that there are appointed forty Ships of War to come from *Spain*, and twenty from *Dunkirk*, who are to join with the *French* Fleet for the Succours of the Island, and the Beating off of the *English*. The Rendezvous of all these Ships was appointed at *Blawet*, a famous Port-Town in *Brittany*, on the Tenth of this present Month.

News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, or *Oxford Manchester*-*ed*, by *Michael Oldsworth* and his Lord, who swore he was Chancellor of *Oxford*. And proved it in a Speech made to the new Visitors, in their New Convocation, *April 11*, 1648. As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath. Printed at *Montgomery*, 1648. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

Mr. Visitors,

I Am glad to see this Day, I hope it will never end; for I am your Chancellor: Some say I am not your Chancellor, but Dam me, they lye, for my Brother was so before me, and none but Rascals would rob me of my Birth-right. They think Marquis of *Hertford* is Chancellor of *Oxford*, because, forsooth, the University chose him; S'Death, I sit here by Ordinance of Parliament, and judge ye, Gentlemen, whether he or I look like a Chancellor: I'll prove he is a Party, for he himself is a Scholar, he has *Greek* and *Latin*; but all the World knows I can scarce write or read; Dam me, this Writing and Reading hath caused all this Blood.

VOL. V.

Some say, I love not the University, but, I say, they lye; I love her, I count her my Mother, for I had four Sons there. You know what a Coil I had ere I could get hither; *Selden* did so vex us with his Law and his Reasons, we could get nothing pass; you saw I was fain to swear him down, and Mr. *Rous*, *Gurdon*, *Mildmay*, *Wentworth*, *Prideaux*, *Scot*, and other Friends, voted bravely, else *Selden* had carried it. S'Death, that Fellow is but Burges for *Oxford*, and I am Chancellor, and yet he would have the Parliament hear his Law and Reasons against their own Chancellor. I thank God, and I thank you; I thank God I am come at last, and I thank you for giving me a gilded Bible; you could not give me a better Book, Dam me I think so; I love the

P

Bible,

Bible, though I seldom use it; I say I love it, and a Man's Affection is the best Member about him; I can love it, though I cannot read it, as you Dr. *Wilkinson* love Preaching, tho' you never preach: What? Cannot a Man be a Doctor of Divinity but he must preach? I hope you'll confess I have gotten you good Places; if I had not stuck to you, how could you have thrown out *Bayly*, *Sheldon*, *Fell*, *Potter*, *Oliver*, *Hammond*, *Morley*, and the rest? And then to what End had you been Visitors, if you got not their Places? You know *Hammond* is my own Godson, and they say he is a Scholar; S'Death, I love you, What care I for deep Scholars? Mr. *Cheyne*, I thank you, you have been kind to me, you have broke your Brains again for me, and I have given you another Head, for I made you Head of *St. John's*, and for your Sake have thrust out *Bayly*, his Wife, and nine pretty Children. Master *Reynolds*, I feared you would have left us, for you pretended to take no Man's Place from him, but, I thank God, you are of another Mind, for you have both a Man's Place and a Woman's Place, you have all that belonged to *Fell*, his Wife, and all his Children. Mr. *Wilkinson*, you love me, and I am glad of it, for, they say, you hate your Enemies to the Bottomless-pit; I have given you my own Chaplain's Prebend, and Dam me, while he served me, he was an excellent Scholar. Mr. *Corbet*, I love you too, I have made you Orator of the University; it was my Godson *Hammond's* Place, I hope none will blame me for displacing my own Godson, you are now my Godson, for you are Orator; I hope you'll speak for me, I cannot speak for myself; you have a Tongue now, though you want Eyes; What cannot a Man be a Visitor, though without Eyes? Mr. *Langley*, I love you also, I have made you Doctor of Divinity; Malignants say, it is impossible to make you a Doctor, but, hang them, they lye, for you were created Doctor, and nothing can create but God and a Chapellor; nay, I have made you Head of *Pembroke* College, I cannot make you Governor, for a Rogue, they call him *Poyer*, is Governor of *Pembroke*, and, Dam me, I think the King will make *Poyer* to be Earl of *Pembroke*. Master *Harris*, you are an old Man, I have made you Head of *Trinity* College, I love an old Head; Dr. *Kettle* was an old Head before, but he loved us

not, I love an old Head new made. Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, I know you love me, for you are Judge of the Prerogative Court; the Parliament gave it you, you are a good Man, and that's a good Place; they say you have no Civil Law, What is that to the Purpose? You have an Ordinance of Parliament; a Man may be a Civilian by an Ordinance of Parliament, else why the Devil have we sat seven Years? My Father said, That a Parliament could do any Thing but make a Man a Woman, and a Woman a Man. Mr. *Rogers*, you look as if you loved me, and I have made you Doctor; they call you *Aaron*, I hate them for it, for I hate *Aaron*, he was a Priest, and I would have all Priests and Jesuits hanged. Mr. *Cornish*, I love you, though your Wife plays Tricks with you; they say she gads Abroad, because you are a sickly weak Man, but I have given you Dr. *Wall's* Place, for the weakest goes to the Wall; you must give me Leave to clinch, for those that have no Wit must be content with Clinches. Mr. *Palmer*, I have made you Head of *All-Souls*, and have turned out *Sheldon*; I hope you love me, for you are a Physician, and never any Physician was Head of *All-Souls*; they say their Statutes do keep you out, hang their Statutes, I'll keep you in; you are a Member of the House of Commons, and a Member of Parliament may be Head of any House: What? Must the Parliament be tied to Oaths and Statutes? I have, for your Sake, clapped *Sheldon* in Prison, Was it not high Time? Dam me, he hath more Brains than all we together, you saw To-day what Tricks he put upon me: I could not speak to him but he made it Non-sense, so as I was forced to cry him Mercy four several Times; but I have *Sheldon'd* him by the Heels, and he deserves it; S'Death, Is he not Clerk of the Closet? I love no Clerks of the Closet, I am not onemysself, Dam me if I be: There is a young Rogue, one *Palmer*, I hope, Mr. *Palmer*, he is not your Name-sake, this little Knave looked at me as if he cared not Two-pence for me; but I have *Sheldon'd* him too; and I'll justify it, for he is at least twelve Years old, and the Parliament hath imprisoned one at nine Years old, I mean *Inchiquin's* Son, a Plague upon him, for now *Inchiquin* is turned *Inchiquin*. Gentlemen, love one another, for there's Twenty-thousand do hate you, they say you are all either Dunces, Knaves, or Madmen; S'Death, they will say so of me, if they durst.

But

But do you serve God, and love your Chancellor, you have all the good Places the University can yield; you desired us to make you Visitors, and you have made yourselves Heads of Colleges; I love you all, Dam me I do. I command you, Register, to write it down that I love them all; your Name is *French*, and my Name may be *French*, for I cannot

spell *English*. God bless you all, and God bless me, and do as I do, for I fear God, and obey the Parliament; I will live and die with you, and God confound me, if I leave the Town these two Days.

Copia vera
Michael Oldsworth.

The Parable of the three Jackdaws, &c. Printed in the Year
1696. Quarto, containing four Pages.

HERE was a Time when the feathered Commonwealth fell into great Disorder, about Chusing a Successor to the Eagle, whose advanced Years portended the Fall of his Scepter; and the Disputes, which happened amongst the several Pretenders, did mightily perplex the Kingdom of Birds, who were in Doubt, whether the Eagle had any genuine Offspring. The Magpies, who had an inveterate Malice against the Black-birds, and Nightingales, because they were better liked than themselves, on the Account of their harmonious Notes, and innocent Nature, improved the Opportunity, to make Interest with the Jackdaws and Cuckows, to settle the Succession on a noted Bird, which was reckoned Brother to the Eagle, because hatched in the same Nest; but a mortal Enemy to the Nightingales, and Black-birds, and accused of a Confederacy with the Storks and Kites, to betray the winged Nation to the Birds of Prey. The Magpies were frequently told of this, and Remonstrances were entered against their Proceedings, as destructive to the whole Volatile Empire; but they turned the deaf Ear to every Thing, that was said to them; for being used to feed upon Carrion, they delighted in Slaughter. In Process of Time, the Eagle died, and his Brother, the Friend to the Magpies, succeeded: As soon as he mounted the Throne, the Magpies chattered for Joy, the Jackdaws cawed, and the Cuckows made Protestations of Loyalty, in their usual Note; but he was scarcely seated on the Throne, when the Region of the Air was filled with Birds of Prey; the Screech-owls began to quarrel with

the Jackdaws, and the Cormorants pretended a Right to the Nests of the Magpies. In the mean Time, though they could not agree amongst themselves, yet all of them united against the Nightingales and Black-birds, who, by this Means, were forced to retire to the solitary Groves, where they chirped and warbled out their own Misfortunes. The Affairs of the winged Empire being in this Posture, a generous Falcon, as he was called by some, or the true Offspring of the Eagle, as reckoned by others, being moved with Compassion, towards the injured Birds, attempted their Relief; but the Magpies and Jackdaws, with their Adherents, the Cuckows, were so much incensed against the generous Falcon, because of his favourable Inclinations to the Nightingales and Black-birds, that they summoned together their Friends, the Rooks, and joining with the Storks and Kites, oppressed the poor Falcon, with his small Retinue; and having barbarously destroyed them, the Eagle's Brother looked upon his Throne, as surer than ever; and the Magpies, Jackdaws, and Cuckows, concluding that they had insured his Favour, by this new Merit, pressed on to destroy the Black-birds, and Nightingales. But all of a sudden, when they thought themselves secure, the Night-owls and Cormorants, with the Storks and Kites, their Adherents, having been a long Time dispossessed of their Nests, by the Magpies and Jackdaws, and their Followers, the Rooks and Cuckows, resolved to come to a Trial of Skill with them, upon which the Magpies came to have some Remorse for their barbarous Treatment of the innocent Black-birds; and, abating something

of the usual Harshness of their Note, began to call, 'Mag, Mag, poor Mag, a Cup of Sack for poor fainting Mag;' and the Jackdaws cawed to the Black-birds, in a milder Note than before, bewailed their former Severity, and invited the Nightingales and Black-birds, to join with them, against the Kites, Cormorants, and Screech-owls. The Eagle's Brother, being afraid of the Consequences of such an Union, came also to a Parley with the Black-birds and Nightingales, and offered them fair Quarter, provided they would concur towards the Procuring of an authentick Act, at the general Dyet of the winged Empire, to secure his Followers in the Possession of their Nests, for all Time coming; the amazed Black-birds, being surprised with this mighty Change, and having been wretchedly torn by the Talons of both Parties, knew not whom to trust; but the Eagle's Brother being possessed of the Throne, Decency obliged them to make civil Replies; but some of the Bats, which frequented the Company of the Black-birds, engaged too far with the Cormorant Interest, and by this Time both Parties owned the Possessor of the Throne, for a true Eagle: Having gained his Point so far, he resolved to push on his Fortune, and being provoked with the Behaviour of the Magpies, he designed to put their Pretensions of Loyalty to the Touchstone, and commanded them to publish his Imperial Edict, giving Liberty to all the Subjects of the airy Regions, to warble out the Praises of their great Creator, in such Notes as Nature had furnished them with; it being highly unreasonable to say, that the Canary-bird was no Bird, because she could not croak like the Raven, or that the Nightingale was no Subject of the winged Empire, because she could not chatter like the Magpy.

The Magpies and Jackdaws were thunder-struck, at the Hearing of this unlooked-for Command, and most of them did fully refuse it; yet some of the Magpies and the Swallows, which nested about the Altars, thought fit to comply; but the Metropolitan Magpy, and Six of the rest, did positively refuse to obey the Eagle, who did thereupon commit them to his Imperial Prison. Then nothing was to be heard, but, 'Alas poor Mag, a Cup of Sack for Mag; and on the other Hand, the Cormorants and Kites cried, 'A Rope for Mag, Mag, Mag, a Halter for Mag;'

And the Black-birds and Nightingales, though they were something concerned at the Misfortune of the Magpies, yet could not but say, that Mag was served according to her Deserts; but the Jackdaws and Cuckows, with their Allies, the Rooks, did so much disturb the Eagle's Quiet, with their Cawing and Croaking, that he released the Magpies, but pursued his Design, of establishing a Tyranny in the Regions of the Air; and, in Order to accomplish his Design, did enter into a Confederacy with the Vulture, resolved to disinherit the generous she Eagle, of his own Race, and to impose a counterfeit he Eagle upon the Nation of Birds; which did so much provoke the feathered Commonwealth, that they agreed, with the Assistance of a genuine Eagle, of the true imperial Nest, who had the generous she Eagle, abovementioned, to his Mate, to curb the tyrannical Eagle, and prevent his Imposing an Ostrich instead of an Eagle upon the winged Empire. Many of the Magpies and Jackdaws, with all the Black-birds and Nightingales, joined in the Invitation to the young Eagle, who taking his Flight from beyond Sea, did happily alight, in the Imperial Grove; and being joined with a promiscuous Flock of Black-birds, Jackdaws, Nightingales, and some Rooks, put the Kites, Cormorants, and old Eagle to Flight; who, after he had roosted a While, in his Imperial Nest, abandoned the same, and fled beyond Sea, with the Ostrich his Mate, and the counterfeit Eagle, her supposed Son, to the Vulture's Grove.

The Eagle having thus taken his Flight, the Magpies began to relent, and to wish that Things had not come to that Extremity; for the Jackdaws and they became now apprehensive, that they were in as much Danger of losing their Nests, by the Black-birds and Nightingales, as they had formerly been by the Kites and Cormorants, because the young Eagle, who came from beyond Sea, was judged to have a mighty Kindness for the Black-birds and Nightingales, and his Mate, the generous she Eagle, had no Aversion to them; and thus it came to pass, that the Metropolitan Magpy, who had been the Ringleader of those who opposed the old Eagle, and invited the young one to his Nest, began to grow sullen, and his Example infecting the rest of the Mags, the Faction was divided amongst themselves; so that some of the Magpies and Jackdaws,

daws, were for acknowledging the young Eagle as Sovereign of the Birds, and others, chattering still upon the abdicated Theme of Passive Obedience, alledged that the old Eagle had Injury done him, and did all that they could to obstruct the Progress of the young Eagle's Affairs; and, having, by the Interest of the Magpies, who owned his Title, got an Influence on his Councils, they advised him to disband the Black-birds and Nightingales, who had flocked to him at his first Coming over, and to govern his Affairs, by the Advice of the Magpies and Jackdaws; and, by this Method, they got his Court and his Camp filled with Rooks, who did still retain a very great Kindness for the old Eagle, and their ancient Cronies, the Cormorants and Kites, and did them kindly Offices, as Opportunity offered.

In the mean Time, the Nightingales and Black-birds of the Eagle's ancient Grove, had been so terribly infested by the Magpies, Jackdaws, and Rooks, and so mischievously torn by the Talons of the Kites and Cormorants, their Allies, that they looked upon the Magpies as Harpies; and, in a general Dyet of the Birds, held for that Grove, voted, that the Magpies, and their Underlings, the Jackdaws, were the great and insupportable Grievance of the winged Empire, and, with one Consent, dislodged them of their Nests; so that the Mags and Jacks hopped away, in great Numbers, to the neighbouring Grove, chattered nothing, but Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance, and the Injury done to the old Eagle, which strengthened the Faction of the Southern Magpies, and made the young Eagle very uneasy in his Nest; whence it came to pass, that the Magpy-faction procured a Rebellion in the Northern Grove, under the Conduct of a mischievous Rook, who, being joined by a Rabble of the Jackdaws, Kites, Cormorants, and Solan Geese, gave the young Eagle's Followers, in that Grove, a considerable Check; but, the mischievous Rook being pecked to Death in the Scuffle, the Rebellion was appeased there; but the Northern Jackdaws and Solan Geese, with the abdicated Harpies, filled the Southern Grove with their querulous Notes, that nothing was to be heard, but, Alas! poor Mag, Mag, Mag, is put out of her Nest in the North, and must expect the same Treatment in the South, except the old Eagle be recalled. Whereupon that tyrannous Bird, conceiving good Hopes of

his Affairs, did, by the Assistance of the Vulture, who lent him some Bands of Storks, Kites, and Rooks, take his Flight to *St. Patrick's Grove*, where, being joined by some Cormorants, and the native Woodcocks, he quickly overspread the whole Grove, excepting some small Part of it, where a Colony of their Northern Birds had fixed their Nests, who made such a stout Resistance against the Tyrant Eagle, and his Birds of Prey, that the Fame thereof echoed through the Regions of the Air; but the Southern Magpies and Jackdaws, being influenced by the Northern Harpies, and Solan Geese, obstructed the Relief of the Black-birds of *St. Patrick's Grove* so long, that they were well nigh undone, and the first Relief they had sent them, being under the Conduct of a villainous Rook, he was little less noisome to the Black-birds, than the Kites and Cormorants; so that the young Eagle was obliged to fly thither in Person, and, not long after his Arrival, he gave the Tyrant Eagle, and his Followers, such a terrible Overthrow, by a purling Brook, that the old one fled from *St. Patrick's Grove*, and betook himself again to the Vulture's Quarters, whilst the Colonies of the Northern Black-birds and Nightingales did, with inimitable Courage, subdue the Woodcocks, and the young Eagle's Followers dislodged the Vultures and Cormorants from their Nests, so that, in a little Time, *St. Patrick's Grove* was intirely recovered.

The Vulture, by whose Counsels the abdicated Eagle had, all along, governed himself, perceiving that he was now quite driven from his Nest, resolved to attack the *Flemish* Copeice, which had formerly been the Residence of the young Eagle; which obliged the generous Bird to repair beyond Sea, for the Defence of his ancient Friends; but, though he acted Wonders, yet his Counsels were betrayed by the Friends of the Mags and the Daws, and, his Troops being chiefly commanded by Rooks, the Birds of his Retinue met with several Disasters, and, at the same Time, the Kites, and Cormorants, and seditious Mags, did all, that they could, to disturb the Repose of the generous the Eagle his Mate, whom they would fain have destroyed in his Absence; but the faithful Magpies, and moderate Jackdaws, with the Black-birds and Nightingales, did unite so cordially for her Defence, that their Designs were disappointed..

appointed. Thus was the generous young Eagle perplexed by Vultures, Storks, and Cormorants Abroad, and treacherous Magpies, Jackdaws, and Rooks at Home, and chiefly, because they were apprehensive of being outed by the Black-birds; who, whatever Privileges they had acquired in the North, they said, they must content themselves to build Nests, in the Eves of Houses, in the South, where the Churches were the proper Habitation of the Magpies and Jackdaws. Nor would they suffer the Nightingales and the Falcons, to have any Command in the winged Army, that being the Property of the Kites and Rooks, because they did annually swear Allegiance to the Magpies and Jackdaws, at the Altars, which the Falcons and Nightingales would never do.

In the mean Time, the generous the Eagle died, which did so much grieve her faithful Mate, that the Kingdom of Birds had well nigh lost both their Sovereigns at once: However, he generously plucked up his Courage, and, considering that he was born for Empire, did scorn to be conquered by Passion; and, therefore, resolved, that as he had defeated the Maws and the Gulls, belonging to the Vulture by Sea, he would have a Trial of Valour with him by Land, notwithstanding his Alliance with the overgrown Raven of the East; so that, taking another Flight into the Continent, he dislodged the Vulture from one of his chief Nests, who, thereupon, became so much afraid of the young Eagle's Talons, that he durst not adventure on a fair War with him any more, but resolved to suborn some Night-Owls, Buzzards, Kites, Cormorants, and Cuckows, to assassinate the generous Eagle in the Dark; which he had attempted several Times before, but laid the Design so craftily now, that he was sure it could not miscarry. And, this taking Effect, he designed to have destroyed the Black-birds and Nightingales, with the faithful Magpies, and moderate Jackdaws, and all the other loyal Birds in *St. George's*, *St. Andrew's*, and *St. Patrick's* Groves, and to have possessed them for ever, with Vultures, Kites, Storks, Ravens, Rooks, Cormorants, and Magpies, and Jackdaws of his own Stamp. However, this Conspiracy being happily discovered by

the Parrots, many of the Owls, Buzzards, and Cormorants, who were employed to assassinate the young Eagle, were taken, and some of them suffered Death, according to the Laws of the feathered Kingdom; three Cormorants first, and, a little after, a Cuckow, who being drawn in by the treacherous Magpies and Jackdaws, three of the latter attended them to the Place of their Exit; and, cawing to them in the old Note of Passive Obedience, deluded the poor Cuckows, and telling them, that, by Vertue of the Authority which they had acquired, by a long Possession of the Steeples, where no Black-bird had any Right to come, they were constituted lawful Priests of the winged Empire, and, therefore, absolved them from the false Imputation of Guilt, for Endeavouring to cut the young Eagle's Throat, for he was none of the Birds of *Jupiter's* Nest; and, tho' the Beetle had unluckily broke all the old Eagle's Eggs, which were procreated betwixt him and the *Italian* Ostrich, yet there was a Time coming, when they would find a safe Repository, if not in *Jove's*, yet in *St. Peter's* Lap, and oblige the pretended Eagle, who was no other than a *Geneva* Bird, hatched among the Shells, which one of the *Roman* Emperors gathered together, as a Mark of Triumph, on the *Dutch* Coast, to retire to the Banks of *Lake Leman*; in the Faith of which, the two silly Cuckows did chearfully swallow their Hempseed, and crying, *Cuckow, Cuckow*, the Jackdaws answered, *Caw, Caw, Caw*, and then the Cuckows were choaked; at which the loyal Birds were so much incensed, that they have shut up two of the Jackdaws in a Cage, and are hunting after the other, which is fled; so that, in a little Time, we may hap to see these Jackdaws follow the Fate of the Cuckows, while all the winged Empire, from the Imperial Eagle to the Wren, are associated to defend the generous young Eagle, as a true Bird of the Imperial Nest, against the Vulture of the West, the overgrown Raven of the East, the traitorous Magpies, Jackdaws, Storks, Kites, Rooks, Ravens, and Cormorants, and the Larks, Nightingales, and Black-birds, do daily, with their harmonious Notes, celebrate *Jupiter's* Praises, for Preserving his beloved Eagle.

Two Speeches spoken by the Earl of *Manchester*, and *John Pym*, Esq; as a Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the City of *London's* Petition, sent from his Majesty. By Capt. *Hearne*, and read at the Common-hall, on *Friday* the Thirteenth of *January*, 1642. Also, a true Narration of the Passages of that Day.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that these Speeches be forthwith printed and published.

H. Elsing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, printed for *John Norman*, for the Good of the Commonwealth, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

A Speech, delivered by the Earl of Manchester.

MY Lord-Mayor and Gentlemen, you of the City of *London*, this Assembly can never be looked upon by any Members of both Houses of Parliament, but there must be some Offering of Gratitude made to you, both of Thanks and Acknowledgment; for your former large-hearted Expressions both of Affection and Care for the Preservation both of the Parliament and Kingdom. The Occasion, why my Lords and these Gentlemen of the House of Commons are come hither, is this: They have read an Answer to an humble Petition of the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council and Citizens of *London* to his Majesty; in which Answer they find many wounding Aspersions cast upon Persons of very eminent Authority in your City, and upon others of very great Fidelity and Trust among you; this Answer they do find, as it is printed, to agree with that, which the Gentleman from his Majesty hath here read; and they, owning themselves equally interested (in all Things that concern you) with you, have commanded

this Gentleman to make some Observations, by Way of Vindication, both of the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and of the Proceedings of the City, with this Assurance, That they will never desert you, but will stand by you, with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Preservation of the City in general, and those Persons in particular, who have been faithful, and deserved well, both of the Parliament and Kingdom; and they will pursue all Means, both with their Lives and Fortunes, that may be for the Preservation of this City, and for the Procuring of Safety, Happiness, and Peace to the whole Kingdom.

The Speech of this noble Lord being entertained with loud Expressions of Joy and Thankfulness by the Commons, and after some Time of Silence being made, Mr. *Pym*, that worthy Member of the House of Commons, and Patriot of his Country, gave the Sense of both Houses, upon the several Passages of his Majesty's Answer, expressing it as follows:

A Speech,

A Speech, delivered by John Pym, Esq;

MY Lord-Mayor, and you worthy Citizens of this noble and famous City of *London*, I am commanded by the Lords and Commons to let you know, that, in this Answer, which hath been published to you, they do observe many Things of great Asperion upon the Proceedings of Parliament, very scandalous and injurious to many particular Members of this City; whereupon they think, that it becomes them, both in Tenderneſs of their own Honour, and in Reſpect to you, to take away all thoſe Aſperions, and to let you know the Truth of their Proceedings, which have been full of Honour and Juſtice, as they ſtand in Relation to their own Duty, and full of Humility and Obedience towards his Ma-jeſty, and of Care for the common Good, and ſo ſhall ever be. And they have commanded me to let you know the true Answer to moſt of thoſe Things that are imputed either to the Parliament, or to the City, by obſerving ſome Particulars of this Book which hath been read to you, and to let you know the Proceedings in their own native Condition, clear from thoſe Miſrepresentations, which make them appear in a Quality much different from the Truth; which before I enter into, I am to declare, as the Senſe of both Houſes, That your Petition was ſo full of Loyalty, Humility, and Obedience, that you might well have expected an Answer of another Kind.

The firſt Obſervation I am to make you is this: That it is ſaid here, ‘That his Ma-jeſty was informed by Tumults to leave the Parliament, and to go from *Whitehall*, and to withdraw himſelf into thoſe Courſes, which now he hath taken.’

I answer thereunto, I am commanded to tell you, That there was no Occaſion given, by any Tumults riſing out of this City, or the Suburbs, which might juſtly cauſe his Ma-jeſty's Departure; and you may very well remember, that, after his violent Coming to the Commons Houſe of Parliament in that unuſual and unheard-of Manner, which was the Beginning of theſe unhappy Differences, the very next Day his Ma-jeſty came into the City without any Guard; that he was preſent at the Common-council, dined at the Sheriff's, and returned back again, with manifold Evidences of Fidelity on the Part of the City,

and without any ſuch Expreſſions, as were unbecoming the Ma-jeſty of a King, or the Duty of Subjects; that he reſided divers Days at *Whitehall*, and afterwards at *Hampton-court*, *Windſor*, and Places adjoining, with ſmall Forces about him, and yet never any Attempt was made, which might give him any Apprehenſion of Fear: By all which it is manifeſt, that this is an unjuſt Aſperion caſt upon this City, That any tumultuous Carriage of your's was the Occaſion of his Ma-jeſty's Leaving the Parliament, and Withdrawing himſelf to remote Parts.

It is affirmed, ‘That the Government of your City hath been managed by a few deſperate Perſons, and that they do exerciſe an arbitrary Power.’ In Answer to which, the two Houſes of Parliament give you this Teſtimony, That you have, in moſt of the great Occaſions concerning the Government of the City, followed their Direction; and that Direction, which they have given, and you have executed, they muſt and will maintain to be ſuch, as ſtands with their Honour in giving it, and your Truſt and Fidelity in the Performance of it.

It is objected, in the third Place, ‘That Contributions have been publickly made for the Maintenance of that Army, which did join Battle with the King, and did, by all the Means that Treason and Malice could ſuggeſt, endeavour to take away his Life, and deſtroy his Iſſue.’ To this I am commanded to ſay, That the Deſign of bringing up the *Engliſh* Armies, the Gathering together of the Cavaliers about *Whitehall*, the violent Coming to the Houſe of Commons, the King's Going into the North, and Raiſing Armies there, are clear Evidences, that Violence was firſt intended, and divers Practices were made againſt the Parliament, before they took any Courſe, or made any Preparation to take up Arms for their Defence. For the Danger of his Ma-jeſty's Perſon, they were ſorry for it, and did, by divers humble Petitions, labour to prevent it; and, as touching the Royal Iſſue, they have ſufficiently declared to the World their good Affections towards them, by the Care, they have taken, both for the Safety and Maintenance of thoſe who are left here.

It is further expressed, in this Answer, ' That the King demands the Lord-Mayor, ' Mr. Alderman *Fowke*, Col. *Ven*, and Col. ' *Manwaring* to be delivered up, as guilty of ' Schism and High-Treason.' Concerning which, I am commanded to tell you, as the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, That this Demand is against the Privilege of Parliament (two of them being Members of the Commons House), and most dishonourable to the City, That the Lord-Mayor of *London* should be subjected to the Violence of every base Fellow, be assaulted, seized on, without due Process or Warrant, which the Law doth afford every private Man; and that you should be commanded to deliver up your chief Magistrates, and such eminent Members of the City to the King's Pleasure, only because they have done their Duty, in adhering to the Parliament for the Defence of the Kingdom; and that it is against the Rules of Justice, that any Men should be imprisoned upon such a general Charge, when no Particulars are proved against them; and this you are to take Notice of, as the Answer to those Scandals, and to that Disgrace upon my Lord-Mayor and the other Members of the City.

And I am further to tell you, That there is little Cause for his Majesty to make this Demand, considering that he himself doth, by Force, keep away many accused in Parliament, as my Lord *Digby*, and many more impeached of High-Treason, besides divers other great Delinquents, that stand charged there for heinous Crimes; all which, by Force, are kept from the due Proceedings and legal Trial in Parliament.

It is alledged, in this Answer, ' That my ' Lord-Mayor, and those other Persons named, ' are Countenancers of Brownists, and Anabaptists, and all Manner of Sectaries.' To this I am commanded to say, That hereof there is no Proof; it doth not appear, that they give any such Countenance to Sectaries of any Kind whatsoever; and, if it did, his Majesty hath little Reason to object it, while, notwithstanding the Profession, he hath often made, That he will maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion, he doth in the mean Time raise an Army of Papists, who, by the Principles of their Religion, are bound, if Power be put into their Hands, to destroy and utterly to root out the Protestants, together with the Truth which they profess.

It is affirmed, ' That Men's Persons have ' been imprisoned, and their Houses plundered, ' because they will not rebel against his Majesty.' To this I am commanded to declare, that no Men's Houses have been plundered by any Direction of the Parliament, but that they have been very careful to restrain all such violent Courses, so far as they were able; and that they have never committed any Man, but such as, by due Information, they conceived to be seditious Persons, and like to trouble the Peace of the State.

It is objected further; ' That the Property ' of the Subject is destroyed by Taking away ' the twentieth Part, by an Arbitrary Power.' To this they say, That that Ordinance doth not require a twentieth Part, but doth limit the Assessors, that they shall not go beyond a twentieth Part, and that this is done by a Power derived from both Houses of Parliament; the Lords, who have an hereditary Interest in making Laws in this Kingdom, and the Commons who are elected and chosen to represent the whole Body of the Commonalty, and trusted for the Good of the People, whenever they see Cause to charge the Kingdom; And they say further, That the same Law that did enable the two Houses of Parliament to raise Forces to maintain and defend the Safety of Religion, and of the Kingdom, doth likewise enable them to require Contributions, whereby these Forces may be maintained; or else it was a vain Power to raise Forces, if they had not a Power likewise to maintain them in that Service for which they were raised.

And to this Point I am commanded to add this further Answer, that there was little Reason for this to be objected, on his Majesty's Behalf, when it is well known that, from the Subjects, which are within the Power of his Army, his Majesty doth take the full yearly Value of their Lands, and in some Cases more; that not only particular Houses, but whole Towns have been plundered by Command and Design; and that by Proclamations Men are declared to forfeit all their Estates, because they will not obey arbitrary Commands; and this is commonly practised by his Majesty, and on his Part, and therefore, there was little Reason to charge the Parliament with so necessary and moderate a Contribution as the twentieth Part.

It is declared, 'That' the King expects to 'be kept from Tumults and Affronts.' Upon which, I am commanded to observe, that his Majesty's Expressions, in his Answer, tend to the making of a Division in this City, and to the Raising of a Party, which may make some Disturbance in that orderly Government, which is now established; both which will certainly prove equally destructive to him and both Houses of Parliament, and more prejudicial to his quiet Abode here, than any Thing that hath ever been acted by the Houses of Parliament, or the present Governors of the City.

They observe further, that in this Answer, 'His Majesty doth profess, that he will seize upon the Estates of those that shall contribute any Thing towards the Maintenance of the Parliament's Army, and will put them out of his Protection, and by his Ministers in Foreign States, will take such Course, that they may be proceeded against as Enemies; that is, destroyed and spoiled.' To which the Lords and Commons do declare, That this is an Excess of Rigour and Injustice beyond all Example, that particular Men should lose their private Estates, here without Law, or judicial Proceeding: And that our Prince, who owes Protection to the Kingdom, as well as to particular Persons, should suffer the Wealth thereof to be robbed and spoiled by Foreign States; upon due Consideration whereof, they hope his Majesty will be induced, by better Counsel to forbear the Execution, than that, by which he hath been persuaded to publish such a Resolution.

Besides these Observations, out of the Answer, I am to observe one out of a Narrative that was received from the Common-council, that the King did declare, that he would send some Messengers here, to observe your Carriage in the City, and what was done amongst you; the Parliament have just Cause to doubt, that these will be Messengers of Sedition and Trouble, and therefore desire you to observe them and find them out, and that they may know, who they are.

I am for a Conclusion to commend to your Considerations, that you see by the Proceedings to which the King is drawn by the ill Council now about him, that Religion, the whole Kingdom, this glorious City, and the Parliament, are all in great Danger, and that

this Danger cannot be kept off in all Likelihood, but by the Army, that is now a Foot; and that the Lords and Commons are so far from being frightened by any Thing, that is in this Answer, that they have for themselves, and the Members of both Houses, declared a further Contribution towards the Maintenance of this Army, and cannot but hope and desire, that you, that have shewed so much good Affection in the former Necessities of the State, will be sensible of your own, and of the Condition of the whole Kingdom, and add to that, which you have already done, some further Contribution, whereby this Army may be maintained for all your Safeties.

At the End of every Period of this Speech, the Applause was so great, that he was fain to rest, till Silence was again made, and at last, the Company ready to be dissolved, after some Pause and Consultation with the Committees of Lords and Commons, then present, and by their Direction, Silence being made, he closed all with the Words following:

'Worthy Citizens, you have understood the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, concerning my Lord-Mayor here, and those worthy Members of your City, that are demanded; you have heard the Parliament declare, that they will protect them in that which they have done by Direction of both Houses, and they expect, that you should express it yourselves likewise, that if any Violence be offered to them, you will secure and defend them with your uttermost Force; and you shall always find, that this Protection of the Parliament shall not only extend to these, but to all others that have done any Thing by their Command.'

Which Words were no sooner uttered, but the Citizens, with one joint Harmony of Minds and Voices, gave such an Acclamation, as would have drowned all the former, if they had been then breathing, which after a long Continuance, resolved itself into this more articulate and distinct Voice, 'We will live and die with them, We will live and die with them,' and the like.

So that in the Managing of this Day's Work, God was so pleased to manifest himself, that the Well-affected went away not strengthened only,

only, but rejoicing; but the Malignants, as they have been called, some convinced, others silenced, many ashamed; it fully appearing how little Power they had to answer their Desires of doing Mischief; whilst instead of dividing the City, they were exceedingly united; instead of a Dissipation, Thousands were un-

expectedly brought, as it were, into an unthought of Association, to live and die in the Defence of those zealous and honourable Assertors of the Peace and Liberties: All which we may sum up in that Triumph of the Man of God. 'In the Thing wherein they dealt proudly, God was above them.'

The Negotiations of *Thomas Wolsey*, the great Cardinal of England, containing his Life and Death, viz.

- I. The Original of his Promotion.
- II. The Continuance in his Magnificence.
- III. His Fall, Death, and Burial.

Composed by Mr. ^{James} Cavendish, one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman-Usher. London, Printed by *William Sheers*, 1641. Quarto, containing one-hundred twenty-six Pages.

IT seemeth no Wisdom to credit every light Tale, blazed Abroad in the Mouths of Vulgars, for we daily hear, how, with their blasphemous Trump, they spread Abroad innumerable Lyes, without either Shame or Honesty, which, prima facie, shew forth a Visage of Truth, as though it were an absolute Verity, though indeed nothing less; and, amongst the better Sort, those Babblings are of no Validity.

I have read the Allegations of divers worthy Authors against such false Rumours and Opinions of the common People, who delight in nothing more, than to hear strange Things, and to see new Alterations of Authority, rejoicing sometimes in such Novelties, which afterwards do produce Repentance. Thus, may all Men of Understanding conceive the Madnes of the rude Multitude, and not give too much Credence to every sudden Rumour, until the Truth be perfectly known, by the Report of some approved and credible Persons, that commonly have the best Intelligence.

I have heard, and also seen set forth in divers printed Books, some untrue Imaginations, after the Death of divers Persons, who in their Lives were in great Estimation, invented rather to bring their honest Names in Question than otherwise.

Now, forasmuch as I intend to write here some special Proceedings of Cardinal Wolsey, the great Archbishop, his Ascending unto Honour and great Promotion, his Continuance in it, and sudden Falling from the same: A great Part thereof shall be of mine own Knowledge, and some Part from credible Persons Informations.

This Cardinal was my Lord and Master, whom, in his Life-time, I served, and so remained with him in his Fall continually, during the Time of all his Troubles, both in the South and North Parts, until he died. In all which Time, I punctually observed all his Demeanors, as also in his great Triumph and glorious Estate.

And, since his Departure, I have heard divers surmised and imagined Tales concerning his Proceedings and Dealings, which I myself have certainly known to be most untrue, unto which I could have sufficiently answered according to Truth : But conceiving it to be much better to be silent, than to reply against their Untruths, whereby I might, perhaps, have rather kindled a great Flame of Displeasure, than have quenched one Spark of their untrue Reports ; therefore I did refer the Truth thereof to the Almighty, who knows the Truth of all Things.

Nevertheless, whatsoever any Man hath conceived of him in his Life, or since his Death ; thus much, I dare say, without Offence to any, that, in my Judgment, I never saw this Realm in better Obedience, and Quiet, than it was in the Time of his Authority, nor Justice better administered, without Partiality, as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much Affection.

I will therefore here desist to speak any further, by the Way of Apology, and proceed. Now to speak of his Original, and Ascending through Fortune's Favour to high Dignity, and Abundance of Wealth.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

WHO pleaseth to read this History advisedly, may well perceive the Mutability of Honour, the tottering State of earthly Dignity, the Deceit of flattering Friends, and the Instability of Princes Favours.

This great Cardinal having Experience of all this, witness his Fleeting from Honour, the Loss of Friends, Riches and Dignities, being forgotten of his Prince, whilst Fortune smiled, having Satiety of all these ; and she, bending her Brow, deprived him of all terrestrial Joys, who, by twenty Years Study and Pains, had obtained so great Wealth and Dignity, and, in less than one Year, lost all.

And thus was his Honour laid in the Dust.

CHAP. I.

Of the Cardinal, his Original, and who he was.

TRUTH it is, Cardinal *Wolsey* was an honest poor Man's Son in the Town of *Ipswich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, and there born, who being but a Child was very apt to learn ; wherefore, by Means of his Parents, and other his good Friends, he was maintained at the University of *Oxford*, where, in a short Time, he prospered so well, that, in a small Time, as he told me with his own Mouth, he was made Batchelor of Arts, when he was but fifteen Years of Age, and was most commonly called the Boy Batchelor. Thus, prospering in Learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford* ; after that, he was made Master of *Magdalen School*, at which Time were the Lord Marquis of *Dorset's* Sons there at School, committing un-

to him as well their Education as their Instructions and Learning.

It pleased this Lord Marquis, against *Christmas*, to send as well for the Schoolmaster as for the Scholars Home to his House, for their Recreation in that pleasant and honourable Forest. They being a While there, the Lord Marquis their Father perceiving them to be well improved in Learning for the Time : He was so well contented, that he, having a Benefice in his Gift, being at that present void, gave the School-master the same, in regard of his Diligence. After *Christmas*, at his Departure to the University, he having the Presentation thereof, repaired to the Ordinary for his Institution ; and, being then furnished with all his Instruments, at the Ordinary's Hands, for his Preferment, made Haste, without

out any further Delay, to his Benefice, to take Possession thereof. Now you shall understand, that the School-master had not been long there, but one Sir *James Pawlet*, Knt. dwelling in the Country thereabouts, took an Occasion of Displeasure against him, but upon what Ground I know not: Inſomuch, that Sir *James* was ſo bold as to ſet the School-maſter by the Heels during his Diſpleaſure, which Aſſault was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven: For, when the School-maſter mounted ſo high as to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, he was not forgetful of his old Diſpleaſure moſt cruelly miniſtered unto him by Sir *James*, but ſent for him, and after a very ſharp Reproof enjoined him not to depart out of *London*, without Licence firſt obtained; ſo that he continued in the *Middle Temple* the Space of five or ſix Years, and afterwards lay in the *Gatehouſe* next the Stairs, which he re-edified, and ſumptuouſly beautified the ſame all over on the Outſide, with the Cardinal's Arms, his Hat, his Cogniſance and Badges, with other Devices, in ſo glorious a Manner, as he thought thereby to have appeaſed his old Diſpleaſure.

This may be a good Precedent for Men in Authority, which work their own Wills without Wit, to remember that Greatneſs may decay. And thoſe, whom they do puniſh more of Humour than Juſtice, may afterwards be advanced to great Honour, as this Cardinal was, and they abaſed as low as this Sir *James* was, which ſeek Revenge. Who would have thought, when Sir *James Paulet* puniſhed this poor School-maſter, that ever he ſhould have mounted to ſo great Dignity as to be Chancellor of *England*, conſidering his mean Parentage and Friends? Theſe be the wonderful Works of God's Providence. And I would wiſh, that all Men in Authority would fear God, in all Ages, in the Time of their Triumph and Greatneſs, conſidering that Advancement and Authority are not permanent, but many Times ſlide and vaniſh ſuddenly away, as Princes Pleaſures alter and change, or, as all living Creatures muſt, of Neceſſity, pay the Debt due to Nature, which no earthly Creature can reſiſt.

Shortly after, it chanced the ſaid Lord Marquis died, after whoſe Decease, the School-maſter thinking himſelf but a weak benefited Man, and that he had left his Fellowſhip in

the College; for, as I underſtand, if a Fellow of that Houſe be once promoted to a Benefice, he ſhall, by the Rules of the ſame Houſe, be diſmiſſed of his Fellowſhip; and now, being alſo deſtitute of his ſingular good Lord, as well as of his Fellowſhip, which was moſt of his Relief, thought long to be provided of ſome other Help, to defend him from all ſuch Storms as he might meet with. In his Travel thereabouts, he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient Knight, who had a great Place in *Calais*, under King *Henry the Seventh*. This Knight he ſerved, and behaved himſelf ſo diſcreetly, that he obtained the ſpecial Favour of his ſaid Maſter; inſomuch that, for his Wit and Gravity, he committed all the Care and Charge of his ſaid Office to his ſaid Chaplain. And, as I underſtand, his Office was the Treafureſhip of *Calais*, who, in Regard of his great Age, ſhortly after was diſcharged of his ſaid Office, and ſo returned into *England*, intending to live a more private Life; but, through his inſtant Labour and good Favour, his Chaplain was preferred to be the King's Chaplain. And, when he had once caſt Anchor in the Port of Promotion, how he then beſtirred himſelf, I ſhall now declare.

He having, then, juſt Occaſion to be daily in Sight of the King in his Cloſet, not ſpending the reſt of the Day in Idleneſs, would attend thoſe Men, whom he thought to bear moſt Rule in the Council; and were moſt in Favour with the King; which, at that Time, was Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Privy-ſeal; and alſo Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Knight, a very ſage and wiſe Counſellor, being Maſter of the Wards and Conſtable of the Tower.

Theſe ancient and grave Counſellors, in Proceſs of Time, perceiving this Chaplain to be a Man of a very acute Wit, thought him a meet Inſtrument to be employed in greater Affairs.

Not long after, it happened that the King had an urgent Occaſion, to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Maximilian* the Emperor, who lay, at that Preſent, in the Low-Countries, at *Flanders*, and not far from *Calais*.

Now the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, whom the King moſt eſteemed, as the chiefſt of his Council, one Day, adviſing and debating with themſelves upon this Ambaſſage;

baggage; and, by this Time, they saw they had a convenient Occasion to prefer the King's Chaplain, whose excellent Eloquence, and Learning, they highly commended unto the King's Highness; who giving Ear unto them, and being a Prince of an excellent Judgment and Modesty, he commanded them to send his Chaplain, whom they so commended, be-

fore his Grace; and being come, his Majesty, to prove his Ability, entered into Discourse with him, concerning Matters of State, whereby, the King had so well informed himself, that he found him to be a Man of a sharp Wit, and of such excellent Parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in Trust with Matters of greater Consequence.

C H A P. II.

Of the Cardinal's speedy Dispatch in his first Ambassage to the Emperor Maximilian.

THE King, being now resolved to employ him in this Ambassage, commanded him, thereupon, to prepare himself for his Journey; and, for his Dispatch, wished him to repair to his Grace, and his Council, of whom he should receive his Commission and Instruction. By Means whereof, he had then a fit Occasion to repair, from Time to Time, into the King's Presence, who had, thereby, daily Experience of his singular Wisdom, and sound Judgment. Thus having his Dispatch, he took his Leave of the King at *Richmond*, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, where he launcheth forth in a *Gravefend* Barge, with a prosperous Wind and Tide; and his happy Speed was such, that he arrived at *Gravefend* in little more than three Hours, where he tarried no longer, than the Post-horses were provided; and he travelled so speedily, that he came to *Dover* the next Morning, where the Passengers were under Sail to pass to *Calais*; so that, long before Noon, he arrived there, and having Post-horses prepared, departed from thence, without tarrying, making such hasty Speed, that he was, that Night, with the Emperor; who, understanding of the Arrival of the King of *England's* Ambassador, would, in no Wise, delay Time, but sent for him incontinently; for his Affection to the King of *England* was such, that he was glad of any Opportunity to do him a Courtesy.

The Ambassador declares the Sum of his Ambassy unto the Emperor, of whom he craved speedy Expedition, which was granted him; so that, the next Day, he was clearly dispatched, and all the King's Requests fully accomplished and granted. At which Time, he made no further Stay, but took Post-horses

that Night, and rode, without Intermission, to *Calais*, being conducted thither by divers Nobles, appointed by the Emperor; and, at the Opening of the Gates of *Calais*, he came thither, where the Passengers were ready to return for *England*, infomuch that he arrived at *Dover*, between Ten and Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon.

And, having Post-horses in Readiness, he came to the Court at *Richmond* that same Night; where, taking his Repose until Morning, he presented himself unto his Majesty, at his first Coming out of his Bed-chamber to his Closet, to Mals, whom, when he saw, he checked, for that he was not on his Journey.

Sir, quoth he, if it may please your Highness, I have already been with the Emperor, and dispatched your Affairs, I trust to your Grace's Contentation; and, thereupon, presented the King with his Letters of Credence from the Emperor. The King, wondering at his speedy Return, he being so well furnished with all his Proceedings, for the Present, dissembled his Admiration and Imagination in that Matter, and demanding of him, whether he encountered with his Pursuivant, which he sent unto him with Letters, imagining him to be scarce out of *London*, which concerned very material Passages, which were omitted in their Consultation, which the King earnestly desired should have been dispatched in his Ambassage.

Yes, forsooth, quoth he, I met with him Yesterday, by the Way; and, though I had no Knowledge thereof, yet, notwithstanding, I have been so bold, upon my own Discretion, perceiving the Matter to be very necessary in that Behalf, that I dispatched the same: And, forasmuch

forasmuch as I have been so bold to exceed my Commission, I most humbly crave your Royal Remission and Pardon.

The King, inwardly rejoicing, replied, We do not only pardon you, but give you our Princely Thanks, both for your good Exploit, and happy Expedition; and dismissed him for that Present, and bade him return to him again after Dinner, for a further Relation of his Ambassage, and so the King went to Mass.

It is not to be doubted, but this Ambassador had, all this While, visited his great Friends, the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Thomas Lovell, to whom he had declared the Effect of his Ambassage; and, also, his Majesty's Commendations of him: did not a little rejoice the worthy Counsellors, forasmuch as he was of their Preferment; and, shortly after, the King gave him, for his diligent Service, the Deanery of Lincoln, which was, in those Days, one of the greatest Promotions, that he gave, under the Degree of a Bishop; and he grew more and more in Estimation and Authority, and was, afterwards, promoted to be Almoner.

Now, not long after, when Death, that favoureth no Estates, nor King, nor Emperor, had taken away the wife King Henry the Seventh out of this present Life, it was a Wonder to see, what Practices and Devices were then used about the young Prince, Henry the Eighth; the great Provision, that was then made, for the Funeral of the one, and for the Coronation of the other, by the now Queen Catharine, and Mother, after the Queen's Highness that now is, whose virtuous Life Jesu long preserve.

After the Solemnizations, and costly Tri-

umphs, our natural, young, courageous, lusty Prince, and Sovereign, Lord King Henry the Eighth, entering into his Flower, and lusty Youth, took upon him the Royal Scepter, and Imperial Diadem of this fertile Nation, the Twenty-second of April, Anno Dom. 1509, which, at that Time, flourished with all Abundance of Riches, wherewith the King was most inestimably furnished, called then the Golden World.

Now, shortly after, the Almoner, seeing he had a plain Path-way to Promotion, behaved himself so politickly, that he was made one of the King's Privy-council, and increased in Favour daily; to whom he gave a House, at Bridewell, near Fleet-street, where he kept his House for his Family, and so he daily attended upon the King, being in special Favour.

His Sentences in the Star-chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that, upon all Occasions, they assigned him, for the fluent Eloquence of his Tongue, to be the Expositor to the King in all their Proceedings; in whom the King received so great Content, that he called him still nearer to his Person; and the rather, because he was most ready to advance the King's own Will and Pleasure, having no Respect to the Case.

Now the King being young, and much given to his Pleasure, his old Counsellors advised him to have Recourse, sometimes, to the Council, about his weighty Affairs; but the Almoner, on the Contrary, persuaded him to mind his Pleasure, and he would take his Care and Charge upon himself, if his Majesty would countenance him with his Authority, which the King liked well; and thus none was, like to the Almoner, in Favour with the King.

CH A P. III.

Of King Henry's Invading France, in his own Person, with the Cardinal's Assistance.

THUS the Almoner continuing in high Favour, till, at last, many Presents, Gifts, and Rewards came in so plentifully, that, I dare say, he wanted nothing, for he had all Things in Abundance, that might either please his Fancy, or enrich his Coffers,

for the Times so favourably smiled upon him, but, to what End, you shall hereafter hear. Therefore, let all Men, to whom Fortune extendeth her Favour and Grace, take Heed, they trust not her subtle and fair Promises, for, under Colour thereof, she carrieth an en-vious

vious Gall; for, when she seeth her Servant in highest Authority, she turneth her Favour, and pleasant Countenance, into Frowns.

This Almoner climbed up Fortune's Wheel, so that no Man was in Estimation with the King, but only he, for his witty Qualities and Wisdom.

He had an especial Gift of natural Eloquence, and a filed Tongue to pronounce the same; so that he was able, therewith, to persuade and allure all Men to his Purposes, in the Time of his Continuance in Fortune's Favour.

In the fifth Year of the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, it chanced, that the Realms of *England* and *France* were at Variance, but upon what Ground, or Occasion, I know not; inasmuch that the King was fully resolved, in his own Person, to invade *France* with a puissant Army: It was, therefore, thought very necessary, that his Royal Enterprises should be speedily provided, and furnished, in every Degree, in Things apt and convenient for the same: For Expedition thereof, the King thought no Man's Wit so meet for Policy, and painful Travel, as the Almoner, to whom he committed his whole Affiance and Trust therein; and he being nothing scrupulous, in any Thing that the King would command, although it seemed very difficult, took upon him the whole Charge of the Business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all Things to good Effect, in direct Order, for all Manner of Victuals and Provisions, convenient for so noble a Voyage and Army.

All Things being thus prepared, by him, in Order, the King, not intending to neglect, or delay any Time, but, with noble and valiant Courage, to advance his Royal Enterprise, passed the Seas between *Dover* and *Calais*, where he prosperously arrived: And, after he had there made his Arrival, and landed all his Provision, and Ammunition, and sat

in Consultation about his weighty Affairs, marched forth, in good Order of Battle, till he came to the strong Town of *Turwine*, to the which he laid strong Siege, and made a sharp Assault, so that, in short Space, it was yielded unto him; unto which Place, the Emperor *Maximilian* resorted to him with a great Army, like a mighty Prince, taking of the King Wages.

Thus, after the King had taken this strong Town, and taken Possession thereof, and set all Things in good Order, for the Defence and Preservation thereof, to his Majesty's Use, then he retired from thence, and marched towards *Tournay*, and there laid Siege in like Manner; to which he gave so fierce Assault, that the Enemies were constrained to render the Town to his Majesty. At which Time, the King gave unto the Almoner the Bishoprick of the same See, towards his Pains and Diligence sustained in that Journey. And when he had established all Things, according to his princely Mind and Pleasure, and furnished the same with Men, and Captains of War, for the Safeguard of the Town, he prepared for his Return to *England*.

But now you shall understand, by the Way, that, whilst the King was absent with a great Power in *France*, the *Scottish* King invaded *England*, against whom the Queen sent a great Army, the Earl of *Surrey* being General, where he overthrew the *Scots* at *Blamfont*, called *Hoddenfield*, where the King of *Scots* was slain, with divers of his Nobility, and eighteen-thousand Men, and they took all his Ammunition for War.

By this Time, the King returned into *England*, and took with him divers noble Personages of *France*, being Prisoners; as the Duke of *Longuido*, Viscount *Clermont*, with divers others, that were taken in a Skirmish.

And, thus, God gave him Victory at Home, and Victory Abroad, being in the fifth Year of his Reign, *Anna Dom.* 1513.

CHAP. IV.

The King's Promoting his Almoner, being made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of England.

THE King being returned into *England*, the See of *Lincoln* became void by the Death of Dr. *Smith*, late Bishop there; which

Bishoprick the King gave to the Almoner Elect of *Tournay*, who was not negligent to take Possession thereof, but made all Speed for
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his Consecration, the Solemnisation thereof being ended, he found a Way to get into his Hands all his Predecessor's Goods, whereof I have seen divers Parts that furnished his House.

It was not long after, but Dr. *Bambridge*, Archbishop of *York*, died at *Rohan* in *France*, being there the King's Ambassador; unto which See the King presented the last new Bishop of *Lincoln*, so that he had three Bishopricks in his Hands at one Time, all in one Year given him. Then prepared he again for his Translation from the See of *Lincoln*, to that of *York*, as he did before to his Installation.

After which Solemnisation done, and being then Archbishop, and *Primas Angliæ*, thought himself sufficient to compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his Crosses in the Courts, and every other Place, as well in the Precinct and Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other Place; and, forasmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a Superiority over *York*, as well as over any other Bishoprick within *England*, and, for that Cause, claimeth an Acknowledgment, as in former Obedience of *York*, to abate Advancement of his Crosses, to the Crosses of *Canterbury*.

Notwithstanding, *York* not desisting to bear the same, although *Canterbury* gave *York* a Check for the same, and told him, it was Presumption, by Reason whereof, there ingendered some Grudge between them: But, shortly after, he obtained to be made Cardinal and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom the Pope sent the Cardinal's Cap, and certain Bulls, for his Authority in that Behalf, whereupon he was installed at *Westminster* in great Triumph, which was executed by all Bishops with their Mitres, Caps, and other Ornaments; and,

after all this, he was made Chancellor of *England*, and *Canterbury*, who was the Chancellor, was dismissed.

Now, he being in the Chancellorship, and endowed with the Promotions of Archbishop and Cardinal de *Latere*, thought himself so fully furnished, that he was now able to surmount *Canterbury* in all Jurisdictions; and, in all Ecclesiastical Powers, to convocate *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops, and spiritual Persons, to assemble at his Convocations, where he would assign to take upon him the Convention of all Ministers, and others within their Jurisdictions, and visited all the spiritual Houses in their Dioceses, and all Manner of spiritual Ministers, as Commissioners, Scribes, Apparitors, and all other necessary Officers to furnish his Courts; and did convene, by Convention, whom he pleased through this Realm and Dominion, and all other Persons, to the Glory of his Dignity. Then he had two great Crosses of Silver, whereof one was of his Archbishoprick, and the other of his Legateship, borne before him wheresoever he rode, or went by two of the tallest Priests that he could get in this Realm.

And, to the Increase of his Gain, he had in his Hand the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and St. *Albans*, in Commendam; also when Dr. *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, died, he did surrender *Durham* to the King, and took himself to *Winchester*. He had also, as it were in Farm, the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, for the Incumbents of them were Strangers. He had also, attending upon him, Men of great Possessions, and the tallest Yeomen, for his Guard, in the Realm.

CH A P. V.

Of the Orders and Offices of his House and Chapel.

AND first, for his House, you shall understand, that he had in his Hall three Boards, kept with three several Officers, that is to say, a Steward, that was always a Priest; a Treasurer, that was ever a Knight; and a Comptroller, that was an Esquire; also a Confessor, a Doctor, three Marshals, three Ushers in the Hall, besides two Almoners and Grooms.

Then had he in the Hall-kitchen two

Clerks, a Clerk-Comptroller, and a Surveyor over the Dresser, with a Clerk in the Spicery, which kept continually a Mess together in the Hall; also, he had in the Kitchen two Cooks, Labourers, and Children, twelve Persons; four Men of the Scullery, two Yeomen of the Pastry, with two other Paste-layers under the Yeomen.

Then had he in his Kitchen a Master-Cook,

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who went daily in Velvet or Sattin, with a Gold Chain; besides two other Cooks, and six Labourers in the same Room.

In the Larder, one Yeoman and a Groom; in the Scullery, one Yeoman and two Grooms; in the Buttery, two Yeomen and two Grooms; in the Ewry, so many; in the Cellar, three Yeomen and three Pages; in the Chandery, two Yeomen; in the Wayfary, two Yeomen; in the Wardrobe of Beds, the Master of the Wardrobe, and twenty Persons besides; in the Laundry, a Yeoman, Groom, and thirteen Pages, two Yeomen-Purveyors, and a Groom-Purveyor; in the Bakehouse, two Yeomen and Grooms; in the Wood-yard, one Yeoman and a Groom; in the Barn, one Yeoman; Porters at the Gate, two Yeomen and two Grooms; a Yeoman in his Barge, and a Master of his Horse; a Clerk of the Stables, and a Yeoman of the same; a Farrier, and a Yeoman of the Stirrup; a Maltlour and sixteen Grooms, every one of them keeping four Geldings.

Now will I declare unto you the Officers of his Chapel, and Singing-men of the same. First, he had there a Dean, a great Divine, and a Man of excellent Learning; and a Sub-Dean, a Repeater of the Choir, a Gospeller, an Epistler of the Singing-Priests, and a Master of the Children: In the Vestry, a Yeoman, and two Grooms, besides other Retainers that came thither at principal Feasts.

And, for the Furniture of his Chapel, it passeth my weak Capacity to declare the Number of the costly Ornaments, and rich Jewels that were occupied in the same; for I have seen, in Procession about the Hall, forty-four rich Copes of one Settle worn, besides the rich Candlesticks, and other necessary Ornaments to the Furniture of the same.

Now you shall understand, that he had two Cross-Bearers, and two Pillar-Bearers in his great Chamber; and in his Privy Chamber, all these Persons, the chief Chamberlain, a Vice-Chamberlain, a Gentleman-Usher, besides one of his Privy-Chamber; he had also twelve Waiters, and six Gentlemen Waiters; also he had nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two or three Men to wait upon him,

except the Earl of *Derby*, who had five Men.

Then he had Gentlemen Cup-Bearers, and Carvers; and of the Sewers, both of the Great Chamber, and of the Privy Chamber, forty Persons; six Yeomen Ushers, eight Grooms of his Chamber; also he had of Alms, who were daily Waiters of his Board at Dinner; twelve Doctors and Chaplains, besides them of his, which I never rehearsed; a Clerk of his Closet, and two Secretaries, and two Clerks of his Signet; four Counsellors learned in the Law.

And, for that he was Chancellor of *England*, it was necessary to have Officers of the Chancery to attend him for the better Furniture of the same.

First, he had a Riding Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown, a Clerk of the Hamper, and a Chaffer; then he had a Clerk of the Check, as well upon the Chaplains, as upon the Yeomen of the Chamber; he had also four Footmen, garnished with rich running Coats, whensoever he had any Journey. Then he had a Herald of Arms, a Serjeant of Arms, a Physician, an Apothecary, four Minstrels, a Keeper of his Tents, an Armourer, and Instructor of his Wards, an Instructor of his Wardrobe of Robes, a Keeper of his Chamber continually; he had also in his House a Surveyor of *York*, a Clerk of the Green-Cloth. All these were daily attending, downlying and uprising: And at Meat, he had eight continual Boards for the Chamberlains, and Gentlemen Officers, having a Mess of young Lords, and another of Gentlemen; besides this, there was never a Gentleman, or Officer, or other worthy Person, but he kept some two, some three Persons to wait upon them; and all others, at the least, had one, which did amount to a great Number of Persons.

Now, having declared the Order according to the Chain Roll, Use of his House, and what Officers he had daily attending to furnish the same, besides Retainers, and other Persons, being Suitors, dined in the Hall: And, When shall we see any more such Subjects that shall keep such a noble House? Therefore here is an End of his Household; the Number of Persons in the Chain were eight-hundred Persons.

C H A P. VI.

Of his second Ambassage to the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

AFTER he was thus furnished, in Manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice on Ambassage to the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, that now reigneth, and Father to King *Philip*, now our Lord and Sovereign: Forasmuch as the old Emperor *Maximilian* was dead, and, for divers other urgent Occasions, touching his Majesty; it was thought fit that about such weighty Matters, and to so noble a Prince, the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on this Ambassage; and he, being one ready to take the Charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every Respect most like a great Prince, which was much to the Honour of his Majesty, and of this Realm: For, first, he proceeded forth like to a Cardinal, having all Things correspondent; his Gentlemen, being very many in Number, were clothed in Livery-Coats of crimson Velvet of the best, and Chains of Gold about their Necks; and his Yeomen, and all his mean Officers, were clad in fine Scarlet, guarded with black Velvet one Hand-breadth. Thus furnished, he was twice sent in this Manner to the Emperor in *Flanders*, then lying at *Bruges*, whom he did most nobly entertain, discharging all his own Charges, and his Men's. There was no House in the Town of *Bruges*, wherein any of Lord's Gentlemen were lodged or had Recourse, but that the Owners of the Houses were commanded by the Emperor's Officers, upon the Pain of their Lives, to take no Money for any Thing that the Cardinal's Men did take of any Kind of

Victuals; no, although they were disposed to make costly Banquets, further commanding their said Hosts that they should want nothing which they honestly required, or desired to have.

Also the Emperor's Officers every Night went through the Town from House to House, where any *Englishmen* had Recourse, or lodged, and served their Livery for all Night, which was done on this Manner: First, the Officers brought into the House a Casteel of fine Manchet, then two silver Pots of Wine, and a Pound of Sugar, white Lights, and yellow Lights, a Bowl of Silver, and a Goblet to drink in, and every Night a Staff Torch. This was the Order of their Livery every Night; and then, in the Morning, when the Officers came to fetch away their Stuff, they would account for the Gentlemen's Costs the Day before.

Thus the Emperor entertained the Cardinal, and his Train, during the Time of his Ambassy. And, that done, he returned into *England* with great Triumph, being no less in Estimation with the King than he was before, but rather much more; for he increased daily in the King's Favour, by reason of his Wit and Readiness to do the King Pleasure in all Things.

In the one-and-twentieth Year of King *Henry the Eighth's* Reign, *Anno Dom. 1529*, this Emperor *Charles the Fifth* came into *England*, who was nobly entertained.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Manner of his going to Westminster-Hall.

NOW must I declare the Manner of his going to *Westminster-Hall* in the Term Time: First, When he came out of his Privy-Chamber, he most commonly heard two Masses in his Chapel or Chamber. And I heard one of his Chaplains say since, that was a Man of Credit, and excellent Learning, that, what Business soever the Cardinal had in the Day-time, he never went to Bed with any Part of his Ser-

vice unfaid, no, not so much as one Collect, in which, I think, he deceived many a Man: Then, going into his Chamber again, he demanded of some of his Servants if they were in Readiness, and had furnished his Chamber of Presence, and Waiting-Chamber: He, being then advertised, came out of his Privy-Chamber, about Eight of the Clock, ready apparelled, and in Red, like a Cardinal; his v

was all of Scarlet, or else of fine crimson Taffata, or crimson Sattin ingrained, his Pillion scarlet, with a black Velvet Tippet of Sables about his Neck, holding in his Hand an Orange, the Meats or Substance thereof being taken out and filled again with a Part of Sponge, with Vinegar, and other Confections against pestilent Airs, the which he most commonly held to his Nose, when he came to the Presses, or when he was pestered with many Suitors: And before him was borne the Broad Seal of England, and the Cardinal's Hat, by some Lord, or some Gentleman of Worship, right solemnly: And, as soon as he was entered into his Chamber of Presence, where there were daily attending on him as well Noblemen of this Realm, as other worthy Gentlemen of his own Family, his two great Crosses were there attending upon him; then cry the Gentlemen-Ushers that go before him bare-headed: On Masters before, and make Room for my Lord. Thus, when he went down into the Hall with a Serjeant of Arms before him, bearing a great Mace of Silver, and two Gentlemen carrying two great Plates of Silver; and, when he came to the Hall-Door, there his Mule stood trapped all in crimson Velvet, with a Saddle of the same.

Then were attending him, when he was mounted, his two Cross-bearers, and his two Pillar-bearers, all upon great Horses, and in fine Scarlet; then he marched on with a Train of

Gentry, having four Footmen about him, bearing every one of them a Pole-ax in his Hand: And thus passed he forth till he came to *Westminster*, and there alighted and went in this Manner up to the *Chancery*, and staid a While at a Bar, made for him beneath the *Chancery*; and there he communed sometimes with the Judges, and sometimes with other Persons, and then went up to the *Chancery*, and sat there till Eleven of the Clock to hear Suits, and to determine Causes; and from thence he would go into the *Star-Chamber*, as Occasion served him; he neither spared High nor Low, but did judge every one according to Right.

Every Sunday he would resort to the Court, being then at *Greenwich*, with his former rehearsed Train and Triumph, taking his Barge at his own Stairs, furnished with Yeomen standing upon the Sails, and his Gentlemen within and about, and landed at the *Three Cranes* in the *Vine-tree*; and from thence he rode upon his Mule with his Crosses, his Pillars, his Hat, and his Broad Seal carried before him on Horseback along *Thames-street* until he came to *Billinggate*; and there he took his Barge, and so went to *Greenwich*, where he was nobly entertained by the Lords in the King's House, being there with Staves in their Hands, as the Treasurer, Comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the King's Chamber, and so went Home again in the like Triumph.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's Magnificence in his Houses.

HE lived a long Season ruling all Things in this Realm appertaining to the King by his Wisdom, and all other Matters of foreign Regions, with whom the King had any Occasion to meddle. All Ambassadors of foreign Potentates were ever disposed by the Cardinal's Wisdom, to whom they had continual Access for their Dispatch.

His House was always resorted unto like a King's House, with Noblemen and Gentlemen; and when it pleased the King's Majesty, as many Times it did, he would, for his Recreation, resort unto the Cardinal's House, ^{against} whose Coming there wanted no Preparation, or goodly Furnitures, with Victuals of

the finest Sort that could be had for Money or Friendship.

Such Pleasures were here devised for the King's Delight, as could be invented or imagined; Banquets set with Masquers and Mimers, in such a costly Manner, that it was glorious to behold; there wanted no Damfels meet to dance with the Masquers, or to garnish the Place, for the Time, with Variety of other Pastimes. Then were there divers Kinds of Musick, and many choice Men and Women Singers appointed to sing, who had excellent Voices. I have seen the King come suddenly thither in a Masque, with a dozen Masquers all in Garments like Shepherds, made of fine

Cloth.

Cloth of Gold and Silver Wire, and six Torch-bearers, besides their Drummers, and others attending on them with Vizards, and clothed all in Sattin. And, before his entering into the Hall, you shall understand that he came by Water to the Water-gate without any Noise, where were laid divers Chambers and Guns charged with Shot, and at his Landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling Noise in the Air, that it was like Thunder: It made all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a Banquet. In this Sort you shall understand, that the Tables were set in the Chamber of Prefence covered, and my Lord Cardinal sitting under his Cloth of State, and there having all his Service alone; and then were there set a Lady and a Nobleman, a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, throughout all the Tables in the Chambers on the one Side, which were made all joining, as it were, but one Table. All which Order was done by my Lord Sands, then Lord Chamberlain to the King, and by Sir Henry Guildford, then Comptroller of the King's House.

Then, immediately after this great Shot of Guns, the Cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain to see what it did mean, as though he knew nothing of the Matter; they then looked out of the Window into the *Thames*, and, returning again, told him, that they thought they were Noblemen and Strangers arrived at the Bridge, and coming as Ambassadors from some foreign Prince: With that, said the Cardinal, I desire you, because you can speak *French*, to take the Pains to go into the Hall, there to receive them into the Chamber, where they shall fee us, and all those noble Personages, being merry at our Banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and take Part of our Fare.

Then went they incontinently into the Hall, where they were received with twenty Torches, and conveyed up into the Chamber with such a Number of Drums and Flutes, as I have seldom seen together at one Time and Place.

Then, at their Arrival into the Chamber, they went two and two together directly before the Cardinal where he sat, and saluted them very reverently: To whom the Lord Chamberlain, for them, said; 'Sir, soasmuch as they are Strangers, and cannot speak *English*, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they, having Understanding, at this your

'triumphant Banquet, were assembled such a Number of fair Dames, they could do no less, under the Supportation of your Grace, than to view as well their incomparable Beauties, as to accompany them at Munchance, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better Acquaintance.'

And, furthermore, they require of your Grace License, to accomplish this Cause of their Coming.

When the Cardinal said he was willing, and very well content they should do so.

Then went the Masquers, and first saluted all the Dames, and then returned to the most Worthy, and there opened the great Cup of Gold, filled with Crowns, and other Pieces, to cast at.

Thus perusing all the Gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And, having viewed all the Ladies, they returned to the Cardinal with great Reverence, pouring down all their Gold, which was above two hundred Crowns. At all, quoth the Cardinal, and casting the Dye he won it, whereat was made great Joy.

Then, quoth the Cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should be a Nobleman amongst them, that better deserves to fit in this Place than I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my Duty, if I knew him.

Then spoke my Lord Chamberlain to them in *French*, declaring my Lord Cardinal's Words; and, they rounding him again in the Ear, the Lord Chamberlain said unto my Lord Cardinal:

Sir, quoth he, they confesse that among them is such a noble Personage, whom, if your Grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your Place most willingly.

With that the Cardinal, taking good Advice, went amongst them; and at the last, quoth he, it seemeth to me, that the Gentleman with the black Beard should be he; and with that he rose out of his Chair, and offered the same to the Gentleman with the black Beard, with the Cup in his Hand: But the Cardinal was mistaken, for the Person to whom he then offered his Chair was Sir *Edward Nevill*, a comely Knight, and of a goodly Personage, who did more resemble his Majesty's Person than any other in that Masque.

The King, seeing the Cardinal so deceived in his Choice, could not forbear Laughing, but pulled down his Vizard, and Sir *Edward Nevill's* also, with such a pleasant Countenance and Cheer, that all the noble Estates desired his Highness to take his Place : To whom the King made Answer, that he would first go and shift him : And thereupon he went into the Cardinal's Bed-chamber, where was a great Fire prepared for him, and there he newly apparelled himself with rich and princely Garments ; and, in the King's Absence, the Dishes of the Banquet were clean taken away, and the Tables

covered again with new and perfumed Cloaths, every Man sitting still until the King's Majesty, with his Masquers, came in among them, every Man new apparelled.

Then the King took his Seat under the Cloth of Estate, commanding every Person to sit still as they did before ; and then came in a new Banquet before his Majesty, of two-hundred Dishes, and so they passed the Night in Banqueting and Dancing until Morning, which much rejoiced the Cardinal, to see his Sovereign Lord so pleasant at his House.

C H A P. IX.

Of the original Instrument of the Cardinal's Fall, Mistress Anne Bullen.

NOW you shall understand, that the young Lord of *Northumberland* attended upon my Lord Cardinal, who, when the Cardinal went to Court, would ever have Conference with *Mistress Anne Bullen*, who then was one of the Maids of Honour to *Queen Catharine*, inasmuch that at last they were contracted together, which, when the King heard, he was much moved thereat, for he had a private Affection to her himself, which was not yet discovered to any, and then advised the Cardinal to send for the Earl of *Northumberland*, his Father, and take Order to dissolve the Contract made between the said Parties ; which the Lord Cardinal did, after a sharp Reprehension, in regard he was contracted without the King and his Father's Knowledge : He sent for his Father, who came to *London* very speedily, and came first to my Lord Cardinal, as all great Personages did, that in such Sort were sent for, of whom they were advertised of the Cause of their Sending for : And, when the Earl was come, he was presently brought to the Cardinal into the Gallery. After whose Meeting, my Lord Cardinal and he were in secret Communication a long Space ; after their long Discourse, and Drinking a Cup of Wine, the Earl departed, and, at his Going away, he sat down at the Gallery End in the Hall, upon a Form, and, being set, called his Son unto him, and said :

Son, quoth he, even as thou art, and ever hast been a proud, disdainful, and very unchristy Master, so thou hast now declared thyself : Wherefore what Joy, what Pleasure,

what Comfort, or what Solace can I conceive in thee ? That thus, without Discretion, hast abused thyself, having neither Regard to me thy natural Father, nor unto thy natural Sovereign Lord, to whom all honest and loyal Subjects bear faithful Obedience, nor yet to the Prosperity of thy own Estate ; but hast so unadvisedly ensnared thyself to her for whom thou hast purchased the King's high Displeasure, intolerable for any Subject to sustain. And, but that the King doth consider the Lightness of thy Head, and wilful Qualities of thy Person, his Displeasure and Indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my Posterity, into utter Ruin and Destruction. But he, being my singular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my Lord Cardinal my very good Friend, have, and do clearly excuse me in thy Lewdness, and do rather lament thy Folly, than malign thee, and have advised an Order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, than we conceive of. I pray to God that this may be a sufficient Admonition unto thee, to use thyself more wisely hereafter ; for, assure thyself, that, if thou dost not amend thy Prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earl of our House : For thy natural Inclination, thou art masterful and prodigal, to consume all that thy Progenitors have, with great Travel, gathered and kept together with Honour : But, having the King's Majesty my singular good Lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my Succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

For I do not intend, I tell thee truly, to make thee Heir; for, Thanks be to God, I have more Boys, that, I trust, will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wife and honest Men; of whom I will chuse the most likely to succeed me.

Now, good Masters and Gentlemen, quoth he unto us, it may be your Chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see those Things, that I have spoken to my Son, prove as true as I now speak them; yet, in the mean Time, I desire you all to be his Friends, and tell him his Faults in what he doth amiss; wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly to him; and so I take my Leave of you. And, Son, go your Ways unto my Lord your Master, and serve him diligently; and so parted, and went down into the Hall, and took his Barge.

Then, after long and large Debating the Matter about the Lord *Piercy's* Assurance to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, it was devised, that the Contract should be infringed and dissolved,

and that the Lord *Piercy* should marry one of the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Daughters. And so, indeed, not long after he did; whereby the former Contract was broken and dissolved, wherewith Mrs. *Anne* was greatly displeased; promising, That, if ever it lay in her Power, she would do the Cardinal some Displeasure; which indeed she afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing, but what the King commanded; whereby the Lord *Piercy* was charged to avoid her Company. And so was she, for a Time, discharged the Court, and sent Home to her Father; whereat she was much troubled and perplexed; for all this Time she knew nothing of the King's intended Purpose. But we may see, when Fortune doth begin to frown, how she can compass a Matter of Displeasure, through a far-fetched Mark: Now, therefore, of the Grudge, how it began, that in Proccs of Time wrought the Cardinal's utter Destruction.

CHAP. X.

Of Mrs. Anne Bullen's Favour with the King.

OH Lord, what a great God art thou! that workest thy Wonders so secretly, that they are not perceived, until they be brought to pass and finished.

Attend now, good Reader, to this Story following, and note every Circumstance, and thou shalt, at the End, perceive a wonderful Work of God against such as forget him and his Benefits.

Therefore, I say, consider; after this my Lord *Piercy's* troublesome Business was over, and all Things brought to an End, then Mrs. *Anne Bullen* was again admitted to the Court; where she flourished in great Estimation and Honour, having always a prime Grudge against my Lord Cardinal, for Breaking the Contract between the Lord *Piercy* and herself, supposing it had been his own Device, and not other's; and she, at last, knowing the King's Pleasure, and the Depth of his Secrets, then began to look very haughtily and stout, lacking no Manner of rich Apparel, or Jewels, that Money could purchase.

It was, therefore, imagined by many through the Court, that she, being in such Favour, might do much with the King, and obtain any Suit of him for her Friends. All this While,

she being in this Estimation in all Places, there was no Doubt, but good Queen *Catharine*, having this Gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by Report, and saw with her Eyes, how all Things tended against her good Ladyship; although she seemed neither to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, nor the King, to carry any Spark of Discontent, or Displeasure; but accepted all Things in good Part, and with great Wisdom, and much Patience dissembled the same, having Mrs. *Anne Bullen* in more Estimation for the King's Sake, than when she was with her before, declaring herself indeed to be a very patient *Grissel*, as, by her long Patience in all her Troubles, shall hereafter most plainly appear.

For the King was now so enamoured of this young Gentlewoman, that he knew not how sufficiently to advance her.

This being perceived by all the great Lords of the Court, who bore a secret Grudge against my Lord Cardinal, for that they could not rule in the Kingdom as they would for him, because he was *Dominus fac totum* with the King, and ruled as well the great Lords, as the mean Subjects; whereat they took an Occasion to work him out of the King's Fa-

vour, and consequently themselves into more Estimation.

And, after long and secret Consultation with themselves, how to bring this Matter to pass, they knew very well, that it was somewhat difficult for them to do absolutely of themselves; wherefore they perceiving the great Affection and Love, the King bore to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their Judgments, that she would be a fit Instrument to bring their earnest Intentions to pass, therefore they often consulted with her to that Purpose; and she, having both a very good Wit, and also an inward Grudge and Displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, was ever as ready to accomplish their Desires, as they were themselves; wherefore there was no more to do, but only to imagine an Occasion to work their Malice by some pretended Circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers Devices how to effect their Purpose; but the Enterprize thereof was so dangerous, that, though they would fain have attempted the Matter with the King, yet durst they not, for they knew the great Zeal the King did bear unto the Cardinal; and this

they knew very well, That, if the Matter, they should propound against him, was not grounded upon a just and urgent Cause, the King's Love was such towards him, and his Wit such withal, that he could with his Policy vanquish all their Enterprises, and then, after that, requite them in the like Nature, to their utter Ruin.

Therefore they were compelled to forbear their Plots, till they might have some better Ground to work upon. And now the Cardinal, perceiving the great Zeal, the King bore to this Gentlewoman, framed himself to please her, as well as the King: To that End, therefore, he prepares great Banquets and Feasts, to entertain the King and her, at his own House, she all this While dissembling the secret Grudge in her Breast. Now the Cardinal began to grow into wonderful Inventions not heard of before in *England*; and the Love between this glorious Lady and the King grew to such Perfection, that divers Things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speak, until I come to the proper Place.

CH A P. XI.

Of the Variance between the French King and the Duke of Bourbon, who fled to the City of Pavia, where the King besieged him.

THEN began a certain Grudge between the French King and the Duke of *Bourbon* to break out, inso much that the Duke, being now at Variance with the House of *France*, was compelled, for Safeguard of his Life, to fly and forsake his Country, fearing the King's Malice and Indignation.

The Cardinal, having Intelligence hereof, contrived, that the King our Sovereign Lord should obtain the Duke to be his General in his Wars against the French King, with whom our King had then an Occasion of War; and the rather, because the Duke of *Bourbon* was fled to the Emperor to invite him to the like Purpose, where he moved the King in this Matter. And, after the King was advised thereof, and conceived the Cardinal's Invention, he mused more and more of this Matter, until it came into a Consultation amongst the Council: so that it was concluded, that an Ambassador should be sent to the Emperor about this Matter. And it was further concluded, that the King and the Emperor should

join in those Wars against the French King; and that the Duke of *Bourbon* should be the King of *England's* Champion, and General in the Field, who had a Number of good Soldiers, over and besides the Emperor's Army, which was not small; and that the King should pay the Duke monthly Wages for himself and his Retinue.

For which Purpose, *John Russell*, who was afterwards created Earl of *Bedford*, lay continually beyond the Seas in a secret Place, both to receive Money from the King, and to pay the same monthly to the Duke; so that the Duke began the Wars with the French King in his own Territories and Dukedom, which the King had gotten into his own Hands, being not perfectly known to the Duke's Enemies, that he had any Aid from our Sovereign Lord; and thus he wrought the French King much Displeasure, inso much that the French King was constrained to prepare a present Army, and, in his own Person, to resist the Duke's Power. And, Battle being joined, the

the King drove him to take *Pavia*, a strong Town in *Italy*, with his Host of Men for his Security ; where the King incamped himself wonderfully strong, intending to close the Duke within the Town, lest he should issue out, and skirmish with him.

The French King in his Camp sent secretly into *England* a private Person (being a very witty Man) to treat of a Peace between his Master and our Sovereign Lord ; his Name was *John Jokin*, who was kept as secretly as might be, no Man having Intelligence of his Arrival ; for he was no *Frenchman* born, but an *Italian*, a Man of no great Estimation in *France*, nor known to be much in his Master's Favour, but taken to be a Merchant ; and, for his subtle Wit, was elected to treat of such an Ambassage, as the French King had given him in Commission.

This *Jokin* was secretly conveyed to *Richmond*, and there staid, until such Time as the Cardinal resorted thither to him, where, after *Easter* Term was ended, he kept his Feast of

Whitsontide very solemnly ; in which Season, my Lord Cardinal caused this *Jokin* divers Times to dine with him, who seemed to be both witty, and of good Behaviour. He continued long in *England* after this, till at the last, as it should seem, he had brought the Matter, which he had in Commission, to pass. Whereupon, the King sent out immediately a Restraint unto Sir *John Russell*, that he should retain that Month's Pay still in his Hands, until the King's Pleasure should be further made known, which should have been paid to the Duke, being then incamped within the Town of *Pavia*. For Want of which Money, the Duke and his Men were much dismayed, when they saw no Money come, as it was wont to do ; and, being in this dangerous Case, where Victuals began to grow scanty and very dear, they imagined many Ways what should be the Reason that the King's Money came not ; some said this, and some said that, mistrusting nothing less than the true Cause thereof.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Duke of Bourbon's Stratagem, and Victory, wherein the French King was taken Prisoner.

NOW the Duke and his Soldiers were in great Misery, for Want of Victuals, and other Necessaries, which they could, by no Means, get within the Town : Hereupon, the Captains and Soldiers began to grudge and murmur, being, for Want of Victuals, all like to perish ; and, being in this Extremity, came before the Duke, and said, ' Sir, we must, of Force and Necessity, yield to our Enemies ; and better were it for us so to do, than to starve like Dogs.' But, when the Duke heard this, he replied, with weeping Tears, ' Sirs, you have proved yourselves valiant Men, and of noble Hearts, in this Service ; and, for your Necessity, whereof I myself do participate, I do not a little lament ; but I shall desire you, as you are noble in Heart and Courage, so to take Patience, for two or three Days, and, if Succour come not then from the King of *England*, as I doubt nothing less, I will then consent to you all, to put ourselves and Lives unto the Mercy of our Enemies ;'

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whereunto they all agreed, and tarried till two Days were passed, expecting Relief from the King : Then, the Duke, seeing no Remedy, called his noble Captains and Soldiers before him, and, weeping, said, ' You Noble-men, and Captains, we must yield ourselves unto our Enemies, or else famish ; and, to yield the Town and ourselves, I know well the Cruelty of our Enemies ; as for my Part, I pass not for their Cruelties, for I shall suffer Death, I know very well, most cruelly, if I come once into their Hands : It is not, therefore, for myself that I do lament, it is for your Sakes, it is for your Lives, and for the Safeguard of your Persons, for, so that you might escape your Enemies Hands, I would willingly suffer Death. Good Companions, and noble Soldiers, I do require you all, considering the miserable Calamities and Dangers we are in, at this Present, to sell our Lives most dearly, rather than to be murdered like Beasts ; therefore, if you all consent

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with

with me, we will take upon us, this Night, to give our Enemies Assault, and, by that Means, we may either escape, or else give them an Overthrow; for it were better to die in the Field, like Men, than to live, Prisoners, miserably in Captivity; to which they all agreed.

Then (quoth the Duke) you all perceive the Enemies Camp is strong, and there is no Way to enter upon them, but one, and that Entry is planted with great Ordnance, and Strength of Men, so that it is impossible to attain to our Enemies, that Way, to fight with them in their Camp; and also, now of late, you perceive, they have had but small Doubt of us, in regard they have kept but slender Watch.

Therefore, my Advice is, there shall issue out of the Town, in the dead Time of the Night, from us, a certain Number of you, that be the most likely to assault the Camp, and they shall give the Assault, secretly, against the Place of the Entry, which is most strong and invincible; which Force, and valiant Assault, shall be to them, of the Camp, so doubtful, that they will turn the Strength of the Entry, that lieth over-against your Assault, to beat you from your Purpose; then will I enter out, at the Postern-gate, and come to the Place of their Strength newly turned, and there, before they be aware, will I enter, and fight with them in the Camp, and win their Ordnance, which they have newly turned, and beat them with their own Pieces, and then may you come, and join with me in the Field.

This Device pleased them all wonderful well, who did then prepare themselves, all that Day, for that Device, and kept themselves secret and close, without any Noise, or Shot of Pieces, in the Town, which gave the Enemy the less Fear, of the Assault; for, at Night, they went all to their Tents, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting what after happened; so, in the Dead of the Night, when they were all at Rest, the Assaultants issued out of the Town, and there, according to the Duke's Appointment, they gave so cruel and fierce an Assault, that they, in the Camp, had much ado to withstand them; and then, as the Duke before declared, they, within, were compelled to turn the Shot, that lay at the

Entry, against the Assault; then issued out the Duke, and, with him, about fifteen or sixteen hundred Men, or more, secretly in the Night. The Enemy being ignorant of his Coming, until he entered the Field, and, at his Entry, he took all the Ordnance that lay there, and slew the Gunners; then charged the Pieces against the Enemies, and slew them wonderfully, and cut down their Tents and Pavilions, and murdered many therein, before they were aware of his Coming, suspecting nothing less than his Entry; so that he won the Field, before the King could arise, and the King was taken in his Lodging, before he was harnessed. And, when the Duke had won the Field, the French King taken, and his Men slain; his Tents robbed and spoiled, and the King's Coffers searched; the Duke of Bourbon found the League, under the Great Seal of England, newly made, between the King of England and the French King, whereby he perceived the Impediment of his Money, which should have come to him from the King, having, upon due Search of this Matter, further Intelligence, that all this Business was devised by the Cardinal of England: Whereupon, the Duke conceived such Indignation against the Cardinal, that he went immediately to Rome, and there intended to sack the Town, and to have taken the Pope; but, at the first Assault of the Town, the Duke was the first Man that was there slain; notwithstanding, the Captains continued their Assaults, and, at last, many of the Town fled, with the Pope, to the Castle of Angelo, where he continued in great Calamity.

I have written this History more at large, because it was thought the Cause of all this Mischief; wherefore, you may see, whatsoever a Man doth purpose, be he Prince or Prelate, yet God dispatcheth all Things at his Pleasure and Will, it being a Folly for any wise Man to take upon him any weighty Enterprize of his own Will, without calling upon God, for his Grace and Assistance in all his Proceedings.

I have seen Princes, either when they would call a Parliament, or any other great Assembly, that they would first call to God, most reverently, for his Grace therein; and now I see the Contrary, as it seems, they trust more to their own Minds and Wills, than to God's good

good Grace, and, even thereafter, oftentimes do their Matters take Effect; wherefore, not only in this History, but divers others, may be perceived most evident Examples. Yet I see no Man, almost, in Authority, or high

Estate, regard the same; which is the greater Pity, and the more to be lamented. Now here I desist to speak any further of this Matter, and to proceed to others.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the French King's Redemption out of Captivity, and the Cardinal's Ambassage into France.

UPON the Taking of the *French King*, there were divers Consultations, and various Opinions amongst the Council; some held, that our Sovereign Lord the King could invade the Realm of *France*, and might easily conquer the same; so far as the King, with the most Part of the Noblemen of *France*, were in Captivity; some said again, That the King, our Master, ought to have had the *French King* Prisoner, so far as he was taken by our King's Champion, and Captain-General, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Emperor; in so much that the King was advised, thereby, to Occasion of War against the Emperor, because he kept the King of *France* out of our King's Possession, with divers Imaginations and Devices, as their Fancies served, which were too long here to relate.

Thus were they in long Consideration, whereof every Man in the Court talked as his Fancy served him, until, at the last, divers Ambassadors, from the Realm of *France*, came to the King our Lord, desiring him to take Order with the Emperor for the *French King's* Delivery, as his Highness's Wisdom should think best, wherein my Lord Cardinal bore great Rule; so that, after great Deliberation and Advice taken, it was thought good, by the Cardinal, that the Emperor should deliver the *French King* out of his Ward, upon sufficient Pledges.

And, afterwards, it was thought meet, that the King's two Sons, that is to say, the Dauphin and the Duke of *Orleans*, should be delivered, in Hostage, for Security of the Emperor, and the King our sovereign Lord, upon all such Demands and Requests, as should be demanded of the *French King*, as well by the Emperor, as by our sovereign Lord.

The Cardinal lamenting the *French King's* Captivity, and the Pope's great Adversity,

who yet remained in the Castle of *Angels*, either as Prisoner, or else for Defence against his Enemies, endeavoured, and laboured all that he could, with the King and his Council, to take some Order, for the Quietness of them both.

At the last, as you heard before, divers of the great States, and Lords of the Council, with my Lady *Anne*, lay in continual Wait, to espy a convenient Occasion, to take the Cardinal in a Snare.

Therefore, they consulted with the Cardinal, and informed him, that they thought it a necessary Time for him, to take upon him the King's Commission, to travel beyond the Seas, and, by his Wisdom, to compass a present Peace amongst these great Princes and Potentates, encouraging him thereto, and alledging, that it was more meet for his Wisdom, Discretion, and Authority, to bring so weighty a Matter to pass, than any other within this Realm; their Intent was no other, but to get him from the King, that they might adventure, by the Help of their chief Mistresses, to deprave him unto the King, and so, in his Absence, bring him into his Disgrace, or, at the least, to be in less Estimation.

Well, the Matter was so handled, that the Cardinal was commanded to prepare himself for the Journey, which he took upon him, but, whether willingly or not, I cannot say; but this I know, that he made so short Abode, after the perfect Resolution thereof, that he caused all Things to be prepared speedily for his Journey, and every one of his Servants were appointed, that should attend him in the same.

When all Things were concluded, and provided for this noble Journey, he advanced forwards, in the Name of God. My Lord had

with him such of the Lords and Bishops, as were not of the Conspiracy.

Then marched he forward from his new House at *Westminster*, through all *London*, over *London-Bridge*, having a great many Gentlemen, in a Rank, before him, in Velvet Coats, and, the most Part of them, with Chains of Gold about their Necks. And all his Yeomen followed him, with Noblemen, and great Men's Servants, all in Orange-tawny Coats, and the Cardinal's Hat, with T. and C. for *Thomas Cardinal*, embroidered upon them, as well upon his own Servants Coats, as all the rest of the Gentlemen; and his Sumpter Mules, which were twenty, and more, in Number: And when all his Carriages and Carts, and other his Train, were passed before, he rode very sumptuously, like a Cardinal, with the rest of his Train on his Mule, with his spare Mule, and his spare Horse, covered with crimson Velvet, and gilded Stirrups, following him. And, before him, he had his two great silver Crosses, his two Pillars of Silver, the King's Broad-seat of *England*, and his Cardinal's Hat, and a Gentleman carrying his Balance, otherwise called his *Cloke-bag*, which was made of fine Scarlet, all embroidered, very richly, with Gold. Thus he passed through *London*, as I said before; and, all the Way in his said Journey, he was thus furnished, having his Harbingers, in every Place, before, which prepared Lodgings for him, and his said Train.

The first Journey he made was two Miles beyond *Deptford* in *Kent*, to Sir *Richard Wiltshire's* House; the rest of his Train were lodged in *Deptford*, and in the Country thereabouts.

The next Day he marched to *Rocheſter*, where he lay in the Bishop's Palace, and the rest were lodged in the City.

The third Day, he rode from thence to *Feverſham*, and there lodged in the Abbey, and his Train in the Town, and some about in the Country.

The fourth Day, he rode to *Canterbury*, where he was kindly entertained by the Bishop of the City, and there he continued four or five Days. In which Season was the Jubilee, and a great Fair in the Town, by reason it was the Feast of *St. Thomas*, their Patron; upon which Day, there was a solemn Procession, wherein my Lord Cardinal was in his Legantine Ornaments, with his Hat

upon his Head, who commanded the Monks and the Quire, to sing the *Latin* after this Sort, ' *Sancta Maria ora pro Papa Nostro Clemente*;' and, in this Manner, perused the *Latin* through; my Lord Cardinal kneeling at a Stool before the Quire-door, prepared for him, with Carpets and Cushions: All the Monks, and the Quire, stood in the Body, singing the *Litany*; at which Time, I saw my Lord Cardinal weep tenderly, which *James*, I, and others, conceived to be for Grief, that the Pope was in such Calamity, and Danger of the *Lance-knights*.

The next Day, I was sent with Letters from my Lord, to a Cardinal in *Calais*, in Post, so that I was, the same Night, in *Calais*. At my Arrival, I found, standing upon the Pier, without the *Lantern-gate*, all the Council of the Town, to whom I delivered up my Message, and my Letters, before I entered the Town; where I lay until my Lord came thither, who arrived two Days after my Coming thither, before Eight o'Clock in the Morning, and was received of all the noble Officers and Council of the Town, and the Mayor of the Staple, with Procession, the Clerks being in rich Copes, having many rich Crosses.

In the *Lantern-gate*, a Stool, with Cushions and Carpets, was set for him, where he kneeled, and made his Prayers: At which Time, they fenced him in with Seizures of Silver, and sprinkled Water; that done, they passed on before him, in Procession, until he came unto *St. Mary's* Church, where, at the high Altar, turning him to the People, he gave them his Benediction and Pardon, and then he repaired, with a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, to a Place in the Town, called the *Chequer*, where he kept his House, so long as he abode in the Town, going immediately into his naked Bed, because he was somewhat troubled with Sickness, by Reason of his Passage by Sea.

That Night he called unto him Monsieur de *Bees*, Captain of *Bulloigne*, with divers others Gallants and Gentlemen, who had dined with him that Day, and, having some further Consultation with my Lord Cardinal, he and the rest of the Gentlemen departed again to *Bulloigne*.

Thus my Lord was daily visited with one or other of the *French* Nobility.

When

When all his Train and Carriage were landed, and all Things prepared for his Journey, his Grace called all his Noblemen and Gentlemen, into the Privy-Chamber, where being assembled before him, he said: I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the Duty you owe to me, and the Good-will I seemably bear to you for the same. Your Intendment of Service is to further the Authority, I have by Commission from the King, which diligent Observance of yours I will hereafter recommend to his Majesty; as also to shew you the Nature of the *Frenchmen*, and withal to instruct you with the Reverence, you shall use me for the high Honour of the King's Majesty, and to inform you, how you shall entertain, and accompany the *Frenchmen*, when you meet at any Time.

Concerning the first Point, you shall understand for divers weighty Affairs of his Grace's, and for mere Advancement of his Royal Dignity, he hath assigned me in this Journey to be his Lieutenant; what Reverence therefore belongeth to me, for the same, I will shew you.

By Vertue therefore of my Commission and Lieutenantship, I assume and take upon me to be esteemed in all Honour and Degrees of Service, as unto his Highness is meet and due, and that by me nothing be neglected that to his State is due and appertinent; for my Part, you shall see that I will not omit one jot thereof: Therefore, one of the chief Causes of your Assembly, at this Time, is to inform you, that you be not ignorant of your Duty in this; I wish you therefore, as you would have my Favour, and also charge you all in the King's Name, that you do not forget the same in Time and Place, but that every of you do observe his Duty to me, according as you will, at your Return, avoid the King's Indignation, or deserve his Highness's Thanks; the which I will set forth at our Return, as each of you shall deserve.

Now to the second Point, the Nature of the *Frenchmen* is such, that at their first Meeting, they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long Acquaintance, and will commune with you in their *French* Tongue, as if you knew every Word; therefore, use them in a kind Manner, and be as familiar with them, as they are with you; if they speak to you in their natural Tongue, speak to

them in *English*, for if you understand not them, no more shall they you. Then speaking merrily to one of the Gentlemen, being a *Welshman*, *Rice*, quoth he, speak thou *Welsh* to them, and doubt not, but thy Speech will be more difficult to them, than their *French* shall be to thee. Moreover, he said unto them all, let your Entertainment and Behaviour be according to all Gentlemen's in Humility, that it may be reported, after our Departure from thence, that you were Gentlemen of very good Behaviour and Humility; that all Men may know, you understand your Duties to your King, and to your Master. Thus shall you not only obtain to yourselves great Commendations and Praises, but also greatly advance your Prince and Country.

Now being admonished of these Things, prepare yourselves against To-morrow, for then we purpose to set forward. Therefore, we his Servants, being thus instructed, and all Things being in a Readiness, proceeded forward; the next Day being *Mary Magdalen's* Day, my Lord Cardinal advanced out of *Calais*, with such a Number of black Coats, as hath been seldom seen; with the Ambassador, went all the Peers of *Calais*, and *Groynes*. All other Gentlemen, besides those of his Train, were garnished with black Velvet Coats, and Chains of Gold. Thus passed he forward, with his Troop before, three in a Rank, which Compass extended three Quarters of a Mile in Length, having his Crosses, and all other his accustomed glorious Furniture carried before him, as I have formerly related, except the Broad Seal, the which he left with Doctor *Taylor*, then Master of the Rolls, until his Return.

Thus passing on his Way, we had scarce gone a Mile, but it began to rain so vehemently, that I have not seen the like for the Time; which endured until we came to *Bulhaigne*, and before we came to *Standingfield*, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, a goodly young Gentleman, gave my Lord a Meeting, and received him with much Joy and Reverence, and so passed forth with my Lord in Communication, until we came near the said *Standingfield*, which is a religious Place, standing between the *English*, *French*, and Imperial Dominions, being a Neuter, holding of neither of them. Then there we waited for my Lord *Le Count Brian*, Captain of *Picardy*, with a great Number of Stradigats or Arboncies standing in Array,

ray, in a great Piece of green Oats, all in Harness upon light Horses, passing on with my Lord in a Wing into *Bulloigne*, and so after into *Picardy*, for my Lord doubted, that the Emperor would lay some Ambushment to betray him; for which Cause, he commanded them to attend my Lord for the Safety of his own Person, to conduct him from the Danger of his Enemies.

Thus rode he accompanied, until he came nigh to *Bulloigne*, within an *English* Mile, where all the worshipful Citizens of *Bulloigne* came and met him, having a learned Man that made an Oration in *Latin* to him, unto the which my Lord made Answer; and that done, Monsieur de Bees, Captain of *Bulloigne*, with his Retinue, met him on Horseback, with all his Assembly. Thus he marched into the Town, lighting at the Abbey Gate, from whence he was conveyed into the Abbey with Procession, and there they presented him with the Image of our Lady, commonly called, *Our Lady of Bulloigne*, where were always great Offerings; that done, he gave his Blessing to the People, with certain Days of Pardon: Then went he into the Abbey to his Lodging, but all his Train were lodged in the high base Town.

The next Day, after he had heard Mass, he rode to *Muterel*, where he was in like Manner saluted by the Worshipful of the Town, all in Livery alike, where also a learned Oration was made to him in *Latin*, which his Grace answered again in *Latin*. And as he entered in at the Gate, there was a Canopy of Silk, embroidered with like Letters, as his Men had on their Coats: And when he was alighted, his Footmen had it, as due to their Office. There were also made Pageants for Joy of his Coming, who was called in the *French* Tongue, whither he rode or came, *Le Cardinal de Patifagus*, and in *Latin*, *Cardinalus Patifagus*, and was accompanied all that Night, with the Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts.

The next Day he took his Journey towards *Aboville*, where he was in like Manner entertained, and conveyed into the Town, and most honourably welcomed with divers Kinds of Pageants, both costly, and wittily contrived to every Turning of the Streets; as he rode through the Town, having a Canopy borne over him, richer than at *Muterel*; and so con-

veyed him to his Lodging, which was a fair House, newly built with Brick, at which House, the *French* King, *Lewis*, was married to the King's Sister, which was married after to the Duke of *Suffolk*. In this Town of *Aboville* he remained eight or nine Days, where resorted unto him divers of the *French* King's Council, every Day continually feasting, and entertaining him, and the other Lords.

At the Time of his departing out of the Town, he rode to a Castle beyond the Water, called by some, *Le Channel Percequeine*, standing and adjoining to the said Water, upon a great Hill and Rock, within the which, there was a College of Priests: The Situation whereof was like to the Castle of *Windsor* in *England*; and there he was received with a solemn Procession, conveying him first to the Church, and then to the Castle upon the Bridge, over the Water of *Sonne*, where King *Edward the Fourth* met with the *French* King, as you may read at large in the Chronicles of *England*.

My Lord was no sooner seated in his Lodging, but I heard, that the *French* King would come that Day to the City of *Amience*, which was not above six *English* Miles from thence. And being desirous to see his Coming thither, I took with me two of my Lord's Gentlemen, and rode presently thither: And being but Strangers, we took up our Lodging, at the Sign of the *Angel*, directly over-against the West Door of the Cathedral Church, *De nostre Dame*, where we staid in Expectation of the King's Coming: And about Four of the Clock, came Madam Regent the King's Mother, riding in a very rich Chariot, and with her within was the Queen of *Navarre*, her Daughter, attended with a Hundred or more of Ladies and Gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white Palfrey, also her Guard, which was no small Number. And within two Days after the King came in, with a great Shot of Guns, and there were divers Pageants, made only for Joy of his Coming, having about his Person, and before him, a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in three Companies: The First, were *Switzers* and *Burgonians* with Guns; the Second were *Frenchmen* with Bows; the Third were *Le Carpe-fall Scotchmen*, who were more comely Persons than all the rest. The *French* Guard

and

and Scotch had all one Livery, being apparelled with rich Coats of white Cloath, with a Guard of Silver Bullion of a Handful broad : The King came riding on a rich Jennet, and did alight at the said great Church, and was conveyed with Proceffion to the Bishop's Palace, where he was lodged. The next Morning, I rode again to *Picqueny*, to attend upon my Lord, and when I came, my Lord was ready to go on Horseback, to ride towards *Amience*, and passing on his Way, he was saluted by divers noble Personages, making him Orations in *Latin*, to whom my Lord made Answer, *ex tempore*.

Then was Word brought him, that the King was ready to meet him, wherefore he had no other Shift, but to light at an old Chapel, that stood hard by the High-way, and there he newly apparelled himself in rich Array ; and so mounted again upon another Mule, very richly trapped with a Foot-cloath of crimson Velvet, purled with Gold, and fringed about the Edges with a Fringe of Gold very costly, his Stirrups of Silver gilt, Bosses of the same, and the Cheeks of his Mule's Bit were all gilt with fine Gold ; and by that Time he was mounted again in this gorgeous Manner, the King was come very near, within less than an *English* Quarter of a Mile, his Guard standing in Array upon the Top of an high Hill, expecting my Lord's Coming ; to whom my Lord made as much Haste, as conveniently he could, until he came within a Pair of Butts Length, and there he staid. The King, perceiving that, caused Monsieur *Van de Mount* to issue from him, and to ride to my Lord Cardinal, to know the Cause of his Tarrying ; and so Monsieur *Van de Mount*, being mounted upon a very fair Jennet, took his Race with his Horse, till he came even to my Lord, and then he caused his Horse to come aloft twice or thrice so near my Lord's Mule, that he was in Doubt of his Horse, and so alighted, and in humble Reverence, did his Message to my Lord ; that done, he repaired to the King.

And then the King advanced forward, seeing my Lord do the like, and in the mid Way they meet, embracing each other with amiable Countenances. Then came into the Place all Noblemen and Gentlemen, on both Parts, who made a mighty Press.

Then the King's Officers cried, *Penant de la vant*, i. e. *March, March* : So the King, with the Lord Cardinal on his Right Hand,

rode towards *Amience*, every *English* Gentleman being accompanied with another of *France*. The Train of these two great Princes was two Miles in Length, that is to say, from the Place of their Meeting, unto *Amience*, where they were nobly received with Guns, and Pageants, until the King had brought my Lord to his Lodging, and then departed for that Night. The King being lodged in the Bishop's Palace : And the next Day, after Dinner, my Lord rode with a great Train of *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen, unto the Court to the King, at which Time, the King kept his Bed ; yet nevertheless, my Lord came into his Bed-chamber, where on the one Side of the Bed sat the King's Mother, and on the other Side, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, accompanied with divers other Gentlemen of *France*, and after some Communication, and Drinking of Wine, with the King's Mother, my Lord departed, and returned to his own Lodging, accompanied with divers other Lords and Gentlemen.

Thus continued my Lord at *Amience*, and also the King, fourteen Days feasting each other divers Times, and there, one Day at Mass, the King and my Lord received the Holy Sacrament, as also the Queen Regent, and the Queen of *Navarre* ; after that it was determined, that the King and my Lord should remove, and so they rode to a City, called *Champaigne*, which was more than twenty Miles from *Amience*, unto which Town I was sent to provide Lodging for my Lord ; and in my Travel, I having Occasion to stay by the Way, at a little Village, to shoe my Horse, there came to me a Servant from the Castle, there perceiving me to be an *Englishman*, and of my Lord Legate's Servants, as they then called my Lord ; and desired me to go into the Castle, to the Lord his Master, who he thought would be very glad to see me : To whom I consented, because I desired Acquaintance with Strangers, especially with Men of Authority, and honourable Rank ; so I went with him, who conducted me to the Castle, and at my first Entrance, I was among the Watchmen, who kept the first Ward, being very tall Men, and comely Persons, who saluted me very kindly ; and knowing the Cause of my Coming, they advertised their Lord and Master ; and forthwith the Lord of the Castle came out unto me, whose Name was Monsieur *Crooksey* a Nobleman born ; and at his Com-

Coming, he embraced me, saying, that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me, that I was so gentle as to visit him, and his Castle, saying, that he was preparing to meet the King, and my Lord Cardinal, and to invite them to his Castle; and when he had shewed me the Strength of his Castle, and the Walls, which were fourteen Feet broad, and I had seen all the Houses, he brought me down into a fair inner Court, where his Jennet stood ready for him, with twelve other of the fairest Jennets, that ever I saw, especially his own, which was a Mare; which Jennet, he told me, he had four-hundred Crowns offered for her; upon these twelve Jennets, were mounted twelve goodly Gentlemen, called *Pages of Honour*; they rode all bare-headed, in Coats of Cloth of Gold, guarded with black Velvet, and they had all of them Boots, of red *Spanish Leather*.

Then took he his Leave of me, commanding his Steward, and other of his Gentlemen, to conduct me to his Lady to Dinner; so they led me up to the *Gate-house*, where then their Lady and Mistress lay, for the Time that the King and the Cardinal should tarry there. And after a short Time, the Lady *Crooksey* came out of her Chamber, into her Dining-Room, where I attended her Coming, who did receive me very nobly, like herself, she having a Train of twelve Gentlemen, that did attend on her. Forasmuch, quoth she, as you are an *English* Gentleman, whose Custom is to kiss all Ladies and Gentlewomen in your Country without Offence, yet it is not so in this Realm; notwithstanding, I will be so bold, as to kiss you, and so shall you salute all my Maids. After this we went to Dinner, being as nobly served, as ever I saw any in *England*, passing all Dinner-time in pleasing Discourses.

And shortly after Dinner I took my Leave, and was constrained, that Night, to lie short of *Champaigne*, at a great walled Town, called *Morndredrey*, the Suburbs whereof my Lord of *Suffolk*, had lately burned; and early in the Morning I came to *Champaigne*, being *Saturday*, and Market-day, where at my first Coming I took up my Inn, over-against the Market-place, and being set at Dinner in a fair Chamber, that looked out into the Street, I heard a great Noise, and Clattering of Bills; and looking out I saw the Officers of the Town, bringing a Prisoner to Execution, and

with a Sword, cut off his Head. I demanded what was the Offence, they answered me, for killing of red Deer in the Forest near adjoining. And incontinently they held the poor Man's Head upon a Pole in the Market-place, between the Stags Horns, and his four Quarters, set up in four Places of the Forest.

Having prepared my Cardinal's Lodging in the great Castle of the Town, and seen it furnished, my Lord had the one Half assigned, and the King the other Half, and in like Manner they divided the Gallery between them; and in the Midst thereof, there was made a strong Wall, with a Window and a Door, where the King and my Lord did often meet and talk, and divers Times go one to the other, through the same Door. Also there was lodged in the same Castle Madam Regent, the King's Mother, and all the Ladies and Gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the Lord Chancellor of *France*, a very witty Man, with all the King's grave Counsellors, where they took great Pains daily in Consultation. At which Time, I heard my Lord Cardinal fall out with the Chancellor of *France*, laying to his Charge, that he went about to hinder the League which was before his Coming concluded upon, by the King our Sovereign Lord, and the *French* King their Master. Insomuch that my Lord stomached him stoutly, and told him, it was not he that should infringe the amiable Friendship. And if the *French* King his Master, being there present, would follow his, the Chancellor's, Counsel, he should not fail, shortly after his Return, to feel the Smart, what it was to maintain War against the King of *England*, and thereof he should be well assured; insomuch that his angry Speech and bold Countenance made them all doubt, how to quiet him to the Council, who was then departed in a great Fury.

Now here was Sending, here was Coming, here was Intreating, and here was great Submission and Intercession, made unto him to reduce him to his former Communication, who would in no Ways relent, until Madam Regent came to him herself, who handled the Matter so well that she brought him to his former Communication, and by that Means, he brought all Things to pass, that before he could not compass, which was more out of Fear than Affection, the *French* King had to
the

the Matter in Hand; for now he had got the Heads of all the Council under his Girdle.

The next Morning, early after this Confift, the Cardinal arofe, about Four of the Clock, and fat him down to write Letters into *England*, unto the King, commanding one of his Chaplains to prepare him ready; inſomuch that the Chaplain ſtood ready in his Veſtures until Four of the Clock in the Afternoon. All which Seafon, my Lord never roſe to eat any Meat, but continually writ Letters with his own Hand; and about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, he made an End of Writing, commanding one *Chriſtopher Gunner*, the King's Serjeant, to prepare himſelf without Delay, to ride Poſt into *England*, with his Letters, whom he diſpatched away before ever he drank. That done, he went to Maſs and Mattins, and other Devotions with his Chaplains, as he was accuſtomed to do; and then went to walk in a Garden, the Space of an Hour and more, and then ſaid Evening Song, and ſo went to Dinner and Supper, making no long Stay, and ſo went to Bed.

The next Night following, my Lord cauſed a great Supper to be made, or rather a Banquet, for Madam Regent, and the Queen of *Navarre*, and other noble Perſonages, Lords and Ladies. At which Supper was Madam *Lewis*, one of the Daughters of *Lewis*, the laſt King, whoſe Siſter lately died; theſe two Siſters were by their Mother Inheritors of the Duchy of *Bretagne*. And, forasmuch as King *Francis* had married one of the Siſters, by which he had one Moiety of the ſaid Duchy, he kept the ſaid Madam *Lewis*, the other Siſter, without Marriage to the Intent the whole Duchy might deſcend to him, or his Succeſſors after his Death, for Lack of Iſſue of her.

But now let us return to the Supper of Banquet, where all thoſe noble Perſonages were highly feaſted. And in the Miſt of the ſaid Banquet, the *French* King, and the King of *Navarre*, came ſuddenly in, who took their Places in the loweſt Part thereof: There was not only Plenty of fine Meats, but alſo much Mirth and Solace, as well in merry Communion, as alſo the Noiſe of my Lord's Muſick, who played there all that Night ſo cunningly, that the two Kings took great Delight therein, inſomuch that the *French* King deſired my Lord to lend them unto him for the next Night. And after the Supper or Banquet end-

ed, the Lords ſell to Dancing, amongſt whom one Madam *Fountain* had the Praise. And thus paſſed they the moſt Part of the Night before they parted.

The next Day the King took my Lord's Muſick, and rode to a Nobleman's Houſe, where was ſome living Image, to whom he had vowed a Night's Pilgrimage; and to perform his Devotion when he came there, which was in the Night, he danced and cauſed others to do the ſame, and the next Morning he returned to *Champaigne*.

The King being at *Champaigne*, gave Order that a wild Boar ſhould be lodged for him in the Foreſt, whither my Lord Cardinal went with him to ſee him hunt the wild Boar, where the Lady Regent, with a Number of Ladies and Damſels, were ſtanding in Chariots, looking upon the Toil; amongſt theſe Ladies ſtood my Lord Cardinal to regard the Hunting, in the Lady Regent's Chariot. And within the Toil was the King, with divers Ladies of *France* ready furniſhed for the high and dangerous Enterprize of hunting of this perilous wild Swine.

The King being in his Doublet and Hoſe all of Sheep's colour Cloth, richly trimmed, in his Slip a Brace of very great Grey-hounds, who were armed as their Manner there is, to defend them from the Violence of the Beaſts Tuſks. And the reſt of the King's Gentlemen, that were appointed to hunt, were likewiſe in their Doublets and Hoſe, holding each of them a very ſharp Boar's Spear. Then the King commanded the Keepers to uncouch the Boar; and that every Perſon within the Toil ſhould go to a Standing, among whom were divers Gentlemen of *England*.

The Boar preſently iſſued out of his Den, and being purſued by a Hound, came into the Plain, where he ſtaid a While, gazing upon the People, and the Hound drawing near him, he eſpied a Buſh upon a Bank; under the Buſh lay two *Frenchmen*, who fled thither, thinking there to be ſafe; but the Boar ſmelling them, and thruſting his Head into the Buſh, theſe two Men came away from thence, as Men uſe to fly from the Danger of Death.

Then was the Boar, by Violence of the Hunters, driven from thence, who run ſtraight to one of my Lord's Footmen, being a very tall Man, who had in his Hand an *Engliſh* Javelin, with which he defended himſelf a great

While. But the Boar continued foaming at him, with his great Tusks; at the last, the Boar broke in funder his Javelin, so that he was glad to draw his Sword, and therewith stood upon his Guard, until the Hunters came and rescued him, and put the Boar once again to Flight to another Gentleman of *England*, one Mr. *Ratcliff*, who was Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, now Earl of *Suffex*, who, by his Boar's Spear, rescued himself. There were many other Passages, but I forbear Prolixity, and return to the Matter in Hand.

Many Days were spent in Consultation, and Expectation of *Christopher Gunner's* Return, who was formerly sent Post into *England* with Letters, as I said before: At last he returned with Letters, upon Receipt whereof my Lord prepared, with all Expedition, to return to *England*.

The Morning, that my Lord intended to remove, being at Mass in his Closet, he consecrated the Chancellor of *France* a Cardinal, and put his Hat on his Head, and his Cap of Scarlet, and then took his Journey, and returned into *England* with all the Expedition he could, and came to *Sayne*, and was there nobly entertained of my Lord *Staines*, who was Captain of that Place; and from thence went to *Calais*, where he staid a While for Shipping of his Goods, and, in the mean Time, he established a Work to be there kept for all Nations: But how long, or in what Sort, it continued, I know not; for I never heard of any great Good it did, or of any Assembly of Merchants, or Traffick of Merchandise, that were brought thither for so great and mighty a Matter, as was intended for the Good of the Town. This being established, he took Shipping for *Dover*, and from thence rode Post to Court.

The King being then in his Progress at Sir *Henry Wyat's* House in *Kent*, of whom I and others of his Servants thought he should have been nobly entertained, as well of the King himself, as of the Nobles: But we were all deceived in our Expectation. Notwithstanding, he went immediately to the King after his Return, with whom he had long Talk, and continued two or three Days after in the Court, and then retired to his House at *Westminster*, where he remained till *Michaelmas*-

term, which was within a Fortnight after, and there he exercised his Place of Chancellorship, as he had done before.

And, immediately after the Beginning of the Term, he caused to be assembled in the *Star-chamber* all the Noblemen, Judges, and Justices of the Peace of every Shire throughout *England*, that were at *Westminster-hall* then present. And there he made a long Oration, declaring the Cause of his Ambassage into *France*, and of his Proceedings therein; saying, That he had concluded such an Amity and Peace, as was never heard of in this Realm, between our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, the Emperor, and the *French* King, for a perpetual Peace, which shall be confirmed in Writing, under the Seals of both Realms, engraven in Gold: Offering further, that our King should receive yearly, by that Name, out of the Duchy of *Normandy*, all the Charges and Losses, he had sustained in the Wars.

And also, so far as there was a Restraint made of the *French* Queen's Dowry (whom the Duke of *Suffolk* had married) for many Years together during the Wars, it was concluded, That she should not only receive the same, according to her just Right, but also the Arrearages, being unpaid during the said Restraint, should be perfected shortly after. The Resort of Ambassadors out of *France* should be such a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, to confirm the same, as hath not been seen, heretofore, repair hither out of one Realm.

This Peace thus concluded, there shall be such an Amity between them of each Realm, and Intercourse of Merchandise, that it shall be seen to all Men to be but one Monarchy. Gentlemen and others may travel from one Country to another, for their Recreations and Pleasure; and Merchants of either Country may traffick safely, without Fear of Danger; so that this Realm shall ever after flourish.

Therefore may all *Englishmen* well rejoice, and set forth the Truth of this Ambassy in the Country. Now, my Masters, I beseech you, and require you, in the King's Behalf, that you shew yourselves as loving and obedient Subjects, in whom the King may much rejoice, &c. And so he ended his Oration, and broke up the Court, for that Time.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the French Ambassadors Entertainment and Dispatch.

NOW the great long-looked-for Ambassadors are arrived, being in Number eight Persons, of the noblest and most worthy Gentlemen in all *France*; who were nobly received from Place to Place, and so conveyed, through *London*, to the Bishop's Palace in *Paul's Church-yard*, where they were lodged; to whom divers Noblemen resorted, and gave them noble Presents (especially the Mayor of the City of *London*) as, Wines, Sugars, Beeves, Muttons, Capons, wild Fowl, Wax, and other necessary Things in Abundance, for the Expences of his House.

They resorted to the Court, being then at *Greenwich*, on *Sunday*, and were received of the King's Majesty, of whom they were entertained highly.

They had a Commission to establish our King's Highness in the Order of *France*; to whom they brought, for that Intent, a Collar of fine Gold, with a *Michael* hanging thereat, and Robes appertaining to the said Order; which were of blue Velvet, and richly embroidered; wherein I saw the King pass to the Closet, and afterwards in the same to Mass.

And, to gratify the *French* King for his great Honour, he sent incontinently Noblemen here in *England*, of the Order of the *Garter*; which *Garter* the Herald carried into *France* unto the *French* King, to establish him in the Order of the *Garter*, with a rich Collar and *Garter*, and Robes according to the same; the *French* Ambassadors still remaining here until the Return of the *English*.

All Things being then determined and concluded concerning the perpetual Peace, upon solemn Ceremonies and Oaths, contained in certain Instruments concerning the same, it was concluded there should be a solemn Mass sung in the Cathedral Church of *Paul* in *London*, by the Cardinal, the King being present at the same in his Traverse to perform all Things determined.

And, for the Preparation thereof, there was a Gallery from the West-door of *Paul's* Church, through the Body of the same, up to the Choir, and so to the high Altar into the Traverse. My Lord Cardinal prepared himself to sing the Mass, associated with twenty-four Mitres of

Bishops and Abbots, who attended him with such Ceremonies, as to him were then due, by Reason of his Legative Prerogative.

And, after the last *Agnus*, the King rose out of the Traverse, and kneeled upon a Carpet and Cushions before the high Altar; and the like did the Great Master of *France*, chief Ambassador, that here represented the King's Person of *France*; between whom the Lord Cardinal divided the blessed Sacrament, as a perfect Oath and Bond for Security of the said Covenants of the said perpetual Peace.

That done, the King went again into the Traverse, this Mass being ended, which was solemnly sung both by the Choir of the same Church, and all the King's Chapel.

Then my Lord took and read the Articles of Peace openly before the King and all others, both *English* and *French*; and there, in Sight of all the People, the King put his Hand to the gold Seal, and subscribed with his own Hand, and delivered the same to the Grand Master of *France*, as his Deed, who seemably did the like. That done, they departed, and rode Home with the Cardinal, and dined with him, passing all the Day after in Consultation of weighty Affairs touching the Articles and Conclusion of the said Peace.

Then the King departed to *Greenwich* by Water; at whose Departure it was concluded, by the King's Device, that all the *Frenchmen* should remove to *Richmond*, and hunt there; and from thence to *Hampton-court*, and there to hunt likewise; and the Lord Cardinal there to make a Banquet, or Supper, or both; and from thence they should ride to *Windsor*, and there hunt; and afterwards return to the King at *Greenwich*, and there to banquet with him before their Departure.

This determined, they all repaired to their Lodgings; then was there no more to do, but to make Preparation in all Things for the Entertainment of this great Assembly at *Hampton-court*, at the Time appointed by my Lord Cardinal, who called before him all his chief Officers, as Stewards, Treasurers, Clerks, and Comptrollers of his Kitchen; to whom he declared his whole Mind touching the Entertainment of the *Frenchmen* at *Hampton-court*; to

whom he also gave Command neither to spare for any Cost, or Expence, nor Pains, to make them such a triumphant Banquet, that they might not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious Report, to the great Honour of our King and this Realm.

Thus, having made known his Pleasure, to accomplish his Commandment, they sent out all the Carriers, Purveyors, and other Persons to my Lord's Friends to prepare: Also they sent to all expert Cooks, and cunning Persons in the Art of Cookery in *London*, or elsewhere, that might be gotten, to beautify the noble Feast.

Then the Purveyors provided; and my Lord's Friends sent in such Provision, that it was a Wonder to see it.

The Cooks wrought both Day and Night in many curious Devices, where was no Lack of Gold, Silver, or any other costly Thing; the Yeomen and Grooms of his Wardrobe were busied in hanging the Chambers with costly Hangings, and furnishing the same with Beds of Silk, and other Furniture for the same in every Degree.

Then my Lord sent me, being his Gentleman-usher, and two others of my Fellows, to foresee all Things touching our Rooms to be richly garnished; wherein our Pains was not small; but daily we travelled up and down, from Chamber to Chamber, to see Things fitted.

Then wrought Joiners, Carpenters, Painters, and all other Artificers needful, that there was nothing wanting to adorn this noble Feast. There was Carriage and Re-carriage of Plate, Stuff, and other rich Implements, so that there was nothing lacking, that could be devised or imagined for that Purpose. There were also provided two-hundred and eighty Beds, with all Manner of Furniture to them, too long here to be related.

The Day assigned to the *Frenchmen* being come, they were ready assembled before the Hour of their Appointment; wherefore the Officers caused them to ride to *Hamworth*, a Park of the King's within three Miles of *Hampton-court*, there to spend the Time in Hunting till Night; which they did, and then returned, and every of them were conveyed to their several Chambers, having in them good Fires, and Store of Wine, where they remained till Supper was ready.

The Chambers, where they supped and banqueted, were adorned thus:

First, the great Waiting-chamber was hung with very rich Cloth of Arras; and so all the rest, some better than others; and furnished with tall Yeomen to serve. There were set Tables round about the Chambers, Banquet-wise, covered; also a Cupboard, garnished with white Plate, having also in the same Chamber four great Plates, to give the more Light, set with great Lights; and a great Fire of Wood and Coals.

The next Chamber was the Chamber of Presence, richly hanged, also, with Cloth of Arras, and a sumptuous Cloth of State, furnished with many goodly Gentlemen to serve. The Tables were ordered, in Manner as the others were, save only the high Table was removed beneath the Cloth of State, towards the Midst of the Chamber, with six Desks of Plate, garnished all over with fine Gold, saving one Pair of Candlesticks of Silver, and gilded, with Lights in the same; the Cupboard was barred about, that no Man could come very near it, for there were divers Pieces of great Store of Plate to use; besides, the Plates that hung on the Walls, to give Light, were Silver, and gilt, with Wax Lights.

Now were all Things in Readiness, and Supper fit; the principal Officers caused the Trumpets to blow, to warn them to Supper: Then the Officers conducted the Noblemen where they were to sup, and, they being set, the Service came up, in such Abundance, both costly, and full of Devices, with such a pleasant Noise of Musick, that the *Frenchmen*, as it seemed, were wrapped up in a heavenly Paradise. You must understand, that my Lord Cardinal was not there all this While; but the *French* Monseieurs were very merry with their rich Fare, and curious Cates and Knacks; but, before the second Course, my Lord Cardinal came in, booted and spurred, suddenly amongst them; at whose Coming, there was great Joy, every Man rising from his Place, whom my Lord Cardinal caused to sit still, and keep their Places, and, being in his riding Apparel, called for his Chair, and sat him down in the Midst of the high Table, and was there as merry and pleasant, as ever I saw him in my Life.

Presently after, came up the second Course, which was above one-hundred several Devices, which

which were so goodly and costly, that, I think, the *Frenchmen* never saw the like.

But the rarest Curiosity of all the rest, they all wondered at, which, indeed, was worthy of Wonder, were Castles, with Images in the same, like St. Paul's Church, for the Model of it; there were Beasts, Birds, Fowls, Personages, most excellently made, some fighting with Swords, some with Guns, others with Cross-bows, some dancing with Ladies, some on Horseback, with compleat Armour, justling with long and sharp Spears, with many more strange Devices, which I cannot describe; amongst all, I noted, there was a Chess-board made of Spice Plate, with Men of the same, and of good Proportion.

And, because the *Frenchmen* are very expert at that Sport, my Lord Cardinal gave that same to a *French* Gentleman, commanding, that there should be made a good Case, to convey the same into his Country.

Then called my Lord for a great Bowl of Gold, filled with Hippocras, and, putting off his Cap, said, 'I drink a Health to the King my sovereign Lord, and next unto the King your Master.' And, when he had drunk a hearty Draught, he desired the Grand Master to pledge him a Cup, which Cup was worth five-hundred Marks; and so all the Lords, in Order, pledged these great Princes. Then went the Cup merrily about, so that many of the *Frenchmen* were led to their Beds; then went my Lord into his Privy-Chamber, making a short Supper, or rather a short Repast, and then returned again into the Presence-chamber, amongst the *Frenchmen*, behaving himself in such a loving Sort, and so familiarly towards them, that they could not sufficiently commend him.

And, while they were in Communication and Pastime, all their Livery were served to their Chambers; every Chamber had a Basin and Ewer of Silver, and a great Livery-pot, with Plenty of Wine, and Sufficient of every Thing.

Thus furnished was every Room about the House; when all was done, then were they conducted to their Lodgings.

In the Morning, after they had heard Mass, they staid and dined with my Lord; and so departed towards *Windsor*; and, as soon as as they were gone, my Lord returned to

London, because it was in the Midst of the Term.

You must conceive, the King was privy to this magnificent Feast, who then intended far to exceed the same, which I refer to the *Frenchmen's* Return. Now the King had given Command to his Officers, to provide a far more sumptuous Banquet for the Strangers, than they had at the Cardinal's, which was not neglected.¹¹ After the Return of these Strangers from *Windsor*, which Place they much commended for the Situation thereof, the King invited them to the Court, where they dined, and, after Dinner, they danced, and had their Pastime till Supper-time.

Then was the Banquet-chamber, in the little Yard at *Greenwich*, furnished for the Entertainment of these Strangers, to which Place they were conducted by the greatest Personages, then being in the Court, where they did both sup and banquet; but to describe to you the Order hereof, the Variety of costly Dishes, and the curious Devices, my weak Ability, and shallow Capacity, would much eclipse the Magnificence thereof: But thus much take Notice of, that, although that Banquet at *Hampton Court* was marvellous sumptuous, yet this Banquet excelled the same, as much as Gold doth Silver in Value; and, for my Part, I never saw the like.

In the Midst of the Banquet, there were turning at the Barriers lusty Gentlemen in compleat Armour, very gorgeous, on Foot, and the like on Horseback; and, after all this, there was such an excellent Interlude, made in *Latin*, that I never saw or heard the like, the Actors Apparel being so gorgeous, and of such strange Devices, that it passeth my poor Capacity to relate them.

This being ended, there came a great Company of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the chiefest Beauties in the Realm of *England*, being as richly attired, as Cost could make, or Art devise, to set forth their Gestures, Proportions, or Beauties, that they seemed, to the Beholders, rather like celestial Angels, than terrestrial Creatures, and, in my Judgment, worthy of Admiration; with whom the Gentlemen of *France* danced and masked, every Man choosing his Lady, as his Fancy served: That done, and the Maskers departed, came in another Mask of Ladies and Gentlewomen, so richly attired,

attired, as I cannot express; these Ladies Maskers took each of them one of the *Frenchmen* to dance, and here note, that these noble Women spoke all of them good *French*, which delighted them much to hear the Ladies speak to them in their own Language.

Thus, triumphantly, did they spend the whole Night, from Five o'Clock in the Night, until Two or Three o'Clock in the Morning, at which Time the Gallants drew all to their Lodgings, to take their Rest.

As neither Health, Wealth, nor Pleasure, can always last, so ended this triumphant Banquet, which, being passed, seemed, in the Morning, to the Beholders, as a phantastick Dream.

Now, after all this solemn Banqueting, they prepared, with Bag and Baggage, to return; and, thereupon, repaired to the King, and, in Order, every Man took his Leave of his Majesty, and the Nobles, by whom the King sent his princely Pleasure and Commendations to the King their Master, thanking them for their Pains; and, after great Com-

munication had with the great Master of that Ambassage, he bade them Adieu.

Then they came to *Westminster*, to my Lord Cardinal, to do the like, of whom he received the King's Reward, which I shall hereafter relate.

First, every Man, of Honour and Estimation, had Plate, some to the Value of two or three-hundred Pounds, and some of four-hundred Pounds, besides the great Gifts before received of his Majesty, as Gowns of Velvet, with rich Furs, great Chains of Gold, and some had goodly Horses of great Value, with divers other Gifts of great Value, which I cannot call to Remembrance; but the worst of them had the Sum of twenty Crowns; and thus, being nobly rewarded, my Lord, after humble Commendations to the *French* King, bade them Farewel, and so they departed.

The next Day, they were conveyed to *Dover*, to the Sea-side, with all their Furniture, being accompanied with many *English* young Gallants; and what Report of their Royal Entertainment they made in their own Country, I never heard.

C H A P. XV.

Of the King's Discovery of his Love to Mrs. Anne Bullen to the Cardinal, with the Cardinal's Dislike, and also the Opinions of all the learned Bishops in England, and foreign Universities.

AFTER this began new Matters, which troubled the Heads and Imaginations of all the Court, wherewith all their Stomachs were full, but little Digestion, *viz.* the long concealed Affection of the King to Mrs. *Anne Bullen* now broke out, which his Majesty disclosed to the Cardinal, whose often Persuasions, on his Knees, took no Effect.

My Lord, thereupon, being compelled to declare to his Majesty his Opinion and Wisdom, in the Advancement of the King's Desires, thought it not safe for him to wade too far alone, or to give rash Judgment in so weighty a Matter, but desired Leave of the King to ask Counsel of Men of ancient and famous Learning, both in the Divine and Civil Laws.

Now this being obtained, he, by his Legantine Authority, sent out his Commissions

for the Bishops of this Realm, who, not long after, assembled all at *Westminster*, before my Lord Cardinal; and not only these Prelates, but also the most learned Men of both Universities, and some from divers Cathedral Colleges in this Realm, who were thought sufficiently able to resolve this doubtful Question.

At this learned Assembly was the King's Case consulted of, debated, argued, and judged, from Day to Day: But, in Conclusion, when these ancient Fathers of Law and Divinity parted, they were all of one Judgment, and that contrary to the Expectation of most Men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, The King's Case was too obscure for any Man, and the Points therein were doubtful, to have any Resolution therein, and so, at that Time,

Time, with a general Consent, departed, without any Resolution or Judgment.

In this Assembly of Bishops, and divers other learned Men, it was thought very expedient, that the King should send out his Commissioners into all Universities in *Christendom*, as well here in *England*, as foreign Regions, there to have this Case argued substantially, and to bring with them, from thence, every Definition of their Opinions of the same, under the Seal of every University; and thus much, for this Time, were their Determinations.

And, thereupon, divers Commissioners were presently appointed for this Design; so some were sent to *Cambridge*, some to *Oxford*, some to *Lorrain*, others to *Paris*, some to *Orleans*, others to *Padua*, all at the proper Costs and Charges of the King, which, in the Whole, amounted to a great Sum of Money; and all went out of this Realm, besides the Charge of the Ambassage, to those famous and notable Persons of all the Universities, especially such as bore the Rule, or had the Custody of the University Seals, who were sed by the Commissioners with such great Sums of Money, that they did easily condescend to their Requests, and grant their Desires.

By Reason whereof, all the Commissioners returned with their Purpose, furnished, according to their Commissions, under the Seal of every several University, whereat there was no small Joy conceived of the principal Parties; insomuch that ever after the Commissioners were had in great Estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded, far beyond their worthy Deserts. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the Matter went still forward, having now, as they thought, a sure Staff to lean upon.

These Proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinal, he sent again for the Bishops, to whom he declared the Effect of these Commissioners Pains, and, for Assurance thereof, shewed them the Instruments of each University, under their several Seals; and, the Business being thus handled, they went again to Consultation, how Things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded, that it was very meet the King should send unto the Pope's Holiness the Opinions of both Universities of *England*, and also foreign Universities, which

were manifestly authorised by their common Seals: And it was also thought fit, the Opinions of the worthy Prelates of *England* should be sent to the Pope, comprised in an Instrument, which was not long Time in finishing.

Nor was it long after, that the Ambassadors were assigned for this Design, who took their Journey accordingly, having certain Instruments, that, if the Pope would not, thereupon, consent to give Judgment, definitively in the King's Case, then to require another Commission from his Holiness, to be granted to his Legate, to establish a Court here in *England*, for that Purpose only, to be directed to my Lord Cardinal, Legate of *England*, and to Cardinal *Campaine*, Bishop of *Bath*, which the King gave him at a certain Time, when he was sent Ambassador hither from the Pope's Holiness, to determine, and rightly judge according to their Consciences. To the which, after long Suit made, and for the Good-will of the said Cardinal, the Pope granted their Suit.

Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King, that his Grace's Pleasure should be now brought to pass substantially, being never more likely, considering the State of the Judges.

Long was the Expectation, on both Sides, for the Coming over of the Legate from *Rome*, who, at last, arrived in *England*, with his Commission, and, being much troubled with the Gout, his Journey was long and tedious, before he could get to *London*, who should have been most solemnly received at *Blackheath*; but he desired not to be so entertained with Pomp and Vain-glory, and, therefore, he came, very privately, on his own Horse, without *Temple-Bar*, called *Bath-place*, where he lay; the House being furnished with all Manner of Provision of my Lord's. So, after some Deliberation and Consultation, in the Ordering of the King's Business, now in Hand, by his Commission, and Articles of his Ambassage, which being read, it was determined, that the King, and the good Queen, his lawful Wife, should be judged at *Bridewell*, and in *Black-friars*, and, some Place thereabouts, the Court to be kept, for the Disputation and Determination of the Causes, and Differences, between the King and the Queen, where they were to repair before these two Legates, who

who sat as Judges; before whom the King and Queen were cited, and summoned to appear, which was a strange Sight, and the newest Device that ever was heard or read of in any Story or Chronicle: A King and a

Queen to be compelled to appear in a Court, as common Persons, within their own Realm and Dominions, and to abide the Judgments and Decrees of their Subjects, being a Prerogative belonging to the Royal Diadem.

CHAP. XVI.

A new Court erected to determine the King's Case, two Cardinals being Judges, having Power to convene the King and Queen, and the Issue thereof.

IT is a wonderful Thing to consider the Strength of Princes Wills, when they are bent to have their Pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable Persuasions will serve the Turn; how little do they regard the dangerous Sequels that may ensue as well to themselves as to their Subjects. And, amongst all Things, there is nothing that makes them more wilful than carnal Love, and various Affecting of voluptuous Desires, wherein nothing could be of greater Experience than to see what Inventions were furnished, what Laws were enacted, what costly Edifices of noble and ancient Monasteries were there overthrown, what Diversities of Opinions then arose, what Extortions were then committed, how many learned and good Men were then put to Death, and what Alterations of good ancient Laws, Customs, and charitable Foundations, were turned from the Relief of the Poor, to the utter Destruction and Desolation, almost to the Subversion, of this noble Realm.

It is a thousand Pities to understand the Things that since have happened to this Land, the Proof whereof hath taught all us *Englishmen* lamentable Experience. If Men's Eyes be not blind, they may see, and, if their Ears be not stopped, they may hear; and if Pity be not exiled, their Hearts may relent and lament at the Sequel of this inordinate Love, altho' it lasted but a While. *O Lord God, withhold thine Indignation from us.*

You shall understand, as I said before, that there was a Court erected at *Black friars, London*, where these two Cardinals sat as Judges: Now will I describe unto you the Order of the Court.

First, There were many Tables and Benches set in Manner of a Consistory, one Seat being higher than another for the Judges aloft; above them three Degrees high was a Cloth of Estate hanged, and a Chair Royal under the same, wherein sat the King, and some Di-

stance off sat the Queen, and at the Judges Feet sat the Scribes and Officers for the Execution of the Process; the chief Scribe was Doctor *Stevens*, after Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Apparitor, who was called Doctor of the Court, was one *Cooke* of *Westminster*. Then before the King and the Judges sat the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Warham*, and all other Bishops; there stood, at both Ends within, Counsellors learned in the Spiritual Laws, as well on the King's Side, as the Queen's Side, Dr. *Sampson*, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, and Dr. *Hall*, after Bishop of *Worcester*, with divers others; and Proctors in the same Law were Dr. *Peter*, who was afterwards chief Secretary, and Dr. *Tregunmill*, with divers others.

Now, on the other Side, there were Council for the Queen, Dr. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dr. *Standish* Bishop of *St. Asaph* in *Wales*, two brave noble Divines, especially the Bishop of *Rochester*, a very godly Man, whose Death many Noblemen and many worthy Divines much lamented, who lost his Head about this Cause, before it was ended, upon *Tower-hill*; as also another ancient Doctor called Doctor *Ridley*, a little Man but a great Divine. The Court being thus ordered, as is before expressed, the Judges commanded the Cryer to proclaim Silence, whilst the Commission was both read to the Court and to the People there assembled: That done, and Silence being again proclaimed, the Scribes commanded the Cryer to call King *Henry* of *England*; whereunto the King answered and said, *Here*: Then called he again the Queen of *England*, by the Name of *Catharine*, Queen of *England*, *Come into the Court*, &c. Who made no Answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her Chair where she sat; and, because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the Distance, therefore she came

came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled down at his Feet, saying these Words in broken *English*, as followeth :

Sir, quoth she, I beseech you do me Justice and Right, and take some Pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a Stranger, born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Council, and less Assurance of Friendship. Alas! Sir, how have I offended you? What Offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of Life in this Sort? I take God to witness, I have been to you a true and loyal Wife, ever conformable to your Will and Pleasure; never did I contrary or gainsay your Mind, but always submitted myself in all Things, wherein you had any Delight or Dalliance, whether it were little or much, without Grudging or any Sign of Discontent: I have loved for your Sake all Men whom you have loved, whether I had Cause or not, were they Friends or Foes; I have been your Wife this twenty Years, by whom you had many Children: And, when I first came to your Bed, I take God to witness, I was a Virgin; whether it were true or no, I put it to your Conscience. If there be any Cause that you can alledge, either of Dishonesty, or of any other Matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with Shame and Rebuke; but, if there be none, then I pray you let me have Justice at your Hands.

‘The King your Father was a Man of such an excellent Wit in his Time, that he was accounted a second *Solomon*; and the King of *Spain*, my Father *Ferdinand*, was taken for one of the wisest Kings that reigned in *Spain* these many Years. So they were both wise Men and noble Princes; and it is no Question but they had wise Counsellors of either Realm, as be now at this Day, who thought not, at the Marriage of you and me, to hear what new Devices are now invented against me, to cause me to stand to the Order of this Court. And I conceive you do me much Wrong, nay you condemn me for not Answering, having no Council but such as you have assigned me: You must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my Part, being your own Subjects, and such as you have made Choice of out of your own Council where unto they are privy, and dare not disclose your Pleasure.

V O L. V.

‘Therefore, I most humbly beseech you, to spare me, until I know how my Friends in *Spain* will advise me: But, if you will not, then let your Pleasure be done.’

And with that she rose, making a Courtesy to the King, and departed from thence, all the People thinking she would have returned again to her former Seat; but she went presently out of the Court, leaning upon the Arm of one of her Servants, who was her general Receiver, one Mr. *Griffith*.

The King, seeing that she was ready to go out of the Court, commanded the Crier to call her again by these Words, *Catharine, Queen of England, come into Court*. Lo, quoth Mr. *Griffith*, you are called again. Go on, quoth she, it is no Matter: It is no indifferent Court for me, therefore I will not tarry; go on your Way; and so they departed, without any further Answer at that Time, or any Appearance in any other Court after that.

The King, seeing she was departed thus, and considering her Words, said to the Audience these few Words in Effect:

Forasmuch, quoth he, as the Queen is gone, I will in her Absence declare unto you all: She hath been to me a true obedient Wife, and as comfortable as I could wish or desire; she hath all the Virtues and good Qualities that belong to a Woman of her Dignity, or in any of meaner Estate; her Conditions will well declare the same.

Then, quoth the Cardinal, I humbly beseech your Highness, to declare unto this Audience, whether I have been the first and chief Mover of this Matter unto your Highness, or no, for I am much suspected of all Men.

My Lord Cardinal, quoth the King, you have rather advised me to the Contrary, than been any Mover of the same. The special Cause, that moved me in this Matter, is a certain Scruple that pricked my Conscience, upon certain Words spoken by the Bishop of *Bayonne*, the *French* Ambassador, who came hither to consult of a Marriage between the Princess our Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Son to the King of *France*; and, upon Resolution and Determination, he desired Respite to advertise the King his Master thereof, whether our Daughter *Mary* should be legitimate, in respect of my Marriage with this Woman, being sometime

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my Brother's Wife : Which Words, I pondering, begot such a Scruple in my Conscience, that I was much troubled at it, whereby I thought myself in Danger of God's heavy Displeasure and Indignation ; and the rather, because he sent us no Issue Male, for all the Issue Male that I have had by my Wife died incontinently after they came into the World, which caused me to fear God's Displeasure in that Particular. Thus, my Conscience being tossed in that Wave of troublesome Doubts, and partly in Despair to have any other Issue, than I had already by this Lady, my now Wife ; it behoved me to consider the Estate of this Realm, and the Danger it stands in for Lack of a Prince to succeed me. I thought it therefore good, in Release of this mighty Burthen on my Conscience, as also for the quiet Estate of this Realm, to attempt a Trial in the Law herein : Whether I might lawfully take another Wife, without Stain of carnal Concupiscence, by which God may send more Issue, in Case this my first Copulation was not good ? I not having any Displeasure in the Person, or Age of the Queen, with whom I could be well contented to continue, if our Marriage may stand with the Law of God, as with any Woman alive ; in which Point consisteth all the Doubt that we go about, now to know by the learned Wisdom of you our Prelates and Pastors, of this Realm and Dominion, now here assembled for that Purpose, to whose Consciences and Learning I have committed the Care and Judgment, according to which I will, God willing, be well contented to submit myself, and obey the same. And, when my Conscience was so troubled, I moved it to you, my Lord of *Lincoln*, in Confession, then being my ghostly Father : And, forasmuch as you were then in some Doubt, you moved me to ask Counsel of the rest of the Bishops ; whereupon I moved it to you, my Lord Cardinal, to have your License, forasmuch as you are Metropolitan, to put this Matter in Question ; and so I did to all you, my Lords, to which you all granted under your Seals, which is here to shew. That is truth, quoth the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and, I doubt not, but my Brothers will acknowledge the same. No, Sir, not so, under Correction, quoth the Bishop of *Rochester*, for you have not my Hand and Seal. No, quoth the King, Is not this your Hand and Seal, and shewed it to him in the Instrument with Seals ? No, forsooth, quoth the Bishop :

How say you to that, quoth the King, to the Bishop of *Canterbury* ? Sir, It is his Hand and Seal, quoth the Bishop of *Canterbury*. No, my Lord, quoth the Bishop of *Rochester*, indeed you were in Hand with me to have both my Hand and Seal, as other of the Lords had done ; but I answered, that I would never consent to any such Act, for it was much against my Conscience. And therefore my Hand and Seal shall never be set to such an Instrument, God willing, with many other Words to that Purpose. You say Truth, quoth the Bishop of *Canterbury*, such Words you used ; but you fully resolved at the last, that I should subscribe your Name, and put to your Seal, and you would allow of the same ; all which, quoth the Bishop of *Rochester*, under Correction, my Lord, is untrue. Well, quoth the King, we will not stand in Argument with you, you are but one. And so the King arose up, and the Court was adjourned until the next Day, at which Time the Cardinals sat again, and the Council on both Sides were there present to answer.

The King's Council alledged the Matrimony not good, nor lawful at the Beginning, because of the carnal Copulation that Prince *Arthur* had with the Queen : This Matter was very narrowly scanned on that Side, and, to prove the carnal Copulation, they had many Reasons and Similitudes of Truth ; and being answered Negatively again, on the other Side, it seemed that all their former Allegations were doubtful to be tried, and that no Man knew. ' Yes, quoth the Bishop of *Rochester*, ' I know the Truth. How can you know ' the Truth, quoth the Cardinal, more than ' any other Person ? Yes, forsooth, my ' Lord, quoth he, I know that God is the ' Truth itself, and never faith but Truth, ' and he saith thus : *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*. And, forasmuch as this Marriage was joined, and made by God to a good ' Intent, therefore, I said, I knew the Truth, ' and that Man cannot break upon any wilful ' Action, which God hath made and constituted. So much do all faithful Men know, ' quoth my Lord Cardinal, as well as you, ' therefore, this Reason is not sufficient in this ' Case ; for the King's Council do alledge ' many Presumptions, to prove that it was ' not lawful at the Beginning, *Ergo*, it was ' not ordained by God, for God doth nothing ' without a good End ; therefore, it is not to ' be.

‘ be doubted, but, if the Presumptions be true which they alledge to be most true, then the Conjunction neither was, nor could be of God ; therefore I say unto you, my Lord of *Rochester*, you know not the Truth, unless you can avoid their Presumptions upon just Reasons.’

‘ Then, quoth Dr. *Ridley*, it is a great Shame and Dishonour to this honourable Presence, that any such Presumptions should be alledged in this open Court. What, quoth my Lord Cardinal, *Domine Doctor Reverende*. No, my Lord, there belongs no Reverence to this Matter, for an unreverent Matter may be unreverently answered ;’ and so left off, and then they proceeded to other Matters.

Thus passed this Court from Session to Session, and Day to Day, till a certain Day the King sent for the Cardinal to *Bridewell*, who went into the Privy-chamber to him where he was, about an Hour, and then departed from the King, and went to *Westminster* in his Barge ; the Bishop of *Carlisle*, being with him, said, ‘ It is a hot Day To-day. Yes, quoth the Cardinal, if you had been as well chafed, as I have been within this Hour, you would say you were very hot.’ My Lord no sooner came Home, but he went to Bed, where he had not laid above two Hours, but my Lord of *Wiltshire*, Mrs. *Anne Bullen*’s Father, came to speak with him from the King ; my Lord commanded he should be brought to his Bed’s-side, who told him, it was the King’s Mind he should forthwith go, with the Cardinal, to the Queen, being then at *Bridewell*, in her Chamber, and to persuade her, through their Wisdoms, to put the whole Matter into the King’s own Hands, by her Consent ; which should be much better for her Honour, than stand to the Trial at Law, and, thereby, be condemned, which would tend much to her Dishonour and Discredit.

To perform the King’s Pleasure, my Lord said he was ready, and so prepared to go : But, quoth he further to my Lord of *Wiltshire*, you, and others of the Lords of the Council, have put Fancies into the Head of the King, whereby you trouble all the Realm, but, at the Length, you will get but small Thanks, both of God and the World ;’ with many other earnest Words and Reasons, which did cause my Lord of

Wiltshire to be silent, kneeling by my Lord’s Bed’s-side, and, in Conclusion, departed.

And then my Lord rose, and took his Barge, and went to *Bath-hause*, to Cardinal *Campaine*’s, and so went together to *Bridewell*, to the Queen’s Lodgings, she being then in her Chamber of Presence ; they told the Gentleman-usher, that they came to speak with the Queen’s Grace, who told the Queen, the Cardinals were come to speak with her ; then she rose up, having a Skain of red Silk about her Neck, being at Work with her Maids, and came to the Cardinals, where they staid, attending her Coming, at whose Approach, quoth she : ‘ Alack, my Lords, I am sorry that you have attended on me so long, What is your Pleasures with me ? If it please your Grace, quoth the Cardinal, to go to your Privy-chamber, we will shew you the Cause of our Coming.’

‘ My Lord, said she, if you have any Thing to say to me, speak it openly before all these Folk, for I fear nothing that you can say to me, or against me, but that I am willing all the World should both see and hear it, and, therefore, speak your Minds openly.’

Then began my Lord to speak to her in *Latin* : ‘ Nay, good my Lord, speak to me in *English*, quoth she, although I do understand some *Latin*. Forsooth, quoth my Lord, good Madam, if it please your Grace, we come both to know your Mind, what you are disposed to do in this Matter, and also to declare to you, secretly, our Counsels and Opinions, which we do, for very Zeal and Obedience to your Grace.’

‘ My Lords, quoth she, I thank you for your Good-wills, but to make Answer to your Requests I cannot so suddenly ; for I was set amongst my Maids at Work, little thinking of any such Matter, wherein is requisite some Deliberation, and a better Head than mine to make Answer ; for I need Counsel in this Case, which concerns me so near, and Friends here I have none, they are in *Spain*, in my own Country : Also, my Lords, I am a poor Woman, of too weak a Capacity to answer such noble Persons of Wisdom as you are, in so weighty a Matter. And, therefore, I pray you, be good to me, a Woman destitute of Friendship here in a foreign Region, and your

' Counsel I also shall be glad to hear ;' and therewith she took my Lord by the Hand, and led him into her Privy-chamber; with the other Cardinal, where they staid a While, and I heard her Voice loud, but what she said, I know not.

This done, they went to the King, and made a Relation unto him of the Passages, between the Queen and them, and so they departed.

This strange Case proceeded, and went forward from Court-day to Court-day, until it came to that, that every Man expected to hear Judgment given, at which Time, all their Proceedings were openly read in *Latin*; that done, the King's Council, at the Bar, moved for Judgment; quoth Cardinal *Campaine*, ' I will not give Judgment, until I have related the whole Proceedings to the Pope, whose Counsel and Commandment, ' I will, in this Case, observe : The Matter ' is too high for us to give hasty Judgment, ' considering the Persons, and the doubtful ' Occasions alledged, and also whose Commissioners we are, by whose Authority we ' sit.

' It is good Reason, therefore, that we ' make our chief Lord of Counsel acquainted ' with the same, before we proceed to Judgment definitive : I came not to please for ' any Favour, Reward, or Fear, of any Person alive, be he King, or otherwise ; I have ' no such Respect to the Person, that I ' should offend my Conscience. And the ' Party-defendant will make no Answer here, ' but rather doth appeal from us ; I am an old Man, both weak and sickly, and look, ' every Day, for Death : What shall it avail me, to put my Soul in Danger of God's ' Displeasure, to my utter Damnation, for the ' Favour of any Prince in this World ? My ' being here is only to see Justice administered, ' according to my Conscience.

' The Defendant supposeth that we be not ' indifferent Judges, considering the King's ' high Dignity and Authority within this ' Realm. And, we being both his Subjects, ' she thinks we will not do her Justice ; and, ' therefore, to avoid all these Ambiguities, ' I adjourn the Court, for the Time, according ' to the Court of *Rome*; from whence ' our Jurisdiction is arrived ; for, if we should ' go further than our Commission doth war-

' rant us, it were but a Folly, and Blame-worthy, because then we shall be Breakers ' of the Orders, from whom we have, as I ' said, our Authority derived ;' and so the Court was dissolved, and no more done.

Thereupon, by the King's Commandment, stepped up the Duke of *Suffolk*, and, with a haughty Countenance, uttered these Words :

' It was never thus in *England*, until we ' had Cardinals amongst us.'

Which Words were set forth with such Vehemency, that all Men marvelled what he intended, the Duke further expressing some opprobrious Words.

My Lord Cardinal, perceiving his Vehemency, soberly said, ' Sir, of all Men in this ' Realm, you have least Cause to dispraise ' Cardinals ; for, if I poor Cardinal had not ' been, you should not, at this present, have ' had a Head on your Shoulders, wherewith ' to make such a Brag in Despight of us, who ' with you no Harm, neither have given ' you such Cause to be offended with us. I ' would have you think, my Lord, I, and my ' Brother, with the King as much Happiness, ' and the Realm as much Honour, Wealth, ' and Peace, as you, or any other Subject, of ' what Degree soever he be, within this ' Realm, and would as gladly accomplish his ' lawful Desires.

' And now, my Lord, I pray you, shew ' me what you would do in such a Case as ' this, if you were one of the King's Commissioners, in a foreign Region, about some ' weighty Matter, the Consultation whereof ' was very doubtful to be decided : Would you ' not advertise the King's Majesty, before ' you went through with the same ? I doubt ' not but you would, and, therefore, abate ' your Malice and Spight, and consider that ' we are Commissioners for a Time, and cannot, by Virtue of a Commission, proceed ' to Judgment, without the Knowledge and ' Consent of the Head of the Authority, and ' License obtained from him, who is the ' Pope.

' Therefore do we neither more nor less, ' than our Commission allows us ; and, if ' any Man will be offended with us, he is an ' unwise Man ; therefore pacify yourself, my ' Lord,

' Lord, and speak like a Man of Honour and Wisdom, or hold your Peace; speak not reproachfully of your Friends, you best know what Friendship I have shewn you: I never did reveal to any Person, till now, either to my own Praise, or your Dishonour.' Whereupon the Duke went away, and said no more, being much discontented.

This Matter continued thus a long Season, and the King was in Displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, because his Suit had no better Success to his Purpose.

Notwithstanding, the Cardinal excused himself, by his Commission, which gave him no Authority to proceed to Judgment, without the Knowledge of the Pope, who refer-

ved the same to himself. At last they were advertised, by a Post, that they should take Deliberation in the Matter, until his Council were opened, which should not be till Bartholomew-tide next.

The King, thinking it would be too long before it would be determined, sent an Ambassador to the Pope, to persuade him to shew so much Favour to his Majesty, as that it might be sooner determined.

On this Ambassage went Dr. Stephen Gardener, then called by the Name of Dr. Steven, Secretary to the King, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. This Ambassador staid there till the latter End of Summer, of whose Return you shall hereafter hear.

CHAP. XVII.

'Of certain Passages conducing to the Cardinal's Fall.

NOW the King commanded the Queen to be removed from the Court, and sent to another Place; and presently after the King rode on Progress, and had in his Company Mistress Anne Bullen; in which Time Cardinal Campaine made Suit to be discharged, and sent Home to Rome; and, in the Interim, returned Mr. Secretary; and it was concluded, that my Lord should come to the King to Grafton in Northamptonshire; as also Cardinal Campaine, being a Stranger, should be conducted thither by my Lord Cardinal. And so, the next Sunday, there were divers Opinions that the King would not speak with my Lord; whereupon there were many great Wagers laid.

These two Prelates being come to the Court, and alighting, expected to be received of the great Officers, as the Manner was, but they found the contrary: Nevertheless, because the Cardinal Campaine was a Stranger, the Officers met him with Staves in their Hands in the outward Court, and so conveyed him to his Lodging prepared for him; and, after my Lord had brought him to his Lodging, he departed, thinking to have gone to his Chamber, as he was wont to do. But it was told him, he had no Lodging or Chamber appointed for him in the Court; which News did much astonish him.

Sir Henry Norris, who was then Groom

of the Stool, came unto him, and desired him to take his Chamber for a While, until another was provided for him; for, I assure you, here is but little Room in this House for the King, and therefore, I humbly beseech your Grace, accept of mine for a Season. My Lord, thanking him for his Courtesy, went to his Chamber, where he shifted his riding Apparel.

In the mean Time came divers Noblemen of his Friends to welcome him to the Court, by whom my Lord was advertised of all Things touching the King's Favour or Displeasure; and, being thus informed of the Cause thereof, he was more able to excuse himself.

So my Lord made him ready, and went to the Chamber of Presence with the other Cardinal, where the Lords of the Council stood all of a Row in Order in the Chamber, and saluted them both: And there were present many Gentlemen, which came on Purpose to observe the Meeting and Countenance of the King to my Lord Cardinal. Then, immediately after, the King came into the Chamber of Presence, standing under the Cloth of State.

Then my Lord Cardinal took Cardinal Campaine by the Hand, and kneeled down before the King, but what he said unto him, I know not, but his Countenance was amiable, and his Majesty stooped down, and with both his Hands took him up, and then took him

him by the Hand, and went to the Window with him, and there talked with him a good While.

Then, to have beheld the Countenance of the Lords and Noblemen that had laid Wagers, it would have made you smile, especially those that had laid their Money that the King would not speak with him.

Thus they were deceived, for the King was in earnest Discourse with him, insomuch that I could hear the King say, How can this be, is not this your Hand? And pulled a Letter out of his own Bosom, and shewed the same to my Lord. And, as I perceived, my Lord so answered the same, that the King had no more to say; but said to my Lord, Go to your Dinner, and take my Lord Cardinal to keep you Company, and after Dinner I will speak further with you, and so they departed. And the King that Day dined with Mistress *Anne Bullen* in her Chamber.

Then was there set up in the Presence-Chamber a Table for my Lord, and other Lords of the Council, where they dined together; and sitting at Dinner telling of divers Matters, The King should do well, quoth my Lord Cardinal, to send his Bishops and Chaplains home to their Cures and Benefices. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, and so it were meet for you to do also. I would be very well contented therewith, if it were the King's Pleasure to license me, with his Grace's Leave, to go to my Cure at *Winchester*. Nay, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, to your Benefice at *York*, where your greatest Honour and Charge is. Even as it shall please the King, quoth my Lord Cardinal; and so they fell upon other Discourses. For, indeed, the Nobility were loth he should be so near the King, as to continue at *Winchester*. Immediately after Dinner they fell to Council till the Waiters had also dined.

I heard it reported by those that waited on the King at Dinner, that Mistress *Anne Bullen* was offended as much as the durst, that the King did so graciously entertain my Lord Cardinal: Saying, Sir, Is it not a marvellous Thing to see into what great Debt and Danger he hath brought you, with all your Subjects? How so, quoth the King? Forsooth, quoth she, there is not a Man in all your whole Realm of *England*, worth a hundred Pounds, but he hath indebted you to him,

meaning of Loan, which the King had of his Subjects. Well, well, quoth the King, for that Matter there was no Blame in him, for I know that Matter better than you, or any else.

Nay, quoth she, besides that, what Exploits hath he wrought in several Parts and Places of this Realm, to your great Slander and Disgrace? There is never a Nobleman, but, if he had done half so much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his Head. Yea, if my Lord of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suffolk*, my Father, or any other Man, had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their Heads before this.

Then I perceive, quoth the King, you are none of my Lord Cardinal's Friends. Why, Sir, quoth she, I have no Cause, nor any that love you. No more hath your Grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful Doings.

By that Time the Waiters had dined, and took up the Table, and so for that Time ended their Communication.

You may perceive by this, how the old Malice was not forgotten; but begins to kindle and be set on Fire, which was stirred by his ancient Enemies, whom I have formerly named in this Treatise.

The King, for that Time, departed from Mistress *Anne Bullen*, and came to the Chamber of Presence, and called for my Lord, and, in the great Window, had a long Discourse with him, but of what, I know not: Afterwards the King took him by the Hand, and led him into the Privy-Chamber, and sat in Consultation with him all alone, without any other of the Lords, till it was dark Night; which blanked all his Enemies very sore, who had no other Way but by Mistress *Anne Bullen*, in whom was all their Trust and Affiance for the Accomplishment of their Enterprises; for, without her, they feared all their Purposes would be frustrated.

Now at Night was Warning given me, that there was no Room for my Lord to lodge in the Court; so that I was forced to provide my Lord a Lodging in the Country, about *Easton*, at one Mr. *Empston's* House, where my Lord came to Supper by Torchlight, being late before my Lord parted from the King, who willed him to resort to him in the Morning, for that he would talk farther
with

with him about the same Matter; and in the Morning my Lord came again, at whose Coming the King's Majesty was ready to ride, willing my Lord to consult with the Lords in his Absence, and said he would not talk with him, commanding my Lord to depart with Cardinal *Campaine*, who had already taken his Leave of the King.

This sudden Departure of the King's was the especial Labour of Mistress *Anne Bullen*, who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because he should not return till the Departure of the Cardinals. The King rode that Morning to view a Piece of Ground to make a Park of, which was afterwards, and is at this Time, called *Harewell Park*, where Mistress *Anne* had provided him a Place to dine in, fearing his Return before my Lord Cardinal's Departure.

So my Lord rode away after Dinner with Cardinal *Campaine*, who took his Journey towards *Rome*, with the King's Reward, but what it was I am not certain.

After their Departure, it was told the King, that Cardinal *Campaine* was departed, and had great Treasure with him of my Lord Cardinal's of *England*, to be conveyed in great Sums to *Rome*, whither they furnished he would secretly repair out of this Realm. Infomuch, that they caused a Post to ride after the Cardinal to search him, who overtook him at *Calais*, and staid him until Search was made; but there was found no more than was received of the King for a Reward.

Now, after Cardinal *Campaine* was gone, *Michaelmas* Term drew on, against which Time my Lord Cardinal repaired to his House at *Westminster*; and, when the Term began, he went into the Hall in such Manner as he was accustomed to do, and sat in the Chancery, being then Lord Chancellor of *England*, after which Day he never sat more; the next Day he staid at Home for the Coming of my Lords of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who came not that Day, but the next: And did declare unto my Lord, that it was the King's Pleasure he should surrender up the Great Seal of *England* into their Hands, and that he should depart unto *Ashur*, which is a House near unto *Hampton-Court*, belonging unto the Bishoprick of *Winchester*.

The Cardinal demanded of them to see their Commission that gave them such Authority; who answered again, they were suffici-

ent Commissioners, and had Authority to do no less from the King's own Mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no Wise agree to their Demand in that Behalf, without further Knowledge of their Authority, telling them, that the Great Seal was delivered to him by the King's own Person, to enjoy the Ministration thereof, together with the Chancellorship, during the Term of his Life, whereof, for Surety, he had the King's Letters Patents to shew; which Matter was much debated between him and the Dukes, with many great Words, which he took patiently, infomuch that the Dukes were fain to depart without their Purpose at that Time, and returned to *Windsor* to the King; and, the next Day, they returned to my Lord with the King's Letters; whereupon, in Obedience to the King's Command, my Lord delivered to them the Broad Seal, which they brought to *Windsor* to the King.

Then my Lord called his Officers before him, and took Account of all Things they had in their Charge; and, in his Gallery, were set divers Tables, upon which were laid divers and great Store of rich Stuffs, as whole Pieces of Silk of all Colours, Velvets, Sattins, Musks, Taffaties, Grogams, Scarlets, and divers rich Commodities. Also, there were one thousand Pieces of fine Holland, and the Hangings of the Gallery with Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Silver, and rich Cloth of Bodkin of divers Colours, which were hanged, in Expectation of the King's Coming.

Also, of one Side of the Gallery, were hanged the rich Suits of Copes of his own Providing, which were made for Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*; they were the richest that ever I saw in all my Life: Then had he two Chambers adjoining to the Gallery, the one most commonly called the Gilt-Chamber, the other the Council-Chamber, wherein were set two broad and long Tables, whereupon were set such Abundance of Plate of all Sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed, a great Part being all of clean Gold; and, upon every Table and Cupboard where the Plate was set, were Books, importing every Kind of Plate, with the Contents, and the Weight thereof.

Thus were all Things furnished and prepared, giving the Charge of the said Stuff, with other Things remaining in every Office, to be delivered to the King, as he gave Charge; all Things being ordered as is before rehearsed,

my Lord prepared to depart, and resolved to go by Water; but, before his going, Sir *William Gascoigne*, being his Treasurer, came unto him, and said, Sir, quoth he, I am sorry for your Grace, for I hear you are straight to go to the *Tower*: Is this the best Comfort, quoth my Lord, you can give to your Master in Adversity? It hath always been your Inclination to be light of Credit, and much lighter in reporting of Lyes; I would you should know, Sir *William*, and all those Reporters too, that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there; although it hath pleased the King to take my House ready furnished, for his Pleasure, at this Time, I would all the World should know, I have Nothing but it is of Right for him, and of him I received all that I have; it is therefore convenient and reasonable to tender the same to him again.

Then my Lord, with his Train of Gentlemen and Yeomen, which was no small Company, took his Barge at his Privy-Stairs, and went by Water to *Putney*, at which Time, upon the Water, were Abundance of Boats filled with People, expecting to have seen my Lord Cardinal go to the *Tower*, which they longed to see. Oh! wondering and new-fangled World! Is it not a Time to consider the Mutability of this uncertain World? For the common People ever desire Things for Novelty's Sake, which after, turn to their small Profit or Advantage. For, if you mark the Sequel, they had small Cause to rejoice at his Fall; I cannot see, but all Men in Favour are envied by the common People, though they do minister Justice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at *Ashur*; three or four Weeks, without either Beds, Sheets, Table-Cloths, or Dishes to eat their Meat in, or wherewith to buy any. But there were good Store of all Kind of Victuals, and of Beer, and Wine plenty; but afterwards my Lord borrowed some Plate and Dishes of the Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Thus continued my Lord in this strange State till after *Allhallows-tide*; and being one Day at Dinner, Mr. *Cromwell* told him, That he ought in Conscience to consider the true and good Service, that he and other of his Servants had done him, who never forsook him in Weal nor Woe: Then, quoth my Lord, Alas! *Tom*, you know I have Nothing to give you nor them, which makes me both ashamed

and sorry that I have Nothing to requite your faithful Services: Whereupon Mr. *Cromwell* told my Lord, That he had Abundance of Chaplains, that were preferred by his Grace to Benefices of some one-thousand Pounds, and others five-hundred Pounds, some more and some less; and we your poor Servants, who take more Pains in one Day's Service, than all your idle Chaplains have done in a Year; and therefore, if they will not impart liberally to you in your great Indigence, it is Pity they should live, and all the World will have them in Indignation for their great Ingratitude to their Master.

Afterwards, my Lord commanded me to call all his Gentlemen and Yeomen up in the great Chamber, commanding all the Gentlemen to stand on the right Hand, and the Yeomen on the left Side; at last, my Lord came out in his Rochet, upon a Violet Gown, like a Bishop, who went with his Chaplains to the Upper-end of the Chamber, where was a great Window, beholding his goodly Number of Servants, who could not speak to them, until the Tears ran down his Cheeks; which, being perceived of his Servants, caused Fountains of Tears to gush out of their sorrowful Eyes in such Sort, as would cause any Heart to relent.

At last my Lord spoke to them to this Effect and Purpose, saying, Most faithful Gentlemen, and true-hearted Yeomen, I much lament that in my Prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, and was in my Power to do; I consider that, if in my Prosperity I should have preferred you to the King, then should I have incurred the King's Servants Displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my Back, that there could no Office in the Court escape the Cardinal and his Servants, and by that Means I should have run into open Slander of all the World; but now it is come to pass, that it hath pleased the King to take all that I have into his Hands, so that I have now Nothing to give you, for I have Nothing left me but the bare Cloaths on my Back; with many other Words in their Praise: And so he, giving them all hearty Thanks, went away; and afterwards many of his Servants departed from him, some to their Wives, some to their Friends, and Mr. *Cromwell* to *London*, it being then the Beginning of the Parliament.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Cardinal is accused of High-Treason in the Parliament-House, against which Accusation, Mr. Cromwell (late Servant to him) being a Burgeſſ in the Parliament, made Defence.

THE aforeſaid Mr. Cromwell, after his Departure from my Lord, deviſed with himſelf to be one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament: And, being at London, he chanced to meet one Sir Thomas Ruffel, Knight, a ſpecial Friend of his, whoſe Son was one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament, of whom, by Means, he obtained his Room, and ſo put his Feet into the Parliament-Houſe; and, three Days after his Departure from my Lord, he came again to Aſbur, and, I being there with my Lord, he ſaid unto me, with a pleaſant Countenance: I have adventured my Feet where I will be better regarded, before the Parliament be diſſolved. And, after he had ſome Talk with my Lord, he made Haſte to London, becauſe he would not be abſent from the Parliament, to the Intent he might acquaint my Lord what was there objected againſt him, thereby the better to make his Defence, inſomuch, that there was Nothing at any Time objected againſt my Lord, but he was ready to make Answer thereunto; by Means whereof, he, being earneſt in his Maſter's Behalf, was reputed the moſt faithful Servant to his Maſter of all others, and was generally, of all Men, highly commended.

Then was there brought a Bill of Articles into the Parliament-Houſe, to have my Lord condemned of High-Treaſon, againſt which Bill, Mr. Cromwell did inveigh ſo diſcreetly, and with ſuch witty Perſuaſions, that the ſame would take no Effect. Then were his Enemies conſtrained to indict him of a *Præmunire*, and all was to intitle the King to all his Goods and Poſſeſſions, which he had obtained and purchaſed for the Maintenance of his Colleges of Oxford and Ipſwich, which were both moſt ſumptuous Buildings. To the Judges, that were ſent to take my Lord's Answer herein, he thus answered:

'My Lords Judges, quoth he, the King knoweth, whether I have offended or no in uſing my Prerogative for the which I am indicted: I have the King's Liſenſe in my

V O L. V.

'Coffer, to ſhew under his Hand and Broad-Seal, for the Executing and Uſing thereof in a moſt large Manner, the which now are in the Hands of mine Enemies; but, becauſe I will not here ſtand to contend with his Maſteſty in his own Caſe, I will here preſently before you confeſs the Indictment, and put myſelf wholly to the Mercy and Grace of the King, truſting that he hath a Conſcience and Reaſon to conſider the Truth, and my humble Submiſſion and Obedience, wherein I might well ſtand to my Trial with Juſtice. Thus much may you ſay to his Highneſs, That I wholly ſubmit myſelf under his Obedience in all Things, to his princely Will and Pleaſure, whom I never diſobeyed or repugned, but was always contented and glad to pleaſe him before God, whom I ought moſt chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent: I moſt heartily deſire you to have me commended to him, for whom I ſhall, during my Life, pray to God to ſend him much Proſperity, Honour, and Victory over his Enemies.' And ſo they left him.

After which, Mr. Shelley, the Judge, was ſent to ſpeak with my Lord, who, underſtanding he was come, iſſued out of his Privy-Chamber, and came to him to know his Buſineſs; who, after due Salutation, did declare unto him, That the King's Pleaſure was, to demand my Lord's Houſe, called *York place*, near *Weſtmiſter*, belonging to the Biſhoprick of *York*; and that you do paſs the ſame according to the Laws of this Realm: His Highneſs hath ſent for all his Judges and learned Council, to know their Opinions for your Affurance thereof, who be fully reſolved, that your Grace muſt make a Recogniſſance, and, before a Judge, acknowledge and confeſs the Right thereof to belong to the King and his Succeſſors, and ſo his Highneſs ſhall be aſſured thereof.

Wherefore, it hath pleaſed the King to ſend me hither to take of you the Recogniſſance,

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having

having in your Grace such Alliance, that you will not refuse to do so; therefore I do desire to know your Grace's Pleasure therein.

Master *Shelley*, quoth my Lord, I know the King of his own Nature is of a Royal Spirit, not requiring more, than Reason shall lead him to by the Law; and therefore I counsel you, and all other Judges and learned Men of his Council, to put no more into his Head, than Law, that may stand with Conscience; for, when you tell him, that, although this be Law, yet it is not Conscience; for Law without Conscience is not fit to be ministered by a King, nor his Council, nor by any of his Ministers; for every Council to a King ought to have Respect to Conscience before the Rigour of the Law: *Lex est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The King ought, for his royal Dignity and Prerogative, to mitigate the Rigour of the Law; and therefore, in his princely Place, he hath constituted a Chancellor to order for him the same; and therefore the Court of *Chancery* hath been commonly called the Court of *Conscience*, for that it hath Jurisdiction to command the Law, in every Case, to desist from the Rigour of the Execution. And now I say to you, Master *Shelley*, Have I a Power, or may I with Conscience give that away, which is now mine, for me and my Successors? If this be Law and Conscience, I pray you, shew me your Opinion.

Forsooth, quoth he, there is no great Conscience in it; but, having Regard to the King's great Power, it may the better stand with Conscience, who is sufficient to recompense the Church of *York* with the double Value.

That I know well, quoth my Lord; but there is no such Condition, but only a bare and simple Departure of others Rights: If every Bishop should do so, then might every Prelate give away the Patrimony of the Church, and so, in Process of Time, leave nothing for their Successors to maintain their Dignities; which would be but little to the King's Honour.

Well, quoth my Lord, let me see your Commission; which was shewed to him; then quoth my Lord, Tell his Highness, that I am his most faithful Subject, and obedient Beadsmen, whose Command I will in no wise disobey, but will in all Things fulfil his Pleasure, as you the Fathers of the Law say I may. Therefore I charge your Conscience to discharge me; and shew his Highness, from me,

that I must desire his Majesty to remember, there is both Heaven and Hell: And thereupon the Clerk took and wrote the Recognition; and, after some secret Talk, they departed.

Thus continued my Lord at *Ashbur*, receiving daily Messages from the Court, some good and some bad, but more ill than good; for his Enemies, perceiving the good Affection, the King bore always to him, devised a Means to disquiet his Patience, thinking thereby to give him Occasion to fret and chafe, that Death should rather ensue, than otherwise; which they most desired; for they feared him more after his Fall, than they did in his Prosperity; fearing, if he should, by Reason of the King's Favour, rise again, and be again in Favour, and great at the Court, they his Enemies might be in Danger of their Lives, for their Cruelty wrongfully ministered unto him, and, by their malicious Surmises, invented and brought to pass against him: And did continually find new Matters against him, to make him vex and fret; but he was a wise Man, and did arm himself with much Patience.

At *Christmas* he fell very sore sick, most likely to die: The King, hearing thereof, was very sorry, and sent Dr. *Butts*, his Physician, unto him; who found him very dangerously sick in Bed, and returned to the King: The King demanded, saying, Have you seen yonder Man? Yes, Sir, quoth he. How do you like him? quoth the King. Sir, quoth he, if you will have him dead, I will warrant you, he will be dead within these four Days, if he receive no Comfort from you shortly.

Marry! God forbid, quoth the King, that he should die, for I would not lose him for twenty-thousand Pounds; I pray you, go to him, and do your Care to him.

Then must your Grace, quoth Dr. *Butts*, send him some comfortable Message: So I will, quoth the King, by you; therefore make Speed to him again, and you shall deliver him this Ring from me, for a Token. [In the which Ring was the King's Image engraven, with a Ruby, as like the King as might be devised.] This Ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my Heart for any Thing; and that shall be known shortly; therefore bid him pluck up his Heart, and be of good Comfort: And I charge you, come

not from him, till you have brought him out of the Danger of Death, if it be possible.

Then spoke the King to Mrs. *Anne Bullen* : Good Sweetheart, as you love me, send the Cardinal a Token at my Request, and, in so doing, you shalt deserve our Thanks. She, being disposed not to offend the King, would not disobey his loving Request, but took incontinently her Tablet of Gold, that hung at her Side, and delivered it to Dr. *Butts*, with very gentle and loving Words ; and so he departed to *Athur* with Speed. And after him the King sent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr. *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, to consult and advise with Dr. *Butts* for my Lord's Recovery.

Now, after Dr. *Butts* had been with him, and delivered him the Tokens from the King and Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, with the most comfortable Words, he could devise, on the King's and Mrs. *Anne's* Behalf, he advanced himself in his Bed, and received the Tokens very joyfully, giving him many Thanks for his Pains and good Comfort. He told him further, That the King's Pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his Health. And, for the better and more assured Ways, he hath also sent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr. *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, all to join for his Recovery : Therefore, my Lord, quoth Dr. *Butts*, it were well they were called to visit you, and to consult with me for your Disease.

At which Motion my Lord was contented, and sent for them to hear their Judgments ; but, he trusted more to Dr. *Cromer*, than all the rest, because he was the very Means to bring him from *Paris* to *England*, and gave him, partly, his Exhibition in *Paris*. To be short, in four Days they set him again upon his Feet, and he had gotten him a good Stomach to Meat. All this done, and my Lord in a right good Way of Amendment, they took their Leaves, and departed : To whom my Lord offered his Reward ; but they refused, saying, the King had given a special Commandment, that they should take nothing of him, for, at their Return, he would reward them of his own Cost.

After this, my Lord continued at *Athur* till *Candlemas* ; before, and against which Feast, the King caused to be sent to my Lord three or four Loads of Stuff ; and most thereof, except Beds and Kitchen-stuff, was loaded in Standers, wherein were both Plate, and rich Hangings, and Chapel-stuff, which was done

without the Knowledge of the Lords of the Council ; for all which he rendered the King most humble and hearty Thanks, and afterwards made Suit to the King to be removed from *Athur* to *Richmond* ; which Request was granted.

The House of *Richmond*, a little before, was repaired by my Lord, to his great Cost ; for the King had made an Exchange with him for *Hampton-court*. Had the Lords of the Council known of these Favours from the King to the Cardinal, they would have persuaded the King to the Contrary ; for they feared, lest his now Abode near the King might move the King at some Season to resort unto him, and to call him Home again, considering the great and daily Affection the King bore unto him. Therefore they moved the King, that my Lord might go down to the North, to his Benefice there, where he might be a good Stay, as they alledged, to the Country. To which the King condescended, thinking no less, but that all had been true, according to their Relation, being with such Colour of deep Consideration, that the King was straightway persuaded to their Conclusion : Whereupon, my Lord of *Norfolk* ordered Mr. *Cromwell*, who daily did resort to my Lord, that he should say to him, That he must go Home to his Benefice. Well, then, *Thomas*, quoth my Lord, we will go to *Winchester*. I will, then, quoth Mr. *Cromwell*, tell my Lord of *Norfolk* what you say. And so he did, at his next Meeting of him. What should he do there ? quoth the Duke. Let him go to the rich Bishoprick of *York*, where his greatest Honour and Charge lie ; and so shew to him. The Lords, who were not his Friends, perceiving that my Lord was disposed to plant himself so nigh the King, thought then to withdraw his Appetite from *Winchester* ; moved the King to give my Lord a Pension of four thousand Marks out of *Winchester*, and all the rest to be distributed amongst the Nobility and his Servants ; and so, likewise, to divide the Revenues of *St. Albans* ; whereof some had two hundred Pounds ; and all the Revenues of his Lands, belonging to his Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, the King took into his own Hands ; whereof Mr. *Cromwell* had the Receipt and Government before, by my Lord's Assignment. Wherefore it was thought very necessary, that he should have the same still, who executed all Things so well and exactly,

that he was had in great Esteem for his Behaviour therein.

Now it came to pass, that those, to whom the King had given any Annuities, or Fees for Term of Life, or by Patent, could not be good, but only for and during my Lord's Life; so far as much as the King had no longer Estate therein, but what he had by my Lord's Attainder in the *Præmunire*; and, to make their Estate good and sufficient, there was no other Way, but to obtain my Lord's Confirmation of their Patents; and, to bring this about, there was no other Means, but by Mr. *Cromwell*, who was thought the fittest Instrument for this Purpose; and, for his Pains therein, he was worthily rewarded; and his Demeanour, his Honesty, and Wisdom were such, that the King took great Notice of him, as you shall hereafter hear.

Still the Lords thought long, till my Lord was removed further off the King's Way; wherefore, among others of the Lords, my Lord of *Norfolk* said: 'Mr. *Cromwell*, methinks, the Cardinal thy Master makes no Haste to go Northwards; tell him, if he go not away, I will tear him with my Teeth; therefore I would advise him to prepare away with Speed, or else I will set him forward.' These Words reported Mr. *Cromwell* to my Lord at his next Repair, which was then at *Richmond*, having obtained Licence of the King to remove from *Ashbur* to *Richmond*. And, in the Evening, my Lord being accustomed to walk in the Garden, and I being with him standing in an Alley, I espied certain Images of Beasts, counterfeited in Timber; which I went nearer, to take the better View of them; among whom I there saw stand a dun Cow, whereat I most mused of all those Beasts: My Lord then suddenly came upon me unawares, and, speaking to me, said: 'What have you espied there, whereat you look so earnestly?'

Forsooth, quoth I, if it please your Grace, I here behold these Images, which, I suppose, were ordained to be set up in the King's Palace; but amongst them all I have most considered this Cow, which seems to me the Artificer's Master-piece. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord, upon this Cow hangs a certain Prophecy, which perhaps you never heard of; I will shew you, there is a Saying,

*When the Cow doth ride the Bull,
Then, Priest, beware of thy Scull.*

Which Saying, neither my Lord that declared it; nor I that heard it, understood the Effect, although the Compass thereof was working, and then like to be brought to pass; this Cow the King gave by Reason of the Earl-dom of *Richmond*, which was his Inheritance. This Prophecy was afterwards expounded in this Manner: The dun Cow, because it is the King's Beast, betokens the King, and the Bull betokens Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, who after was Queen; her Father gave the black Bull's Head in his Cognifance, which was his Beast; so that, when the King had married Queen *Anne*, it was thought of all Men to be fulfilled, for what a Number of Priests, Religious and Secular, lost their Heads for Offending of those Laws made, to bring this Matter to pass, is not unknown to all the World; therefore it may well be judged that this Prophecy is fulfilled.

You have heard what Words the Duke of *Norfolk* spoke to Master *Cromwell* touching my Lord's Going into the North; then said my Lord, *Tom*, it is Time to be going; therefore I pray you, go to the King, and tell him I would go to my Benefice at *York*, but for Lack of Money, desiring his Grace to help me to some; and you may say, that the last Money I had from his Grace was too little to pay my Debts, and to compel me to pay the rest of my Debts were too much Extremity, seeing all my Goods are taken from me: Also shew my Lord of *Norfolk*, and the rest of the Council, that I would depart, if I had Money: Sir, quoth Mr. *Cromwell*, I shall do my best, and so after other Communication departed, and came to *London*; then, in the Beginning of *Lent*, my Lord removed his Lodging into the *Charter-house* at *Richmond*, where he lay in a Lodging that Dr. *Collet* made for himself; and every Afternoon, for the Time of his Residence, there would he sit in Contemplation, with some one of the most ancient Fathers there, who converted him to dispose the vain Glory of this World, and they gave unto him Shirts of Hair to wear next his Body, which he wore divers Times after.

The Lords assigned that my Lord should have a thousand Marks Pension out of *Winchester*, for his Going down into the North; which when the King heard of, he commanded that it should be forthwith paid unto Mr. *Cromwell*. And the King commanded Mr. *Cromwell*, to repair to him again, when he had received the said Sum, which he accordingly did: To whom his Majesty said, Shew your Lord that I have sent him ten-thousand Pounds of my Benevolence, tell him he shall not lack, and bid him be of good Comfort. Mr. *Cromwell*, on my Lord's Behalf, thanked the King for his Royal Liberality, towards my Lord, and with that departed to *Richmond*, to whom he delivered the Money, and the joyful Tidings, wherein my Lord did not a little rejoice; forthwith there was a Preparation made for his Going. He had with him, in his Train, one-hundred and sixty Persons, having with him twelve Carts to carry his Goods, which he sent from his College at *Oxford*, besides other Carts of his daily Carriage, of his Necessaries for his Buildings; he kept his solemn Feast of *Easter*, at *Peterborough*, and upon *Palm-Sunday*, he bore his Palm, and went in Procession with the Monks, and upon *Thursday* he made his Maunday, having fifty-nine poor People whose Feet he washed and kissed, and after he had dried them, he gave every one of them twelve Pence, and three Ells of good Canvas, to make them Shirts, and each of them a Pair of new Shoes, and a Cask of Red-herrings; on *Easter-day*, he rose to the Resurrection, and that Day he went in Procession in his Cardinal's Vestments, having his Hat on his Head, and sung the high Mass there himself solemnly; after his Mass, he gave his Benediction to all the Hearers, with clean Remission. From *Peterborough* he took his Journey into the North, but made some Stay by the Way, and many Passages happened in his Journey too tedious here to relate. At the last he came to *Stoby*, where he continued till after *Michaelmas*, exercising many Deeds of Charity; most commonly every Sunday, if the Weather served, would he go to some poor Parish Church thereabouts, and there would say the divine Service, and either said or heard Mass, and then caused one of his Chaplains to preach the Word of God to the People, and afterwards he would dine in some honest Houfe in the Town, where should be distributed to the Poor Alms, as well of Meat

and Drink, as Money to supply the Want of Meat and Drink, if their Number did exceed; thus with other good Deeds, practising himself, during the Time of his Abode there, between Party and Party, being at Variance: About *Michaelmas*, after he removed from thence to *Cawood* Castle, within seven Miles of the City of *York*, where he had much Honour and Love from all Men, High and Low, and kept a plentiful Houfe for all Comers; also he built and repaired the Castle, which was much decayed, having at the least three-hundred Persons daily at Work, to whom he paid Wages lying there: Where all the Doctors and Prebends of the Church of *York* did repair to my Lord, according to their Duties, as unto the chief Head, Patron, and Father of their Spiritual Dignities, who did most joyfully welcome him into those Parts, saying: It was no small Comfort unto them, to see their Head among them, who had been so long absent from them, being like unto fatherless and comfortless Children for Want of his Presence; and that they trusted shortly to see him amongst them in his own Church. To whom he made Answer, That it was the most special Cause of his Coming, to be amongst them as a Father, and a natural Brother.

Sir, quoth they, you must understand the Ordinances and Rules of our Church, whereof, although you be the Head and sole Governor, yet you are not so well acquainted as we be therein: Therefore, if it please your Grace, we shall, under Favour, open unto you some Part of our ancient Laws and Customs of our Church, that our Head, Prelate, and Pastor, as you now are, might not come above our Choir Door, until by due Order he be installed. And if you should happen to die before your Installation, you should not be buried above in the Choir, but below in the nether Part of the Body of the Church. Therefore we humbly desire and beseech you, in the Name of all our Brethren, that you would vouchsafe to do therein, as our ancient Fathers, your Predecessors, have done, and that you will not break the laudable Customs of our Church; to the which we are obliged by Oath at our first Admittance to observe that, and divers others, which in our Chapter do remain upon Record.

These Records, quoth my Lord, would I fain see, and then shall you know further of my Advice and Mind in this Business.

A Day was signed to bring their Records to my Lord; at which Time they resorted to my Lord with their Register and Books of Records, wherein were fairly written their Institutions and Rules, which every Minister of their Church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe, and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my Lord had read the Records, he did intend to be at the Cathedral Church of York, the next *Monday*, after *Allhallows-day*, against which Time due Preparation was made for the same; but not in so sumptuous a Wife, as were his Predecessors before him: Nor yet in such Sort, as the Fame and common Report was afterwards made of him, to his great Slander. And to the false Reporters no small Dishonesty, to become Divulgers of such notorious Lyes, as I am sure they were: For I myself was sent by my Lord to York, to see that all Things there should be ordered and provided for that Solemnity, in a very decent Form, to the Honour of that ancient and worthy Monastery of York.

It came to pass, that upon *Allhallows-day*, one of the head and principal Officers of the said Cathedral Church, which should have had most Doing at my Lord's Installation, was with my Lord at *Cawood*, and sitting at Dinner, they fell into Communication of this Mat-

ter, and the Order and Ceremony thereof: He saying that my Lord Cardinal should go a Foot from a Chapel, which stands without the Gates of the City, called *St. James's Chapel*, unto the Minister upon Cloth, which should be distributed to the Poor, after his said Passage to the Church. Which my Lord hearing, replied and said, Although, perhaps, our Predecessors have gone upon Cloth, yet we intend to go on Foot without any such Pomp, or Glory, in the Vamps of our Hose. And, therefore, he gave Order to his Servants, to go as humbly thither, as might be; without any sumptuous Apparel; for I intend, on *Sunday*, to come to you to be installed, and to make but one Dinner for you at the Close, and the next Day to dine with the Mayor, and so return again hither.

The Day being not unknown to all the Country, the Gentlemen, Abbots, and Priors had such Provision sent in, that was almost incredible for Store and Variety.

The common People held my Lord in great Estimation for his Purity and Liberality, and also for his familiar Gesture, and good Behaviour amongst them. By Means whereof, he gained much Love of all the People in the North Parts of England.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Cardinal's Fall, and how he was arrested of High-Treason.

WHAT chanced before his last Troubles at *Cawood*, as a Sign or Token from God of that which should follow, I will now, God willing, declare. My Lord's Enemies being then at Court about the King, in good Estimation, and honourable Dignities; seeing now my Lord in great Favour, and fearing the King would now call him Home again, they therefore did plot amongst themselves to dispatch him by Means of some sinister Treason, or to bring him into the King's great Indignation, by some other Means.

This was their daily Study and Consultation, having, for their special Help and Furtherance, as many vigilant Attendants upon him, as the Poets feign *Argus* had Eyes.

The King, with these their continual Complaints, was moved to much Indignation, and

thought it good that the Cardinal should come up, and to stand to his Trial in his own Person; which his Enemies did not like. Notwithstanding, he was sent for, and after this Sort:

First, they devised that Sir *Walter Welch* Knight, one of the King's Privy-chamber, should be sent down with a Commission into the North; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was sometime brought up in the House of my Lord, being joined in Commission with him, should arrest my Lord of High-Treason. This being resolved upon, Sir *Walter Welch* prepared for his Journey, with his Commission and certain Instruments annexed to the same, and took Horse at the Court Gate upon *Allhallows-day*, towards my Lord of *Northumberland's*.

Now

Now will I declare what I promised before of a certain Sign or Token of my Lord's Troubles ensuing.

Upon *Allhallows-Day*, my Lord sitting at Dinner, having, at his Board's End, divers of his Chaplains to bear him Company for Want of other Guests; you shall now understand, that my Lord's great Cross which stood by sell, and in the Fall broke Doctor *Bonner's* Head, inasmuch that some Blood ran down. My Lord, perceiving the Fall thereof, demanded of those that stood by him, what was the Matter that they stood so amazed; I shewed him, of the Fall of his great Cross upon Dr. *Bonner's* Head: Quoth my Lord, Hath it drawn any Blood? Yea, quoth I. With that he cast his Head aside, and soberly said, *Malum omen*, and thereupon suddenly said Grace, and rose from Table, and went to his Bed chamber, but what he did there I cannot tell. Now mark how my Lord expounded the Meaning thereof; in his Fancy, to me at *Pontefract*, after his Fall: *First*, that the great Cross that he bore as Archbishop of *York* betokened himself, and Doctor *Auslin* the Physician, who overthrew the Cross, was he that accused my Lord, whereby his Enemies caught an Occasion to overthrow him; it fell on Dr. *Bonner's* Head, who was then Master of my Lord's Faculties, and Spiritual Jurisdiction, who was then damnsied by the Fall thereof; and moreover the Drawing of Blood betokeneth Death, which did suddenly after follow.

Now the appointed Time drew near for the Installation and Sitting at Dinner; the *Friday* before the *Monday*, that he should have been installed at *York*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Welch*, with a great Company of Gentlemen, of the Earl's House, and of the Country whom they had gathered in the King's Name, to accompany them, yet not knowing to what End, came to the Hall of *Carwood* (the Officers being at Dinner) and my Lord not fully dined, not knowing any Thing of the Earl's being come.

The first Thing that the Earl did, after he had set the Hall in Order, he commanded the Porter to deliver the Keys of the Gates to him; which he would in no wise do, although he was threatened and commanded in the King's Name, to make Deliverance thereof to one of the Earl's Servants; which he still refused, saying to the Earl, that the Keys were delivered to him by his Lord and Master, both

by Oath and other Command.

Now some of the Gentlemen that stood by the Earl, hearing the Porter speak so stoutly, said, 'He is a good Fellow, and a faithful Servant to his Master, and speaks like an honest Man; therefore give him your Charge, and let him keep the Keys still;' then said my Lord, You shall well and truly keep the Keys to the Use of our Sovereign Lord the King, and you shall let none pass in nor out of the Gates, but such as from Time to Time you shall be commanded by us, being the King's Commissioners during our Stay here; and with that Oath he received the Keys of the Earl and Mr. *Welch's* Hands; but of all these Doings knew my Lord Nothing, for they had stopped the Stairs that none should go to my Lord's Chamber, and they that came down could not go up again. At the length, one escaped up, and shewed my Lord, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Hall; whereat, my Lord wondered, and, at the first, believed him not, till he heard it confirmed by another: Then saith my Lord, I am sorry, we have dined; for I fear, our Officers have not provided Fish enough for the Entertainment of him, with some honourable Chear fitting his Estate and Dignity: And with that my Lord arose from the Table, and commanded to let the Cloth lie, that the Earl might see how far forth they were at their Dinners; and, as he was going down Stairs, he encountered with my Lord of *Northumberland*; to whom, my Lord said, You are heartily welcome, my Lord, and so they embraced each other: Then saith my Lord Cardinal, If you had loved me, you would have sent me Word before of your Coming, that I might have entertained you, according to your Honour. Notwithstanding, you shall have such Chear, as I can make you for the Present, with a right Good-will; trusting you will accept thereof in good Part, and hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able to entertain you; this said, my Lord took him by the Hand, and led him to his Chamber, whom followed all the Earl's Servants; and, they being there all alone, saving I, which kept the Door, as my Office required, being Gentleman-usher, and these two Lords standing at a Window, the Earl trembling said: I arrest you of High-Treason; with which Words, my Lord was well nigh astonished, standing still a good While, without speaking one Word.

But

But, at the last, faith my Lord, What Authority have you to arrest me? The Earl saith, I have a Commission so to do. Shew it me, faith my Lord, that I may see the Contents thereof. Nay, Sir, that you may not, faith the Earl. Then faith my Lord, hold you contented, for I will not obey your Arrest, for there have been between your Ancestors, and my Predecessors, great Contentions and Debates, and therefore, unless I see your Authority, I will not obey you.

Even as they were debating the Matter, in the Chamber, so likewise was Master *Welch* busy in arresting Dr. *Auslin*, at the Door, saying, Go in, you Traytor, or I shall make thee: With that I opened the Portal Door, and did thrust in Dr. *Auslin* before him, with Violence. The Matter on both Sides astonished me very much, marvelling what all this should mean, until, at the last, Master *Welch*, being entered my Lord's Chamber, began to pluck off his Hood, being of the same Cloth his Cloke was, which Hood he wore, to the Intent he should not be known, who kneeled down to my Lord; to whom my Lord said, Come hither, Gentleman, and let me speak with you, commanding him to stand up, and said thus: My Lord of *Northumberland* hath arrested me, but by what Authority I know not; if you be privy thereunto, joined with him therein, I pray you shew me. Indeed, my Lord, if it please your Grace, says Master *Welch*, I pray have me excused; there are annexed to our Commission certain Instructions, as you may not see nor be privy to. Why, faith my Lord, be your Instructions such as I may not see nor be privy thereunto? Yet peradventure, if I be privy unto them, I may help you the better to perform them, for it is not unknown to you, that I have been of Council, in as weighty Matters as these are; and I doubt not, but I shall do well enough, for my Part, and prove myself a true Man against the Expectations of my cruel Enemies; I see the Matter, whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to do I trow, thou art of the Privy-Chamber, your Name is Mr. *Welch*; I am contented to yield to you, but not to the Earl, unless I see his Commission, and also you are a sufficient Commissioner in this Behalf, being one of the Privy-Chamber: Therefore, put your Commission in Execution, spare me not, I will obey you and the King, for I fear not the Cruelty of mine Enemies, no more than

I do the Truth of my Allegiance, wherein, I take God to Witness, I never offended his Majesty in Word or Deed, and therein I dare stand Face to Face with any, having a Difference without Partiality.

Then came my Lord of *Northumberland*, and commanded me to avoid the Chamber: And, being loth to depart from my Master, I stood still, and would not remove; to whom he spoke again and said, There is no Remedy, you must depart; with that I looked upon my Master, as who would have said, Shall I go? and, perceiving by his Countenance, that it was not for me to stay, I departed and went into another Chamber, where were many Gentlemen and others to hear News; to whom I made a Report of what I heard and saw, which was great Heaviness to them all.

Then the Earl called into his Chamber divers of his own Servants, and, after he and Master *Welch* had taken the Keys from my Lord, he committed the Keeping of my Lord unto five Gentlemen, and then they went about the House, and put all Things in Order, intending to depart the next Day, and to certify the King, and the rest of the Lords, what they had done.

Then went they busy about to convey Dr. *Auslin* away to *London* with as much Speed and Privacy, as they could possibly, sending with him divers Persons, to conduct him, who was bound to his Horse like a Traytor.

And this being done, when it was near Night, the Commissioners sending two Grooms of my Lords to attend him in his Chamber, where he lay all Night, the rest of the Earl's Men watched in the Chamber, and all the House was watched, and the Gates safe kept, that no Man could pass or repass until next Morning.

About Eight of the Clock next Morning, the Earl sent for me, into his Chamber, and commanded me to go to my Lord; and, as I was going, I met with Master *Welch*, who called me unto him, and shewed me how the King's Majesty bore unto me his principal Favour for my Love and diligent Service, that I had performed to my Lord: Wherefore, faith he, the King's Pleasure is, that you shall be about him as chief, in whom his Highness putteth great Confidence and Trust; and thereupon gave me in Writing the Articles: Which when I had read, I said I was content to obey his Majesty's Pleasure, and would be
sworn

sworn to the Performance thereof; whereupon he gave me my Oath.

That done, I referred to my Lord, whom I found sitting in a Chair, the Table being ready spread for him. But, so soon as he perceived me to come in, he fell into such a woful Lamentation, that would have forced a flinty Heart to mourn.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but he would not: 'For, quoth he, I am much grieved that I have nothing to reward you, and the rest of my true and faithful Servants, for all the good Service that they and you have done me, for which I do much lament.'

Upon Sunday following, the Earl and Mr. *Welch* appointed to set forward; for my Lord's Horse and ours were brought ready into the inner Court, where we mounted, and coming towards the Gate, ready to ride

out, the Porter had no sooner opened the same, but we saw without, ready attending, a great Number of Gentlemen, and their Servants, such as the Earl had appointed for that Service, to attend and conduct my Lord to *Pontefract* that Night.

But, to tell you the Truth, there were also many of the People of the Country assembled at the Gate, lamenting his Departure, in Number above Three-thousand, who, after the Opening of the Gate, that they had a Sight of him, cried out, with a loud Voice, 'God save your Grace, God save your Grace, the foul Evil take them that have taken you from us; we pray God, that Vengeance may light upon them.' And thus they ran after him through the Town of *Cawood*, for he was there very well beloved, both of Rich and Poor.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Cardinal's Entertainment at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, and of his Death and Burial at Leicester.

AFTER our Departure from *Cawood*, we came to *Doncaster*; the third Day we came to *Sheffield*-park, where my Lord of *Shrewsbury* lived, within the Lodge, and the Earl and his Lady, and a great Company of Gentlewomen and Servants, stood without the Gate, to attend my Lord's Coming; at whose Alighting, the Earl received him with much Honour, and embraced him, saying these Words: 'My Lord, you are most heartily welcome to my poor Lodge, and I am glad to see you.'

Here my Lord staid a Fortnight, and was most nobly entertained; he spent most of his Time, and applied his Mind to Prayers continually, in great Devotion. It came to pass, as he sat one Day at Dinner, I, being there, perceived his Colour, divers Times, to change; I asked him if he was not well; who answered me, with a loud Voice, 'I am suddenly taken with a Thing at my Stomach as cold as a Whet-stone, and am not well; therefore take up the Table, and make a short Dinner, and return to me again suddenly.' I made but a little Stay, but came to him again, where I found him still sitting, very

uneasy: He desired me to go to the Apothecary, and ask him if he had any Thing would break Wind upwards; he told me, he had: Then I went and shewed the same to my Lord, who did command me to give him some thereof, and so I did, and it made him break Wind exceedingly: 'Lo, quoth he, you may see it was but Wind, for now, I thank God, I am well eased;' and so he arose from the Table, and went to Prayers, as he used, every Day after Dinner.

In the Afternoon, my Lord of *Shrewsbury* sent for me to him, to whom he said, 'Forasmuch as I have always perceived you to be a Man, in whom your Lord putteth great Affiance, and I myself, knowing you to be a Man very honest;' with many Words of Commendations and Praise, more than becometh me to rehearse, he said, 'Your Lord and Master hath often desired me to write to the King, that he might answer his Accusations before his Enemies: And, this Day, I have received Letters from his Majesty, by Sir *William Kingston*, whereby I perceive, that the King hath him in
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‘good Opinion, and, upon my Request, hath sent for him, by the said Sir William Kingston.

‘Therefore, now I would have you play your Part wisely with him, in such Sort, as he may take it quietly, and in good Part, for he is always full of Sorrow, and much Heaviness, at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill, if I bring him Tidings thereof; and therein doth he not well, for I assure you, that the King is his very good Lord, and hath given me most hearty Thanks for his Entertainment; and, therefore, go your Way to him, and persuade him, that I may find him quiet at my Coming, for I will not tarry long after you.

‘Sir, quoth I, and, if it please your Lordship, I shall endeavour, to the best of my Power, to accomplish your Lordship’s Command; but, Sir, I doubt, when I name this Sir William Kingston, that he will mistrust some Ill, because he is Constable of the Tower, and Captain of the Guard, having, in his Company, twenty-four of the Guard to accompany him. That is nothing, quoth the Earl; what, if he be Constable of the Tower, and Captain of the Guard, he is the fittest Man, for his Wisdom and Discretion, to be sent about such a Business; and, for the Guard, it is only to defend him from those that might intend him any Ill: Besides that, the Guard are, for the most Part, such of his old Servants, as the King hath took into his Service, to attend him most justly. Well, Sir, quoth I, I shall do what I can, and so departed, and went to my Lord, and found him in the Gallery, with his Staff and his Beads in his Hands; and seeing me, he asked me what News; ‘Forthwith, quoth I, the best News that ever you heard, if you can take it well. I pray God it be true, then, quoth he.’ ‘My Lord of Shrewsbury, said I, your most assured Friend, hath so provided, by his Letters to the King, that his Majesty hath sent for you, by Master Kingston, and twenty-four of the Guard, to conduct you to his Highness. Master Kingston?’ quoth he, and clapped his Hand on his Thigh, and gave a great Sigh.

‘May it please your Grace, quoth I, I wish you would take all Things well, it would be much better for you; content

yourself, for God’s Sake, and think, that God and your good Friends have wrought for you, according to your own Desires: And, as I conceive, you have much more Cause to rejoice, than lament or mistrust the Matter; for, I assure you, that your Friends are more afraid of you, than you need be of them: And his Majesty, to shew his Love to you, hath sent Master Kingston to honour you, with as much Honour as is your Grace’s Due, and to convey you in such easy Journies, as is fitting for you, and you shall command him to do, and that you shall have your Request. And I humbly intreat you, to imprint this my Persuasion in your Highness’s Discretion, and to be of good Cheer; wherewith you shall comfort yourself, and give your Friends, and poor Servants, great Comfort and Content.

‘Well, quoth he, I perceive more than you can imagine, or do know.’ Presently after came my Lord, to acquaint him with that I had so lately related; my Lord Cardinal thanked the Earl for his great Love, and called for Master Kingston, who came to him, presently, and, kneeling down before him, saluted him in the King’s Behalf, whom my Lord, bareheaded, offered to take up, but he would not: ‘Then, quoth my Lord, Master Kingston, I pray you stand up, and leave your Kneeling to me, for I am a Wretch repleat with Misery, not esteeming myself, but, as a meer Abject, utterly cast away, but without Desert, God knows; therefore, good Master Kingston, stand up.’

Then Master Kingston said, ‘The King’s Majesty hath him commended unto you. I thank his Highness, quoth my Lord, I hope he is in good Health. Yes, quoth Master Kingston, and he hath him commended unto you, and commanded me to bid you be of good Cheer, for he beareth you as much Good-will as ever he did.

‘And whereas Report hath been made unto him, that you should commit, against his Majesty, certain heinous Crimes, which he thinketh to be; but yet, he, for Administration of Justice, in such Cases requisite, could do no less than send for you, that you might have your Trial, mistrusting nothing your Truth and Wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit yourself of all

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Complaints, and Accusations, extended against you; and you may take your Journey to him at your Pleasure, commanding me to attend you.

Master *Kingston*, quoth my Lord, I thank you for your good News; and, Sir, hereof assure yourself, if I were as able and lusty, as ever I was, to ride, I would go with you Post: But, alas! I am a diseased Man, having a Flux (at which Time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself) 'it hath made me very weak; but the comfortable News you bring is of Purpose, I doubt, to bring me into a Fool's Paradise, for I know what is provided for me: Notwithstanding, I thank you for your Goodwill, and Pains taken about me, and I shall, with Speed, make ready to ride with you.'

After this, I was commanded to make all Things ready for our Departure the Morrow after.

When my Lord went to Bed, he fell very sick of the Flux, which caused him to go to Stool, from Time to Time, all that Night; insomuch that, from that Time till Morning, he had fifty Stools; and the Matter, that he voided, was very black, which the Physicians called *Aduſt*, whose Opinions were, that he had not above four or five Days to live.

Notwithstanding, he would have ridden with Mr. *Kingston* the next Day, had not the Earl of *Shrewsbury* advised him to the Contrary; but, the next Day, he took his Journey with Master *Kingston*, and them of the Guard, who, espying him, could not abstain from Weeping, considering he was their old Master, and now in such a miserable Case; whom my Lord took by the Hand, and would, as he rode by the Way, sometimes talk with one, and sometimes with another, till he came to a House of my Lord's, standing in the Way, called *Hardwick-hall*, where he lay all that Night, extremely ill. The next Day, he came to *Nottingham*, and, the next Day, to *Leicester-abbey*, and, the next Day, he waxed very sick, that he had almost fallen from his Horse, so that it was Night, before he got to *Leicester-abbey*; where, at his Coming in at the Gates, the Abbot, with all their Convent, met him with many lighted Torches, whom they honourably received, and welcomed with great Reverence.

To whom my Lord said, 'Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones amongst you.' Riding still on his Mule, till he came to the Stairs of his Chamber, where he alighted; Master *Kingston*, holding him by the Arm, led him up the Stairs, who told me afterwards, that he never felt so heavy a Burden in all his Life; and, as soon as he was in his Chamber, he went straight to Bed; this was upon *Saturday*, and so he continued.

On *Monday* in the Morning as I stood by his Bed-side, about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Windows being close shut, and having Wax Lights burning upon the Cupboard, I thought I perceived him drawing on towards Death. He, perceiving my Shadow upon the Bed-side, asked who was there. Sir quoth I, it is I: How do you, quoth he, well? Ay, Sir, quoth I, if I might see your Grace well: What is it o'Clock, quoth he? I answered, it was about Eight of the Clock: Quoth he, that cannot be, rehearsing Eight of the Clock so many Times: Nay, quoth he, that cannot be, for at Eight of the Clock you shall see your Master's Time draw near, that I must depart this World. With that, Dr. *Palmer*, a worthy Gentleman, standing by, bid me ask him if he would be shriven, to make him ready for God, whatever chanced to fall out, which I did: But he was very angry with me, and asked, What I had to do to ask him such a Question? Till, at the last, the Doctor took my Part, and talked with him in *Latin*, and pacified him.

After Dinner, Mr. *Kingston* sent for me, and said, Sir, the King hath sent unto me Letters, by Mr. *Vincent*, our old Companion, who hath been in Trouble in the *Tower*, for Money that my Lord should have at his Departure: A great Part of this Money cannot be found; wherefore the King, at Mr. *Vincent's* Request, for the Declaration of the Truth, hath sent him hither with his Grace's Letters, that I should examine my Lord, and have your Counsel therein, that he may take it well and in good Part. And this is the Cause of my sending for you, therefore, I desire your Counsel therein, for Acquittal of this poor Gentleman, Mr. *Vincent*.

Sir, quoth I, according to my Duty you shall; and, by my Advice, you shall resort unto him in your own Person to visit him, and, in Communication, break the Matter unto him: And, if he will not tell you the

Truth, then you may certify the King thereof ; but in any Case, name not, nor speak of my Fellow *Vincent* : Also I would, not have you to detract the Time, for he is very sick, and I fear that he will not live past a Day or two ; and accordingly Mr. *Kingston* went to my Lord, and demanded the Money, saying, that my Lord of *Northumberland* found a Book at *Cawood House*, that you had but lately borrowed ten-thousand Pounds, and there is not so much as one Penny to be found, who hath made the King privy to the same ; wherefore, the King hath written to me, to know what is become thereof, for it were Pity that it should be holden from you both. Therefore, I require you, in the King's Name, to tell me the Truth, that I may make a just Report unto his Majesty, of your Answer ?

With that, quoth my Lord, Oh good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the King should think any such Thing in me, that I should deceive him of one Penny, seeing I have nothing, nor ever had, God be my Judge, that I ever esteemed so much mine own, as his Majesty's, having but the bare Use of it, during my Life, and after my Death, to leave it wholly to him ; wherein his Majesty hath prevented me. But for this Money, you demand of me, I assure you, it is none of my own, for I borrowed it of divers of my Friends to bury me, and to bestow amongst my Servants, who have taken great Pains about me ; notwithstanding, if it be your Pleasure to know, I must be content ; yet I beseech his Majesty, to see it satisfied for the Discharge of my Conscience to them that I owed it to. Who be they, quoth Mr. *Kingston* ? That shall I tell you, quoth my Lord, I borrowed two-hundred Pounds of *John Allen* of *London*, another two-hundred Pounds of Sir *Richard Gresham*, and two-hundred Pounds of the Master of the *Savoy* ; and also two-hundred of Dr. *Higden*, Dean of my College, at *Oxford* ; two-hundred Pounds of the Treasurer of the Church ; and two-hundred Pounds of Mr. *Ellis* my Chaplain ; and another two-hundred Pounds of a Priest. I hope the King will restore it again, so far as much as it is none of mine.

Sir, quoth Mr. *Kingston*, there is no Doubt in the King, whom you need not distrust, but Sir, I pray you, where is the Money ? Quoth he, I will not conceal it, I warrant you, but I will declare it unto you before I die, by the

Grace of God ; have a little Patience with me, I pray you, for the Money is safe enough in an honest Man's Hands, who will not keep one Penny thereof from the King.

So Mr. *Kingston* departed, for that Time, my Lord being very weak, and about Four of the Clock, the next Morning, as I conceived, I asked him how he did. Well, quoth he, if I had any Meat, I pray you give me some.

Sir, quoth I, there is none ready ; then he said, you are much to blame, for you should have always Meat for me in Readiness, whenever that my Stomach serves me ; I pray you get some ready for me ; for I mean to make myself strong To-day, to the Intent I may go Confession, and make me ready for God ; quoth I, I will call up the Cooks to prepare some Meat, and also I will call Mr. *Palmer*, that he may discourse with you, till your Meat be ready. With a Good-will, quoth my Lord, and so I called Mr. *Palmer*, who rose and came to my Lord.

Then I went and acquainted Mr. *Kingston*, that my Lord was very sick, and not like to live. In good Faith, quoth Mr. *Kingston*, you are much too blame, to make him believe he is sicker than he is. Well, Sir, quoth I, you cannot say, but I gave you Warning, as I am bound to do ; upon which Words he arose, and came unto him, but before he came, my Lord Cardinal had eaten a Spoonful or two of Callis made of Chickin, and after that he was in his Confession, the Space of an Hour : And then Mr. *Kingston* came to him, and bad him Good-morrow, and asked him how he did, Sir, quoth he, I watch but God's Pleasure, to render up my poor Soul to him. I pray you, have me heartily commended unto his Royal Majesty, and beseech him on my Behalf to call to his princely Remembrance all Matters that have been between us from the Beginning and the Progress : And especially between good Queen *Catharine*, and him, and then shall his Grace's Conscience know whether I have offended him, or not.

He is a Prince of a most royal Carriage, and hath a Princely Heart, and, rather than he will miss or want any Part of his Will, he will endanger the one Half of his Kingdom.

I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three Hours together, to persuade him from his Will and Appetite, but could not prevail : And, Master *Kingston*, if had

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I but served God, as diligently as I have served the King, he would not have given me over in my grey Hairs. But this is the just Reward that I must receive for my diligent Pains and Study, not regarding my Service to God, but only to my Prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the Privy-Council, as by your Wisdom you are fit, take Heed what you put in the King's Head, for you can never put it out again.

And I desire you further, to request his Grace in God's Name, that he have a vigilant Eye to suppress the hellish *Lutherans*, that they increase not through his great Negligence, in such a Sort, as he be compelled to take up Arms to subdue them, as the King of *Bohemia* was; whose Commons being infected with *Wickliff's* Heresies, the King was forced to take that Course.

Let him consider the Story of King *Richard the Second*, the second Son of his Progenitor; who lived in the Time of *Wickliff's* Seditions and Heresies: Did not the Commons, I pray you, in his Time, rise against the Nobility and chief Governors of this Realm; and, at the last, some of them were put to Death, without Justice or Mercy, and, under Pretence of having all Things common, did they not fall to Spoiling or Robbing, and, at last, took the King's Person, and carried him about the City, making him obedient to their Proclamations?

Did not also the traiterous Heretick, Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, pitch a Field with Hereticks against King *Henry the Fourth*, where the King was in Person, and fought against them, to whom God gave the Victory?

Alas! If these be not plain Precedents and sufficient Persuasions to admonish a Prince: Then God will take away from us our prudent Rulers, and leave us to the Hands of our Enemies! And then will ensue Mischief upon Mischief, Inconveniences, Barrenness and Scarcity, for Want of good Orders, in the Commonwealth, from which God of his tender Mercy defend us.

Master *Kingston* farewell, I wish all Things may have good Success, my Time draws on; I may not tarry with you, I pray you remember my Words.

Now, began the Time to draw near, for he drew his Speech at Length; his Tongue began to fail him, his Eyes perfectly set in his

Head, and his Sight failed him. Then we began to put him in Mind, of *Obri's* Passion, and, caused the Yeoman of the Guard, to stand by privately, to see him die, and bear Witness of his Words and Departure, who heard all his Communications.

And then presently the Clock struck Eight, at which Time he gave up the Ghost; and thus departed he this Life; one of us looking upon another, supposing he prophesied of his Departure.

We sent for the Abbot of the House to anoint him, who speedily came as he was ending his Life, who said certain Prayers before that the Life was out of his Body.

Here is the End and Fall of Pride; for, I assure you, he was the proudest Man alive, having more Regard to the Honour of his Person, than to his spiritual Function, wherein he should have expressed more Meekness and Humility: For Pride and Ambition are both linked together; and Ambition is like Choler, which is an Humour that makes Men active, earnest, and full of Alacrity and Stirring, if it be not stopped or hindered in its Course; but, if it be stopped, and cannot have its Way, it becometh Dust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious and proud Men, if they find the Way open for their Rising and Advancement, and still get forwards, they are rather busy than dangerous; but, if they be checked in their Desires, they become secretly discontented, and look upon Men and Matters with an evil Eye, and are best pleased when Things go backwards: But I forbear to speak any further therein.

The Cardinal being departed, Mr. *Kingston* sent Post to London out of the Guard; then were Mr. *Kingston* and the Abbot in Consultation about the Funeral, which was solemnised the Day after, for Mr. *Kingston* would not stay the Return of the Post.

They thought good, that the Mayor of *Leicester*, and his Brethren should see him personally dead, to prevent false Reports that he was alive. And, in the Interim, whilst the Mayor was sent for, his Bones were laid in the Coffin, and his Shirt of Hair, and his Over-shirt of fine Holland, were taken off, and put into the Coffin together, with all such Ornaments wherewith he was invested, when he was made Archbishop, as Mitre, Cross, Ring, and Pall, with all other Things due to his Orders.

Thus he lay all that Day with his Coffin open and bare-faced, that all that desired might see him; and about Three of the Clock he was buried by the Abbot with great Solemnity. And being in the Church, his Corpse was set in the *Lady's-Chapel* with many Tapers, and poor Men about him, holding Torches in their Hands, who watched the Corpse all that Night, whilst the Canons sung divers Dirges, and other divine Orisons.

And, at Four of the Clock the next Morning, the Cardinal's Servants and Mr. *Kingston* came to the Church to the Execution of many Ceremonies, in such Manner as is usual at a Bishops Burials; and so he went to Maf, where the Abbot did offer, and divers others; and then went to bury the Corpse in the Middle of the said Chapel; by this Time it was Six of the Clock, being St. *Andrew's Day*.

Then we prepared for our Journey to the Court, where we attended his Majesty. The next Day I was sent for to the King, conducted by Mr. *Norris*, where the King was in his Night-Gown of *Rochet Velvet*, furred with Sables, before whom I kneeled the Space of an Hour, during which Time his Majesty examined me of divers Particulars concerning my Lord Cardinal, wishing, rather than Twenty-thousand Pounds, that he had lived.

He asked me concerning the fifteen-hundred Pounds, which Mr. *Kingston* moved to my Lord. Quoth I, I think I can perfectly tell your Grace where it is, and who hath it. Can you, quoth the King, I pray you tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded?

Sir, quoth I, after the Departure of Mr.

Vincent from my Lord at *Scrooby*, who had the Custody thereof, leaving it with my Lord in divers Bags, he delivered it to a certain Priest, safely to be kept for his Use. Is this true, quoth the King? Yea, quoth I, without Doubt, the Priest will not deny it before me, for I was at the Delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich Ornaments, which are not registered in the Book of my Lord's Inventory, or other Writings, whereby any Man is able to charge him therewith, but myself.

Then said the King, Let me alone for keeping this Secret between me and you. Howbeit, three may keep Counsel, if two be away; and, if I knew my Cap was privy to my Counsel, I would cast it into the Fire and burn it; and, for your Honesty and Truth, you shall be our Servant in our Chamber, as you were with your Master.

Therefore, go you your Ways to Sir *John Gage*, our Vice-Chamberlain, to whom we have spoken already, to admit you our Servant in our Chamber, and then go to the Lord of *Norfolk*, and he shall pay you your whole Year's Wages, which is ten Pounds: Is not it so, quoth the King? Yea, forsooth, and if it please your Grace, quoth I: And withal, said the King, you shall receive a Reward from the Duke of *Norfolk*.

So I received ten Pounds of the Duke for my Wages, and twenty Pounds for my Reward; and his Majesty gave me a Cart and six Horses, the best that I could chuse out of my Lord's Horses, to carry my Goods, and five Marks for my Charges Homewards.

A Speech made by Alderman *Garroway*, at a Common Hall, on *Tuesday* the Seventeenth of *January*, upon Occasion of a Speech, delivered there the *Friday* before, by Mr. *Pym*, at the Reading of his Majesty's Answer to the late Petition. Printed in the Year 1642. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

Gentlemen,

BEFORE we enter upon the Business of the Day, I must, in Discharge of my Duty, speak freely to you of the last Day's Work which lies so heavy upon us, that, if we find not some Way to free ourselves of the Scandal and Dishonour of that Day, farewell the Reputation of this Council, and of this City. We sent a Petition lately to his Majesty, by six worthy Members of this Court; if you will believe them, they received a very gracious Entertainment from his Majesty; and, if you will believe most wise Men, they brought a very gracious Answer back from his Majesty, with Directions, by a Servant of his own, that the same should be communicated to the whole City, from whom the Petition was presumed to be sent, a Circumstance as gracious as the Matter itself. See now how we have required him? His Messenger stays ten Days, at the least, before we can vouchsafe to speak with him, whereas ours staid not an Hour for Admission to his Majesty, and but a Day for an Answer: Upon the Receipt of our Petition, his Majesty spoke very graciously of the City, very affectionately of the most considerable Part of it; when his Answer is read (an Answer, I must tell you, worth another Manner of Debate) Strangers are admitted to make bitter invective Speeches against it, and the King that sent it; whilst no honest Citizen, who have only Right to speak here, durst speak his Conscience, for Fear of having his Throat cut as he went Home. Think, Gentlemen, what an Encouragement we have given his Majesty to treat and correspond with us, whilst he is thus used: I am far from undervaluing both, or either House of Parliament; I have been often a Member of the House of Commons, and know well my Duty to it; but, though their Privileges are infinitely grown and enlarged since that Time, I hope they have not swallowed up all other Men's? Though they are the great Council and Court of the Kingdom, yet there are other Councils and Courts too, What do we else here? And, though they have a great Liberty of Language within their own Walls, I never heard that they might speak what they list in other Places. In my Time, when there was any Occasion to use the City, as often there was, the Lord Mayor, or Aldermen, or some trusted by them, were sent for to attend either

House; but, for Members of either, or both Houses, to come hither, and be present at our Councils, and govern here by Privilege of Parliament, was never heard of till of late: You will say, it is a great Honour to us, that those Worthies take the Pains to come to us, when they might send for us; it may be an Honour too great for us to bear, and truly, I believe it hath been so chargeable to us, that we ought not to be ambitious of such Honour. Mr. Pym (who hath been a very costly Orator to us) told us (and his Speech is since printed for our Honour too, to shew how tame a People we are) That there were many Things in that Answer, of great Aspersions upon the Proceedings of Parliament, and so forth. Truly I know no such Thing; if we petitioned for Peace, we were to expect his Majesty would tell us by what Means that Peace came to be disturbed, and then prescribe us a Means for our Reparation. If any Man's Guilt hath made him think himself concerned in it, though he be not named, he is his own Accuser.

He told us, That there was no Occasion given by any Tumults, which might justly cause his Majesty's Departure, and this, he said, was the Opinion of both Houses; and his Proof was, because his Majesty came into the City without a Guard, and dined at the Sheriff's, next Day after his Coming to the House of Commons, and returned back again to *Whitehall*, where he staid some Days. I am willing to believe both Houses as far as I am able, and, if they had declared that it had been lawful to beat the King out of Town, I must have sat still with Wonder; but, when they declare to us Matter of Fact, which is equally within our own Knowledge, and wherein we cannot be deceived, they must pardon me if I differ from them. If they should declare, that they have paid us all the Money they owe us, or, that there is no Cross standing in *Cheapside*, Could we believe them? Why, Gentlemen, neither of these is better known to us, than that there were such Tumults at *Westminster*, as might very well make the King think himself in Danger. We all well remember what excellent Company flocked by *Whitehall* every Day, for a Week before the King went to the House of Commons, and for his Coming to the *Guildhall* the next Day, when he did us so much Honour, to vouchsafe us so particular Satisfaction, and came without a Guard, to
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shew how much he trusted in our Duty and Affection (I pray God the Deceiving that Trust may never rise in Judgment against this City) we too well remember the rude Carriage of many People to him as he went to the Sheriff's to Dinner, which was not so much as reprehended by any Officer; and we all know what passed the Night following, when an Alarm was given, that there was an Attempt from *Whitehall* upon the City, and so all Men put into sudden Arms; and if, by the great Industry and Dexterity of our good Lord Mayor, that Hubbub had not been appeased, God knows what might have followed; if you will believe some Men, they will tell you, the Design of those, who gave that Alarm, was no less than to pull down *Whitehall*. There is no Question but there was Cause enough for his Majesty to remove from *Whitehall*; and how quietly he staid after at *Hampton-Court*, and at *Windsor*, cannot be forgotten, not to speak of that Army by Land and Water, which, accompanied the Persons accused, to *Westminster*, the next Day after his Majesty's Return, the Danger of which was so great, that no honest Man could have wished the King had run the Hazard of it, by Staying.

His Majesty seems to be sensible, that the Government of this City is now submitted to the arbitrary Power of a few desperate Persons, to which the Gentleman gave us this Testimony from both Houses, that we had, in most of the great Occasions, concerning the Government of the City, followed their Direction. Troth, Gentlemen, would they had furnished us with a better Answer. Have we our Charter by the Grace and Favour of the two Houses, or by the Goodness of the King? Have we those Privileges with foreign Princes, by which many here have gotten such Estates, by the Power of the Houses, or by the Protection of the King? Why should we then govern the City by the Direction of both Houses? I am not willing to speak slightly of any Persons gotten into Authority; only we may say, there be some amongst us, we did not think two Years ago to have met here, and yet we were wont to see an Alderman coming a Dozen Years off. I cannot tell what you mean by arbitrary Power, but I am sure we are governed by Nothing we were used to be governed by. I have been Lord Mayor myself, in a pleasanter Time than this, and should have some Share still in the Government; before God,

I have no more Authority in the City, than a Porter, not so much as an *Aldermanbury* Porter. If to be governed by People whose Authority we know not, and by Rules which no Body ever heard of, or can know, be a Sign of arbitrary Power, we have as much of it as Heart can wish.

To the King's Charge of our Contributing for the Maintenance of the Army which had given him Battle, we were told that divers Practices were made against the Parliament before they made any Preparation for their Defence. By Practices, I think they mean Fears and Jealousies, for all the Particulars, mentioned by him, we know, and are understood by all the Boys in the Streets; but we are sure there were ten-thousand Men raised and armed out of this Town, and the neighbouring Counties, before the King had seven-hundred. To the Danger the King's Person was in (at the Thought whereof every honest Heart trembles) the Gentleman told us they were sorry for it; I dare not tell you what I think their Sorrow was, but, Masters, if you knew how much your Estates, and Being, depend upon the Life and Safety of our good King, you would no sooner apprehend him in Danger, than you would run to his Rescue, as you would fly from the Plague and Beggary. But that Reproach of Maintaining the King's Children here, I confess, made my Heart rise; I hope it did so to many here: Is our good King fallen so low, that his Children must be kept for him? It is worth our Enquiry, Who brought him to that Condition? We hear him complain, that all his own Revenue is seized and taken from him: Are not his Exchequer, Court of Wards, Mint here, his Customs too worth somewhat, and are his Children kept upon Alms? How shall we and our Children prosper, if this be not remedied?

They will by no Means endure, that his Majesty be obeyed in the Apprehension of the Lord Mayor, and the other three Gentlemen; for it is the Sense of both Houses, that this Demand is against the Privilege of Parliament, and most dishonourable to the City; for the First, I dare not speak my Mind, though I must confess myself not able to answer the King's Reasons in many of his Declarations upon that Point; but, for the Second (under the Favour of both Houses) whether it be dishonourable for the City, whether it be fit to be done or no, we are the best, indeed, we are
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the only Judges. I will take the Liberty to speak freely my Conscience in this Case, as a Friend to Justice, as a Lover of these Men, and as a Servant to the City; and, as all these, I protest to God, if I were now Lord Mayor, and the other three were my Father and my Brothers, I would satisfy the King in this Point. Did his Majesty ask to have them in to Death, merely upon his Accusation; or have them sent bound Hand and Foot to *Oxford*, where it might be in his Power to proceed against them in an extraordinary Way, it might seem unreasonable; but to apprehend them to keep them in safe Custody, that his Majesty may proceed against them according to the known Laws, under which they were born and bred, where, if guilty, they must be left to the Justice of the Law, and his Majesty's Mercy, if innocent, will receive an honourable Acquittal, seems to me so just in the King to ask, and so necessary for us to yield to, that the Denying it implies a Doubt in us of the Innocence of those whom we will not submit to Justice. Here is a Way to find out the King's evil Counsellors! If these Men do their Part, like Men of good Consciences, submit to the Tryal of the Law, which is the only Judge of Guilt and Innocence, and are found clear from that heavy Charge his Majesty accuses them of, How gloriously will these Men live hereafter? And the King cannot refuse to deliver those up who have wickedly conspired the Destruction of honest Men: But, if we should only cry out, that the King is misinformed, and dare not trust ourselves upon a Tryal, we may preserve our Safety, but we shall lose our Reputation. Thus much for Justice, for the Gentlemen's Sakes now: This Way, you see, a Way to Honour and Safety too, if there be Innocence; but, Do you think after a Month's longer Enduring the Miseries which are now upon us, Men will not more importunately and impatiently enquire after the Causes of their Sufferings, if they shall find, that the Denial to give up four Men (who, it may be, are not of any known Merit too) to be tried by the Law, being accused of High-Treason, and conspiring to take away the King's Life, incensed our gracious King against us, and kept him from being amongst us, whereby our Trade decays, and such Violencies and Outrages are every Day committed: I say, Can any four Men bear the Burden of this Envy and Malice? Will not some stout,

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bold Persons, incensed and made desperate by their, and the common Sufferings, tear these Men in Pieces? We have been all young Men and Apprentices, let us remember the Spirit was then amongst us; Would we have suffered all our Hopes to have been blasted and destroyed by any four, or fourteen Men? Let us not flatter ourselves, there is the same Courage still in the City, which, at some Time, will break out to the Ruin of more than these Men; but I thank that Worthy that told us, that it is against the Rules of Justice, that any Men should be imprisoned upon a general Charge, when no Particulars are proved against them: How insensibly, in other Men's Cases, do we accuse ourselves? Why, how many of us, within these six Months, have been committed upon a general Charge? How many Persons of Honour and Reputation are now imprisoned in this Town, when Particulars are so far from being proved against them, that they are not so much as suggested? Was ever any Charge so general, as to be a Malignant or a Cavalier? Yet you hear all such Imprisonments are against the Rules of Justice; my Opinion is, that, for Justice-Sake, for the City's Sake, these four Men should quietly submit themselves to the Tryal of the Law; if they refuse, that they be delivered up to the Hands of Justice.

Mr. Pym told us, there was no Proof that my Lord Mayor, and the other Persons named, were Countenancers of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries; Where should this Proof be made? Do we not all know this to be true? Are they not all so much countenanced, as there is no Countenance left for any Body else? Did not my Lord Mayor first enter upon his Office, with a Speech against the Book of *Common-Prayer*? Hath the *Common-Prayer* ever been read before him? Hath not Captain *Venn* said, that his Wife could make Prayers worth three of any in that Book? Oh! Masters, there have been Times, that he, that should speak against the Book of *Common-Prayer* in this City, should not have been put to the Patience of a legal Tryal; we were wont to look upon it as the greatest Treasure and Jewel of our Religion; and he that should have told us he wished well to our Religion, and yet would take away the Book of *Common-Prayer*, would never have gotten Credit. I have been in all the Parts of *Christendom*, and have conversed with Christians in *Turkey*; why

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in all the Reformed Churches there is not any Thing of more Reverence, than the *English* Liturgy, not our Royal *Exchange*, or the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*, so famous. In *Geneva* itself I have heard it extolled to the Skies. I have been three Months together by Sea, not a Day without Hearing it read twice. The honest Mariners then despised all the World, but the King and the Common-Prayer Book; he, that should have been suspected to wish ill to either of them, would have made an ill Voyage. And let me tell you, they are shrewd Youths those Seamen; if they once discern that the Person of the King is in Danger, or the true Protestant professed Religion, they will shew themselves mad Bodies, before you are aware of it; I would not be a *Brownist*, or an *Anabaptist*, in their Way for — But we are told of an Army of Papists, who will root out our Religion; for my Part, I am sure I am not suspected for any Affection to Papists; yet I confess at this Time, I have not the least Fear of Danger from them, and the Truth is, this Bugbear is grown less terrible to every Body. We know, from the Beginning of this Parliament, the continual Discovery of Plots by the Papists, and what those Discoveries have cost us, and yet, to this Day, not the least probable Charge objected against them. When the King was at *York*, no Discourse here, but of the Papists being there in Multitudes, when it is well known, his Majesty took all possible Care to prevent the Resort of any Papists to the Court, and I have been assured by very honest Men, that, in a Month, there was scarce the Face of one Papist there. When he first raised his Army, Did he not, by Proclamation, forbid any to come to him? — But hark you, Gentlemen, where would you have these Papists be? Can they live in the Air, or in the Water? Beyond Sea you will not suffer them to pass; if they stay at their Houses, they are plundered, it is a good Justification for Plundering, that they are Papists. Are they not the King's Subjects, and should they not fly to him for Protection? Is there any Law, that says the Papists must not assist the King with Men, Arms, or Money, when he is in Distress, and when he conceives himself to be in Danger of his Life? Let us look about us, if this World hold, not only all the Papists, but all the Gentlemen of *England* will find it necessary to carry all they have to the King, and venture it in that Bottom.

But both Houses have declared, that there hath been no Plundering by the Direction of Parliament. Here, I think, they would be willing to admit the King to be a Part of the Parliament, to save their Honour; otherwise, if Plundering signifies the Coming with Violence into one's House, and Taking away his Goods against his Consent, sure there hath been much Plundering, even by the Direction of the Houses; but have they ever punished Plundering of the worst Sort, if they have not directed it? Will a Declaration of both Houses repair the fine Waincoat and the goodly Leads of honest *George Binyon's* House? Let me tell you, the Time hath been, the Loss of such a Citizen would have been talked of in another Way. — I wonder what Kind of Government is preparing for us, when they will not allow that the Imprisonment of our Persons is the Taking away our Liberty, or, the Taking away the twentieth Part of our Estates is the Destruction of our Property; and did you mark what a notable Reason was given us for this? The same Law, that doth enable them to raise Forces, doth likewise enable them to require Contributions. It doth indeed, yet one might be without the other; but I would these Gentlemen had chose another Auditory to have convinced with this Argument; the Country People will be no more couzened by the City, when they hear what Kind of Oratory prevails over us; we shall be shortly told, when they have a Mind to our Houses, that the same Law, which gave them Authority to take away our Money, gave them likewise Power to do the other too.

The King tells us, if we shall hereafter contribute any Thing for the Maintenance of the Army, which, he says, is in Rebellion against him (he pardons what is past, mark that) he will deny us the Benefit of his Protection with foreign Princes, which he will signify to his foreign Ministers; What Remedy have the Lords and Commons found for this now? Sufficient to do the Business, they declare, That this is an Excess of Rigour, and Injustice beyond Example, and therefore they hope his Majesty will be induced, by better Counsel, to forbear the Execution. A very sovereign Declaration; but it is Ten to One, if we do not obey his Majesty in the Injunction he hath laid upon us, he will use this Excess of Rigour. I know not how little you, that trade only within the Kingdom, may think yourselves

yourselves concerned in this; but I say, whoever understands the Trade Abroad, and the Benefit of being a Subject to the King of *England*, will not run this Hazard; for, let him be assured, in the Instant the King disclaims him, he is ruined, and therefore, you who have Estates Abroad, look to it.

Gentlemen, I have troubled you very long, but, in good Faith, the Manner and the Matter of the last Day's Work hath lain so heavy upon my Heart, that I should have thought I had forfeited this Gown, and this Chain, if I had been silent, and, that I had betrayed the Liberty of that famous City, which I am sworn to defend. One Word I had forgotten to mention, the Caution which was given us of such Messengers as his Majesty should send, that we should observe them, that they might be dealt with, as Messengers of Sedition: God forbid we should live to see any Messengers, sent to us from our gracious King, evilly intreated, I would be loth myself to outlive such a Dishonour; if his Majesty shall vouchsafe us the Honour of sending to us, let us use and defend his Servants, as Persons sent to us for our Good; if it shall be otherwise, Fire from Heaven will consume this City. Let us not be wrought upon, by fair Words, to contribute or lend more Money for the Maintenance of this civil, bloody Dissension, or bring Desolation and Confusion upon this glorious City, for the Support of four Men, who, if innocent, will be safe; but let us remember the Happiness and flourishing State we enjoyed, whilst we yielded Obedience to our royal Sovereign. Let us not, upon the general Discourse of evil Counsellors, rebel against a Prince, upon whose Person Malice and Treason cannot lay the least Blemish, but must confess his Religion, Justice, and Charity to be so transcendent, that, if he were a Subject, would render him most amiable. Let us consider, that, if he be oppressed, there can be no End of these Troubles, but we and our Children shall be perpetually weltering in a Sea of Blood; whereas, if his Enemies be overthrown, the whole Kingdom will, within a Moment, be restored to all the Calm, Pleasure, and Plenty of Peace. And therefore, if we intend to enjoy what we have, and that the younger Men shall grow up to the same State we enjoy; if the Memory of our Forefathers, or the Hope of our Posterity, can move any Thing with

us, let us lay Hold on the King's Mercy, and submit to every Proposition in his Answer.

Whilst the Alderman was speaking this Speech, several great Interruptions were made with Hissing, and other such Noises, some crying, *No more, No more*; others as importunately, *Hear him, Hear him, Hear him*; so that it was about an Hour after he began to speak, before he ended: Whenever the Clamour began to stop him, he sat down, without Shew of any Disturbance, and, when that Noise was conquered, he began again, saying what he said last, and so proceeded; only once, when Alderman *Bunce* said, He spoke against the honourable House of Commons, and that it was not to be endured; the Alderman replied, with a little Sharpness, That he had as much Liberty to speak in that Place, as any Member of the House of Commons had in the House of Commons; and, if other Men were content to lose their Privileges, it should be remembered, that it was against his Will. At which there was a great Shout and Acclamation, *We will not lose our Privileges*; and after that there was not the least Interruption, but the Alderman was heard with great Patience and Attention. As soon as the Speech was done, and the great Shout and Hum ended (which some, in the Street, apprehended to be a Consent to lend Money to the Parliament, and ran to *Westminster*, and acquainted the House of Commons with it, whereupon four Members were appointed to draw up a Declaration of Thanks to the City) the Lord-Mayor, trembling, and scarce able to speak, asked, What their Resolution was concerning Assisting the Parliament with Money, for the Payment of their Army? And, recovering his Voice by Degrees, offered them some Reasons, and asked them, Whether they would lose all their Thanks for what they had done already? But the Cry was so great, *No Money, no Money, Peace, Peace*, that he could not be heard. One that stood near the Mayor answered, That he doubted not, whoever could make it appear he had deserved Thanks, might call for it, and have it; that the Question was not, upon Losing of some, but Forfeiting of all; and whether the City would perish, or quit four Men, for whom they had no Reason to care? The Voice was so great, one crying, *That they who set them to Work should defend them:*

Another, *That, since these Troubles, none but Bankrupts and Knaves had prospered; a third, That, if they had common Honesty, they would rather run away, than endeavour to save themselves, by bringing Destruction upon the whole City.* Then the Court rose, and every Man departed; so great a Company going before, and following after Alderman Garroway to his House, that the Streets were as full as at my Lord-Mayor's Show, some crying out, *Where's Venn and his Myrmidons? Others, When they should meet? To which a general Shout answered, Now, Now: One of good Credit with them wished them to proceed with Discretion. A Pox of Discretion, said a Butcher, we shall be undone with it; let us proceed as these People have taught: When we asked them, What we should have in the Place of Bishops? They told us, Bishops were naught we all knew, and, when*

they were gone, we should think of somewhat that is better in their Room; let us now take away what we know is naught, and we shall do well enough after. I owe them a good Turn, for the Honour they have done my Trade? Sayest thou so, said a sturdy Mariner, believe it, they who would persuade the honest Sailors to turn Traitors to their good King, for all his Favours to them, shall repent it. The good Alderman, being much troubled to hear the several Expressions, besought them to depart every Man to his own Home, telling them, That, if at this Time they should do any Thing, it would be imputed to him, and he hoped they wished him no Harm; whereupon they were contented to part, promising one another that when they next met, they would do something worth Speaking of, and agreed that the Word should be, *Gurney*, in Honour of their good Lord Mayor.

The Humble Petition and Address of *Edward, Earl of Clarendon.* MS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Lordships,

I Cannot express the insupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I sustain, under the Apprehension of being misrepresented unto your Lordships; and when I hear how much of your Lordships Time hath been spent in the Mention of me, and is attended with more publick Consequence; and of the Difference of Opinion, which is already, or may probably arise, betwixt your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obstructed, in a Time of so general Dissatisfaction: I am very unfortunate to find myself suffer so much, under two very disadvantageous Reflexions, which are in no Degree applicable to me.

The First, from the Greatness of my Estate and Fortune, collected and made in so few Years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reasonably cause my Integrity to be suspected. The Second, That I have been the sole Manager, and chief Minister, in all the Transactions of State, since the

King's Return into England, to August last; and, therefore, that all Miscarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my Counsels. Concerning my Estate, your Lordships will believe, that, after Malice and Envy have been so inquisitive and so sharp-sighted, I will not offer any Thing to your Lordships, but what is really true; and I do assure your Lordships, in the first Place, That, excepting from the King's Bounty, I have never received, nor taken one Penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful Perquisite of my Office, by the constant Practice of the best Times; which I did, in my own Judgment, conceive to be that of my Lords *Coventry* and *Elsmore*; the Practice of which I constantly observed, although the Office, in both their Times, was lawfully worth double to what it was to me; and, I believe, now is: That all the Courtesies and Favours, which I have been able to obtain from the King for other Persons, in Church, State, or *Westminster-hall*, have never
been

been worth, to me, five Pounds; so that your Lordships may be confident, I am as innocent from Corruption, as from any disloyal Thought; which, after thirty Years Service of the Crown, in some Difficulties and Distresses, I did never suspect would have been objected to me, in my Age. And I do assure your Lordships, and shall make it manifest, That the several Sums of Money and some Parcels of Land, which his Majesty hath bountifully bestowed upon me, since his last Return into *England*, are worth more, than all I have amounts unto. So far I am from advancing my Estate by indirect Means; and, though this Bounty of his Majesty hath very far exceeded my Merit, or my Expectations, yet some others have been as fortunate, at least, in the same Bounty, who have had as small Pretence to it, and have no great Reason to envy my Condition.

Concerning the other Imputation, of the Credit and Power of being chief Minister, and causing all to be done, that I had any Mind to, I have no more to say, than that I had the good Fortune to serve a Master of very great Judgment and Understanding, and to be always joined with Persons of great Abilities and Experience, without whose Advice and Concurrence never any Thing hath been done. Before his Majesty's Coming over, he was constantly attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the late Lord *Culpepper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint Advice and Concurrence, when they were all present (as some of them always were) I never gave any Counsel. As soon as it pleased God to restore his Majesty into *England*, he established his Privy-council, and shortly, out of them, a Number of honourable Persons of great Reputation, who for the most Part are alive still, as a Committee for Foreign Affairs, and Consideration of such Things, as the Number of them required much Time and Deliberation, and with those Persons he vouchsafed to join me; and, I am confident, the Committee never transacted any Thing of Moment (his Majesty being always present) without Presenting the same first to the Council-board; and I must appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one Mind, in Matters of Importance. For more than two Years, I never knew any Difference in the Council, or that there were any Complaints in the King-

dom; which I wholly impute to his Majesty's great Wisdom, and the intire Concurrence of his Counsellors, without the Vanity of assuming any Thing to myself; and, therefore, I hope, I shall not be singly charged with any Thing, that has since fallen out amiss: But, from the Time that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was removed from his Place, there were great Alterations; and whosoever knows any Thing of the Court, or Councils, knows well how much my Credit hath since that Time been diminished, although his Majesty still vouchsafed graciously to hear my Advice, in most of his Affairs. Nor hath there been, from that Time to this, above one or two Persons brought to the Council, or preferred to any considerable Office in the Court, who have been of any intimate Acquaintance, or suspected to have any Kindness for me; and most of them most notoriously known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgments and Principles from me, both in Church and State; and who have taken all Opportunities to lessen my Credit with the King, and all other Persons, by misrepresenting and misinterpreting all that I said, or did, and persuading Men, that I had done them some Prejudice with his Majesty, or crossed them in some of their Pretensions, though his Majesty's Goodness and Justice were such, that it made little Impression upon him.

In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which, it was most notoriously known, that I was always most averse: And I may, without Vanity, say, I did not only foresee, but did declare the Mischief, we should run into, by entering into a War before any Alliances with neighbouring Princes; and, that it may not be imputed to his Majesty's Want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counsellors, that no such Alliances were entered into, I must say, that his Majesty left nothing unattempted, in Order thereunto; and knowing very well, that *France* resolved to begin War upon *Spain*, as soon as his Catholick Majesty should depart the World; which being much sooner expected by them, they had, in two Winters, been at great Charge in providing plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War: His Majesty used all Means possible to prepare and dispose the *Spaniards* with that Apprehension, offering his Friendship to
that

that Degree, as might be for the Security and Benefit of both Crowns. But *Spain*, flattering itself, that *France* would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any Cause, by administering Matter of Jealousy, never made any real Approach to make Friendship with his Majesty, but, both by their Ambassadors here, and his Majesty's Ambassador at *Madrid*, always insisted, as Preliminaries, upon the Giving up of *Dunguirgue*, *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*.

Though *France* had an Ambassador here, to whom a Project for a Treaty was offered, and the Lord *Hellis*, his Majesty's Ambassador at *Paris*, had used all Endeavours to pursue and prosecute the said Treaty; yet it was quickly discerned, the principal Design of *France* was to draw his Majesty into such a new Alliance, as might advance their Design, without which, they had no Mind to enter into the Treaty proposed; and this was the State of Affairs, when the War was entered into with the *Dutch*; from which Time, neither Crown continued the Making an Alliance with *England*. As I did, from my Soul, abhor the Entering into this War, so I never presumed to give any Advice or Counsel for the Way of managing of it, but by opposing many Propositions, which seemed, by the late Lord Treasurer and myself, to be unreasonable, as the Payment of Seamen with Tickets, which added to the Expence.

My Enemies took all Occasions to inveigh against me, and (making of Friendship with others out of the Council of more licentious Principles, and who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the Liberty they took to themselves, of rallying all Council and Counsellors, and turning all Things, serious and secret, into Ridicule) they took all Ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all Sorts of Men, whom I shall be compelled to name in my own Defence, persuading those that miscarried, that it was the Chancellor's Doing, whereof I never knew any Thing: However, they could not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was still pleased to use my Service with others; nor was there any Thing done, but upon the joint Advice of, at least, the major Part of those who were consulted; and, as his Majesty commanded my Service in the late Treaties, I never gave the least Advice in Private, or wrote one Letter to any Person, in those Ne-

gotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council, and after it was read in Council, or, at least, by the King himself, and some others; and if I prepared any Instructions, or Memorials, it was by the King's Command, and the Request of the Secretaries, who desired my Assistance; nor was it any Wish of my own, that any Ambassador should give me any Account of the Transactions, but the Secretary, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself, of ever having given Advice, that hath proved mischievous, or inconvenient to his Majesty; and I have been so far from being the whole Manager, that I have not, in the whole last Year, been above twice with his Majesty in any Room alone, and very seldom in the two or three last Years preceding; and, since the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very visible, that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few Things have been hearkened to, that have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because they were proposed by me. I most humbly beseech your Lordships, to remember the Office and Trust I had for seven Years, in which Discharge of my Duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many Men's Pretensions, and refused to set the Seal to many Men's Pardons, and their Grants, which would have been profitable to them, which procured them, and many whereof, upon my Representation to his Majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally hath caused many Enemies to me; and my frequently Concurring, upon the Desires of my late Lord Treasurer (with whom I had the Honour to have a long and faithful Friendship to his Death) in representing several Excesses and Exorbitances, the yearly Issues so far exceeding the Revenue, provoked many Persons concerned, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they could; and yet, I may faithfully say, I never meddled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Administration of it, but when I was desired, by the late Lord Treasurer, to give him my Assistance and Advice, having had the Honour to serve the Crown, as Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, which was, for the most Part, in his Majesty's Presence; nor have I been, in the least Degree, concerned, in Point of Profit, in letting any Part of his Majesty's Revenue, nor have ever treated, or debated it, but in his Majesty's Presence, in which my Opinion concurred always with the

major Part of the Council ; all which, upon Examination, will be made manifest to your Lordships, how much soever my Integrity is blasted, by the Malice of those, who, I am confident, do not believe themselves ; nor have I, in all my Treaties, otherwise received the Value of one Shilling, from all the Kings and Princes in the World, except the Book of the *Louvre*, sent by the Chancellor of *France*, by the King's Direction, but from my own Master, to whose intire Service, and to the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted. This being my present Condition, I do most humbly beseech your Lordships to retain a favourable Opinion of me, and believe me to be innocent from those foul Aspersions, until the Contrary shall be proved, which, I am sure, can never be, by any Man worthy to be believed ; and since the Temper of the Times, and the

Difference between the two Houses, in the present Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, they shall prevail with his Majesty to prorogue, or dissolve the Parliament in Displeasure (and threaten to expose me to the Rage and Fury of the People) may make me to be looked upon, as the Cause which obstructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the Kingdom : I most humbly beseech your Lordships, that I may not forfeit your Lordship's Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a Prosecution, in Hopes I may be able, by such Withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my Defence, when his Majesty's Justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed, or controuled, by the Power and Malice of those, who have sworn my Destruction.

Exit Clarendon.

The Parable of the Bear-baiting. *London*, Printed for J. Johnson, 1691. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

THE Proceedings by, and against some Body of late, are not altogether unlike a certain Parable ; which, though I cannot, at present, call to Mind where I read it, yet, I remember very well, the Substance of it was this : *Viz.*

Once upon a Time, there was a Bear-baiting appointed ; a great over-grown *French* Bear, the greatest in the World, to be baited by *English* and *Dutch* Mastiffs, the best Mastiffs in the Universe : The Match was made between the most Christian Lion of *England* and *Holland*, on one Hand, and the most Antichristian Bear-ward of *France*, on the other Hand ; and the Wager was no less, than the whole Interest of the *French* Crown, on one Side, and the whole remaining Interest of *Europe*, and the Liberty of all *Christendom*, on the other, in Case of a total Destruction, either of the Bear, or of the Mastiffs.

Whereupon, the great *French* Bear-ward, that apocalyptick Beast, *Ludovicus*, whose Name is the Number of the Beast in the Revelations, for the numerical Letters of his

Name are Six-hundred, three-score, and six : I say, this notorious Beast of a Man, this cruel Tyrant, who retains nothing in him of a King, but the Purple ; this Bear-ward *le Grand* spared no Costs, nor Pains, to hearten, cherish, and strengthen his Bear, against the Time of Baiting ; nay, he sent as far as the *Levant* for strengthening Cordials, and Restoratives for his Bear.

Hereupon, the wary Lion (who is, in his own Nature, as wise as a Serpent, and yet as innocent as a Dove) sent out Force enough, to intercept all those Restoratives at the *Streights* Mouth.

But you must know, the Lions having more than a good many Jackcalls about him, as all our Lions ever had, they over-persuaded him to make a Jack-an-Apes Commander of that Force ; who, when the Bear's Cordials and Restoratives came in Sight, sat still upon his Butt-end all the While, cracking of Nuts, and making of Monkey's Faces, and so let the strengthening Cordials pass by safe, just under his Nose, without doing any Thing, besides Gazing and Smelling at them.

After this, you must further know, these foolish head-strong Jackcalls (being all great Favourites forsooth, and pretending to ten Times more Knowledge and Discretion, than ever they were, or ever will be Masters of) prevailed likewise with the Lion, to make an old gristed Spaniel Commander in Chief over all his Mastiffs, both *English* and *Dutch*.

Wherefore, the Lion, at the earnest Request and Recommendation of the Jackcalls, called out old *Grifle* (a plaguy Dog at a Bitch; and therefore, in all Probability, well acquainted with the best Kennels) and spitted in his Mouth, and clapped him on the Back, and gave him all the Encouragement a Dog could have, and then bid him go, range about, seek out, and bring Home, sixteen or eighteen Couple of stout, well-bred, true *English* Beagles with him, to hunt out the Bear, and conduct the Mastiffs to their Sport.

But old *Grifle*, not observing his Master's Instructions, instead of procuring strong-built, hearty, experienced Beagles, brought back a damned raw Pack of mere Whelps and Lap-dogs; and, by his and their Fawning, Crouching, Cringing, and Wheedling, as Spaniels, Whelps, and Lap-dogs use to do, and by the Intercession of the Jackcalls, who will recommend the Devil for a good Artist, if he has but the Art of feeding them secretly with forbidden Prey, they prevailed with the Lion to be commissioned under old *Grifle*, in order to lead and guide the Mastiffs; which made the Mastiffs growl most confoundedly, through mere Indignation.

However, out they went, under this wise Conduct; but, before they went out, old *Grifle*, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs (for I call them his, because, as I told you but now, they were most of his own Getting) thought it convenient, for their better Security, to muzzle all the Mastiffs, and tie them fast in a strong Line of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; and, as soon as that was effectually done, then out they went all together.

And, all the Way they went, old *Grifle*, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs, did frisk, and skip, and leap, and bounce, and yelp, being all over-joyed, that they should see some Sport anon (for most of them had never seen a Bear before in their Lives) and Oh! how they whipped the Bear about, and swinged him off, all the Way, in their own Fancies!

Says old, proud, impotent, self-conceited, empty *Grifle*: 'Gentlemen Whelps, and 'Gentlemen Lap-dogs, Courage! here is 'Confusion to the Bear. Huzza! shew yourselves to be but what you are, *viz.* true 'Whelps, and right Lap-dogs, and I desire 'no more: for, by your Assistance, I have 'Power enough to beat all the Bears in *France*. 'I have been a Whelp and a Lap-dog myself 'in my Time, as well as the best of you all: 'And, to my certain Knowledge, an *English* 'Whelp, or Lap-dog, is able to grapple with 'a *French* Bear at any Time; wherefore, we 'need no Scouts to go before, to bring us 'Notice of the Bear's Approach; for, as soon 'as he comes within Hearing of your terrible 'Yelping, he will be glad to retire fast enough of his own Accord, I warrant you: 'Therefore, Courage my beloved Whelps 'and Lap-dogs! here's Confusion once more 'to the Bear! — Huzza! yelp! yelp! 'yelp!'

But old *Grifle* had scarce ended these Words, nor was the Yelping quite ceased, when lo! all on a sudden, the unexpected Roaring of the Bear quite surprised, dashed, astonished, and stunned the whole Pack of Mongrels; which made old *Grifle* shrink in his Tail between his Legs, and hang down his Head (and, if it had been hung up, not a Half-penny Damage) and made all the Whelps and Lap-dogs begin to whine and whimper about him, and fawn upon him, with wagging Tails, clapped in behind, lank Ears before, couchant Heads, and Tears in their Eyes. But, on the other Side, it made the brave Mastiffs prick up their Ears, and drew Rage and Foam from their Mouths, and Fire from their very Eyes, to be at the Bear. Bless me! what a Difference there is, between right true-bred Mastiffs, and whiffing Curs!

(For you must know, the great Bear was, by an unexpected Hurricane, driven to a Bay, fresh-water Bay, or else he had seized, and hugged old *Grifle*, and all his Whelps and Lap-dogs, just as the Devil hugs a Witch, before they had been aware of it, and was there confined in *Lob's* Pound, and tied as fast, as a Bear to a Stake; which made him suck his Paws, and fret in his Greafe, and roar after that hideous Manner.)

However,

However, old *Grifle* was forced, by the Rage and Importunity of the Mastiffs, to go and shew them the Bear: And, to give the Devil his Due, he did shew them the Bear, and that was all: For, when he plainly perceived, that the *French* were really there with their Bears, he immediately took all possible Care, to stand at a Distance enough, out of Harm's Way; and out of the Way of doing Harm to any, but the forward Mastiffs.

But had the first, second, and third-rate Mastiffs been then let loose, when they were fresh and untired; and when they had a strong direct Gale to carry them, to the Bear's very Nose; they would certainly have torn him to Pieces in a Trice: For he was so hemmed in, on every Side, that he could not stir one Way or other; neither could any of the Mastiffs have been there lost or sunk, they being then, at the Mouth of the best Kennel, or Port, in *Europe*: When, at the same Time, the Bear was above a hundred Leagues from his Den: And besides, there was another strong Party, or two, of stout Third, Fourth, and Fifth-Rate Mastiffs, out at the same Time, to have intercepted the Bear in his Way, if, after the first Mastiffs tearing him, he should have endeavoured to make his Escape Home. Here were all the Advantages, that Heaven and Earth could grant, at once; and all the favourable Opportunities, that Man could ask, or that God need grant: And Nothing wanting but Courage, Conduct, Skill, and Honesty, to accomplish the utter Destruction of the Bear for evermore. Never had Spaniel such an Opportunity of losing his own Name, and gaining the Reputation of a Mastiff; and never had Whelps and Lap-Dogs such an Opportunity, to ingratiate themselves with, and gain the Applause and Esteem of all Mankind, as well as of Womankind and Children. But I find the Poet is in the Right on it, who says:

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurvet.

Nature recoils; and, though you hang the Dog,

Yet he will die, just as he liv'd, a Rogue.

For, as soon as old *Grifle*, his Whelps, and his Lap-Dogs, espied the vast Bulk of the Bear's Body, the Wideness of his Jaws, the Largeness of his Paws, and the Length of his

Claws, as if they had seen Raw-head and Bloody-bones, they turned all as white presently, as my Lady's Night-trail.

But by the thundering Noise of the Mastiffs, and by the powerful Help of Brandy, being somewhat roused out of their fainting Fit, they began at last, though it was long first, to recover a little out of their clammy Sweat: And then they called a Council, as they called it. And there, you might have seen all the Whelps and Lap-Dogs lying panting round old *Grifle*, and looking up to him, in this Time of Need, and he looking down upon them again, with most pitiful Countenances, on both Sides; and, all the While, making a most intolerable Stink, for Fear of the Bear: Nay, such a strange Stink, that I am forced to hold my Nose, even now, whilst I am speaking of it; and to cry, Out, ye stinking Curs! Faw! Out, and be hanged! Faw! Out, for Shame, and make Room for the Mastiffs!

However, at Long-run, old *Grifle* made a Shift to open his Jaws, and held them open, a long While, without speaking ever a Word, for he well knew, they understood his Meaning by his Gaping: Yet, at last, with much ado, and with as much Hesitation, Trembling, and Shaking, as if he had been in the House of Commons, he broke Silence, and snarled out these following Sentences, to the great Joy of the Whelps and Lap-Dogs; but to the deep Grief and Regret of the Mastiffs, and to the everlasting Stain, and eternal Reproach of the *English* Nation, viz.

'Gentlemen Whelps, and Gentlemen Lap-Dogs, I lately saw, when I was so often and so long on Shore in *London*, and at *Portsmouth* (that the very Watermen called me *Lord Tarry-at-Home*, and *Lord Tarry-in-Town*) then I say, I saw a very good Book, nay, which is more, a Convocation-Book, in *Mall Hinton's* Closet (or rather, Kennel) for, I must tell you, she is a very devout Creature, a mighty Lover of Convocations, and no good Thing can come out, but she, good Girl, will presently take it in. And there in that Book I remember it is laid down, by the venerable Authority of a certain Kind of a certain Sort of a Convocation, as an undoubted Principle of our Church (for I was never of any Church, that was for true Fighting, no more than you)

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viz.

viz. That, whatever Powers here below are settled and fixed, we ought to pay ample Allegiance, Non-Resistance, and Passive Obedience to them: And you know well enough, that our Master, the Lion, is not so very well settled and fixed at this Time; for he is not yet passed the *Boyne*, and there is a deep Water for him to wade through up to the Chin, and several *French Bears* in his Way, before he can reach *Dublin*. But on the other Side you plainly see, That the great *French Bear*, here, is settled and fixed before your Eyes: And, for my Part, I have often found great Civilities from *French Bears*; and so, I hope, I may again. Wherefore, Gentlemen Whelps, and Gentlemen Lap-Dogs, though you are young, yet I am old; and it is high Time for me to follow the virtuous Example of *Mall Hinton*, and to walk by Convocation-Rules: And, therefore, I am clearly of the same Opinion with the venerable Convocation, *viz.* That we ought, in the first Place, to keep our Distance, to consider where we are, and in whose Presence we be, and to see who and who stand together; and also, to keep to the saving Doctrine of Non-Assistance, till we hear a little better which Way Things go, and till we are fully satisfied what is become of the *Irish Affairs*: And yet, notwithstanding, in the mean Time, to pay all dutiful Respects to the settled Power of the Bear (who was driven into the Bay by a Hurricane, and so has plainly God's Authority) and especially, to keep close to our Beloved-Church-Rules, and my old, natural, Spaniel-Rules, of Non-Resistance, and Passive-Obedience, during our whole Retreat.' At which periodical Snarl, all the Whelps and Lap-Dogs heaved up their drooping Heads, and cried, *Yelp, Yelp, Yelp*; but the enraged Mastiffs swore, *Bow,—Wow,—Wow*.

This was the warlike Resolution, the admirable, or Admiral-like Determination, and positive Injunction of old *Grifse*; whereunto all the Whelps and Lap-Dogs unanimously agreed, and punctually observed it, like so many Dogs in a String; and hung down their Heads all the Way, like so many Sheep-biters; finding now, by sad Experience, the great Difference between Bear-baiting, and Sheep-biting.

But, however, the Mastiffs, both *English* and *Dutch*, could not endure to be held so

long, six or seven Days together, by a Pack of shagreen Curs, in such an unreasonable Line, a Line of five or six Leagues Distance, at least, from the Bear, the grand Enemy of Mankind, and from their Duty of attacking him.

Therefore, to be thus unjustly restrained in Spight of their Courage, nay, in Spight of their Teeth, by a Company of Whiffers, made the Mastiffs rave, and grow almost stark-staring mad, for Want of Sleep and Rest; but especially for Want of Fighting; for Fighting is their Meat and Drink: A true Tarpaulin fights only to eat, and eats only to fight again: And there were enough with them to eat up the Bear; and Sharpers enough in every Thing else, but Fighting; and more by a great many (though not by a good many) than those that devoured the great *Spanish Bear* in 1588.

Whereupon the Lioness, hearing the loud-mouthed Voice of her Mastiffs, both *English* and *Dutch*, speaking the same Thing, and, which is strange, the same Language, and both Countries agreeing in the same Verdict, *viz.* That the Mastiffs were abused, curbed, and muzzled by a Parcel of Mongrels; therefore she roused up her royal Wrath, and sent positive Orders to the Curs, either to permit the Mastiffs to fight, or else to come presently themselves to her Den in the *Tower*.

This royal Eccho startled the Spaniel, the Whelps, and the Lap-Dogs worse, if possible, than the Roaring of the Bear had done before: For now, being almost nine Days old in their Iniquity, the Whelps began to see, that there was another settled Power, besides the Bears.

Thus old *Grifse*, his Whelps, and his Lap-Dogs, being reduced to a great Strait, for Fear of the Lioness on one Side, and of the Bear on the other; and, yet, being willing to curry Favour with both Sides, and to keep to the Convocation-Rules of Non-Resistance of the settled Power of the Lioness, and of Passive Obedience to the fixed Power of the Bear: Therefore, they craftily and cunningly resolved (as if they had been so many Schoolmen, or Doctors of Metaphysical Notions and Distinctions) that they would sacredly, or, rather cursedly, observe a strict Neutrality on both Sides.

In Pursuance whereof, old *Grifse*, in the first Place, making his Honours, his Bows, and his profound Congees to the Bear; and, then, making his Obedience to the Lioness,

and

and, withal, making a Shew of Praying, but not Fighting, for King *William* and Queen *Mary*: He hung out the bloody Flag, as they use to do at the Bear-Garden, and proclaimed free Liberty for all to fight, that had a Mind to it. Fight Dog, fight Bear, for him, and his.

Whereupon, the brave *Tyrrell*, the undaunted *Dorrell*, and several other *English*, and above twenty *Dutch* Mastiffs, all as good as ever run at a Bear (and, oh! that the courageous and victorious *Shovel* had been amongst them!) though they were before almost quite throttled, spent, and strangled by being held back so long from their Sport, in such an unreasonable Line, yet now took fresh Courage, and broke the Line, and left the Mongrels behind to their Due, the Line; and ran full Speed forwards, and made directly at the Bear with open Mouths; and stared Fire, and gaped Smoke, and spoke Thunder, and darted Thunderbolts, and hurled Whirlwinds at the Bear; and so scorched, blighted, blasted, and twisted him; and gave him such Rents, such Gashes, such Breaches, and such Shocks, that they made him groan, and reel backwards at their very first Onset: And, had they been seconded, as they ought, we should never have been troubled hereafter with any more *French*-dancing Bears again.

And though I will hold ten *English* Crowns to one *French* Crown at any Time, upon any of these Mastiffs Heads, both *Dutch* and *English*, against any *French* Cub whatsoever of equal Size: And though I have great Reason always to lament my own Insolvency, in that I am not able ever to pay sufficient Expressions of Gratitude and Thankfulness to every one of these glorious Assailants; and particularly to the *Dutch*, because I find, they had not so many Whelps and Lap-Dogs amongst them, as we had; no, nor so many Jackcalls neither.

Yet, after all, I beseech you, Gentlemen, bear with my Weakness, and pardon the Infirmary of my Judgment, if it be so, and give me Leave to say, That my main Bet is more especially reserved for, and fixed upon, the brave *Tyrrell*: A Hundred to One on his Head at any Time? His Name is *Wonder*, a right *English* Mastiff, and a true-bred Tarpaulin; who never gave an Affront, and never brooked one; who is of such strange Humility, Goodness, and Modesty; and yet, at

the same Time, of such unparalleled Courage, Knowledge, and Bravery, that, I protest, I have often gazed at the Man in Raptures of Admiration; and always thought him a great Blessing to this Nation, if we understood him; that is to say, at which I know all the Jackcalls will grin, if we understood how to employ true Virtue, true Honesty, true Valour, true Skill, true Conduct, and true Merit to the best Advantage; and, if we understood how to pitch upon a Man, that can, by his own private Interest and Repute amongst all true Tarpaulins, man out a whole Fleet at any Time without a Preface.

But these, indeed, would be too many Blessings wrapped up in one; and the powerful Spirit of the ever-blessed Bishop *Usher*, still surviving in his Grandson, would make too good an Admiral for so bad an Age, as this is.

Neither would I have old envious *Grifle*, nor any of his malicious Whelps, or Lap-Dogs, think, that Captain *Tyrrell* is any Ways privy to this Commendation: No, good Man, he would have been the only Obstacle against it, if he had known it; for he is neither for praising himself, nor dispraising others.

But yet, I hope, my Lord *Grifle*, Master Whelps, and Master Lap-Dogs, you will give me Leave to speak the Truth concerning your Worthips; who was a Spectator and Stander-by all the While, as well as you; especially, since you have made me, and all my Countrymen, pay so dear for our Standing at your special Bear-baiting; nay, methinks, you might out of Modesty, if you had any, give us Leave to speak, who are such great Losers by you: And more especially, since you have brought Things to such a Pass, that, if we do not speak now, we must for ever hereafter hold our Peace; for you have bid the last Bans of Matrimony between us and Destruction.

Wherefore, since I neither do, nor can, speak Evil of the Rulers of the People, viz. King *William* and Queen *Mary*; of whom, by whom, and in whom, I know Nothing but good: And since our blessed Saviour called those Men Dogs, that eat up the Children's Bread: And since you, Gentlemen Whelps, and Gentlemen Lap-Dogs, have given a pretty good Stroke already to our daily Bread; and are preparing, not only to devour the Remainder, but also to rob us of the Bread of Life; and to bring in the Abomination of Desolation upon us, even that Abomination,

which

which maketh desolate now at this very Day in *Flanders, Savoy*, and all the Frontiers of the Empire, &c. and would willingly do the like here amongst us, with all his Heart; and so, I perceive, with all yours too: And since you have only the Name, the Salary, the Sash, the Cravat-string, the Feather, the Red, and the Blue of Commanders; without the true Heart, the Spirit, the Experience, the Honesty, and the Bravery of true *English* Tarpaulins: And since you have acquitted old *Gristle* for his ill Service, and have snarled

and snapped at my dearly beloved *Wonder*, and his wonderfully courageous Brethren's Heels, for their good Service: Therefore I will take upon me the Boldness, whether you give me Leave or no, to tell you, in plain *English*, without any Mixture of *French* in it, That you are a Pack of Curs and Mongrels; and ought to be turned off, and cashiered, every one of you; for there is none amongst you all, though you very well deserve it, that is worth Hanging.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England**, proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellor of State, and a Justice of Peace. Written by the worthy Knight, Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Dedicated to the King's Majesty, and to the House of Parliament now assembled. Preserved to be now happily, in these distracted Times, published, and printed 1640. *Quarto*, containing Seventy-four Pages.

Counsellor.

NOW, Sir, what think you of Mr. *St. John's* Trial in the *Star-Chamber*? I know that the Bruit ran that he was hardly dealt withal, because he was imprisoned in the *Tower*, seeing his Disfluency from granting a Benevolence to the King was warranted by the Law.

Justice.

Surely, Sir, it was made manifest at the Hearing, that Mr. *St. John* was rather in Love with his own Letter; he confessed he had seen your Lordship's Letter, before he wrote his to the Mayor of *Marlborough*, and in your Lordship's Letter, there was not a Word, whereto the Statutes, by Mr. *St. John* alledged, had Reference; for those Statutes did condemn the Gathering of Money from the Subject, under Title of a free Gift; whereas a Fifth, a Sixth, a Tenth, &c. was set down, and required. But, my good Lord, though divers Shires have given to his Majesty, some more, some less, What is this to the King's Debt?

Counf. We know it well enough, but we have many other Projects.

Just. It is true, my good Lord; but your Lordship will find, that when by these you have drawn many petty Sums from the Subjects, and those sometimes spent, as fast as they are gathered, his Majesty being nothing enabled thereby, when you shall be forced to Demand your great Aid, the Country will excuse itself, in Regard of their former Payments.

Counf. What mean you by the great Aid?

Just. I mean the Aid of Parliament.

Counf. By Parliament. I would fain know for the Man, that durst persuade the King unto it, for if it should succeed ill, In what Case were he?

Just. You say well for yourself, my Lord, and perchance, you that are Lovers of yourselves, under Pardon, do follow the Advice of the late Duke of *Alva*, who was ever opposite to all Resolution in Business of Importance; for if the Things enterprised succeeded well, the Advice never came in Question: If ill, whereto great Undertakings are commonly subject, he then made his Advantage, by remembering his Country Council: But my good Lord, these reserved Politicians are not

* This is the 287th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

the best Servants, for he that is bound to adventure his Life for his Master, is also bound to adventure his Advice: *Keep not back Counsel, saith Ecclesiasticus, when it may do Good.*

Counf. But, Sir, I speak it not in other Respect, than I think it dangerous for the King to assemble the three Estates, for thereby have our former Kings always lost somewhat of their Prerogatives. And, because that you shall not think, that I speak it at Random, I will begin with elder Times, wherein the first Contention began, betwixt the Kings of this Land, and their Subjects in Parliament.

Just. Your Lordship shall do me a singular Favour.

Counf. You know that the King of England had no formal Parliament till above the eighteenth Year of *Henry the First*, for in his seventeenth Year, for the Marriage of his Daughter, the King raised a Tax upon every Hide of Land by the Advice of his Privy-Council alone. But you may remember how the Subjects, soon after the Establishment of this Parliament, began to stand upon Terms with the King, and drew from him by strong Hand, and the Sword, the great Charter.

Just. Your Lordship says well, they drew from the King the great Charter by the Sword, and hereof the Parliament cannot be accused, but the Lords.

Counf. You say well, but it was after the Establishment of the Parliament, and by Colour of it, that they had so great Daring, for before that Time they could not endure to hear of *St. Edward's* Laws, but resisted the Confirmation in all they could, although, by those Laws, the Subjects of this Island were no less free than any of all *Europe*.

Just. My good Lord, the Reason is manifest; for while the *Normans*, and other of the *French* that followed the Conqueror, made Spoil of the *English*, they would not endure that any Thing but the Will of the Conqueror should stand for Law; but after a Descend or two, when themselves were become *English*, and found themselves beaten with their own Rods, they then began to favour the Difference between Subjection and Slavery, and insist upon the Law, *Meum & Tuum*; and to be able to say unto themselves, *Hoc fac & vires*; yea, that the conquering *English* in *Ireland* did the like, your Lordship knows it better than I.

Counf. I think you guess a-right: And to
V O L. V.

the End the Subject may know, that, being a faithful Servant to his Prince, he might enjoy his own Life, and, paying to his Prince what belongs to a Sovereign, the Remainder was his own to dispose; *Henry the First*, to content his Vassals, gave them the great Charter, and the Charter of Forests.

Just. What Reason then had King *John* to deny the Confirmation?

Counf. He did not, but he on the contrary confirmed both the Charters with Additions, and required the Pope, whom he had then made his Superior, to strengthen them with a golden Bull.

Just. But your Honour knows, that it was not long after, that he repented himself.

Counf. It is true, and he had Reason so to do, for the Barons refused to follow him into *France*, as they ought to have done; and to say true, this great Charter, upon which you insist so much, was not originally granted regally and freely; for *Henry the First* did usurp the Kingdom, and therefore, the better to assure himself against *Robert*, his eldest Brother, he flattered his Nobility and People, with those Charters: Yea, King *John* that confirmed them had the like Respect; for *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, was the undoubted Heir of the Crown, upon whom *John* usurped. And so to conclude, these Charters had their Original from Kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

Just. But King *John* confirmed the Charter, after the Death of his Nephew *Arthur*, when he was then *Rex de jure* also.

Counf. It is true, for he durst do no other, standing accused, whereby few or none obeyed him, for his Nobility refused to follow him into *Scotland*; and he had so grieved the People by pulling down all the Park Pales before Harvest, to the End his Deer might spoil the Corn; and by seizing the Temporalities of so many Bishopricks into his Hands, and chiefly for practising the Death of the Duke of *Bretagne* his Nephew, as also having lost *Normandy*, to the *French*, so as the Hearts of all Men were turned from him.

Just. Nay, by your Favour, my Lord, King *John* restored King *Edward's* Laws, after his Absolution, and wrote his Letters in the fifteenth of his Reign, to all Sheriffs, countermanding all former Oppressions; yea, this he did, notwithstanding the Lords refused to follow him into *France*.

Counf. Pardon me, he did not restore King Edward's Laws then, nor yet confirmed the Charters, but he promised upon his Absolution to do both: But after his Return out of France, in his sixteenth Year he denied it, because, without such a Promise, he had not obtained Restitution, his Promise being constrained, and not voluntary.

Just. But what think you? Was he not bound in Honour to perform it?

Counf. Certainly no, for it was determined in the Case of King Francis the First of France, that all Promises by him made, whilst he was in the Hands of Charles the Fifth, his Enemy, were void, by Reason, the Judge of Honour, which tells us he durst do no other.

Just. But King John was not in Prison.

Counf. Yet, for all that, Restraint is an Imprisonment, yea, Fear itself is an Imprisonment, and the King was subject to both: I know there is nothing more kingly in a King, than the Performance of his Word; but, yet of a Word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the Charter of Henry the First so published, that all Men might plead it for their Advantage; but a Charter was left, in deposit, in the Hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the Time, and so to his Successors. Stephen Langton, who was ever a Traitor to the King, produced this Charter, and shewed it to the Barons, thereby encouraging them to make War against the King. Neither was it the old Charter simply the Barons fought to have confirmed, but they presented unto the King other Articles and Orders, tending to the Alteration of the whole Commonwealth; which when the King refused to sign, the Barons presently put themselves into the Field, and in rebellious and outrageous Fashion, sent the King Word, except he confirmed them, they would not desist from making War against him, till he had satisfied them therein. And in Conclusion, the King being betrayed of all his Nobility, in Effect, was forced to grant the Charter of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, at such Time as he was invironed with an Army in the Meadows of *Staynes*; which Charters, being procured by Force, Pope Innocent afterwards disavowed, and threatened to curse the Barons, if they submitted not themselves, as they ought, to their Sovereign Lord; which when the Lords refused to obey, the King entertained an Army of Strangers, for

his own Defence, wherewith having mastered and beaten the Barons, they called in *Lewis of France*, a most unnatural Resolution, to be their King. Neither was *Magna Charta* a Law in the nineteenth of Henry the Third, but simply a Charter, which he confirmed in the twenty-first of his Reign, and made it a Law in the twenty-fifth, according to *Littleton's* Opinion. Thus much for the Beginning of the great Charter, which had first an obscure Birth from Usurpation, and was secondly fostered and shewed to the World by Rebellion.

Just. I cannot deny but that all your Lordship hath said is true; but, seeing the Charters were afterwards so many Times confirmed by Parliament and made Laws, and that there is nothing in them unequal or prejudicial to the King; Doth not your Honour think it Reason they should be observed?

Counf. Yes, and observed they are in all that the State of a King can permit, for no Man is destroyed, but by the Laws of the Land, no Man disleized of his Inheritance, but by the Laws of the Land; imprisoned they are by the Prerogative where the King hath Cause to suspect their Loyalty; for were it otherwise, the King should never come to the Knowledge of any Conspiracy or Treason, against his Person or State, and being imprisoned, yet doth not any Man suffer Death, but by the Law of the Land.

Just. But may it please your Lordship, Were not *Cornwallis*, *Sharp*, and *Hoskins* imprisoned, there being no Suspicion of Treason there?

Counf. They were, but it cost them nothing.

Just. And what got the King by it? For in the Conclusion, besides the Murmur of the People, *Cornwallis*, *Sharp*, and *Hoskins* having greatly overshot themselves, and repented them, a Fine of Five or six-hundred Pounds was laid on his Majesty, for their Offences, for so much their Diet cost his Majesty.

Counf. I know who gave the Advice, sure I am that it was none of mine: But thus I say, if you consult your Memory, you shall find, that those Kings, which did in their own Times, confirm the *Magna Charta*, did not only imprison, but they caused of their Nobility, and others, to be slain, without Hearing or Trial.

Just. My good Lord, if you will give me Leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well

well advised, that persuade the King, not to admit the *Magna Charta*, with the former Reservations. For as the King can never lose a Farthing by it, as I shall prove anon; so except *England* were as *Naples* is, and kept by Garisons of another Nation, it is impossible for a King of *England* to greaten and enrich himself by any Way so assuredly, as by the Love of his People. For by one Rebellion the King hath more Loss, than by a hundred Years Observance of *Magna Charta*: For therein have our Kings been forced to compound with Rogues and Rebels, and to pardon them, yea, the State of the King, the Monarchy, the Nobility have been endangered by them.

Counf. Well, Sir, let that pass, Why should not our Kings raise Money, as the Kings of *France* do, by their Letters and Edicts only? For, since the Time of *Lewis the Eleventh*, of whom it is said, that he freed the *French* Kings of their Wardship, the *French* Kings have seldom assembled the States, for any Contribution.

Just. I will tell you why; the Strength of *England* doth consist of the People and Yeomanry; the Peasants of *France* have no Courage nor Arms: In *France*, every Village and Borough hath a Castle, which the *French* call *Chasticaue Villina*; every good City hath a good Cittadel; the King hath the Regiments of his Guards, and his Men at Arms always in Pay; yea, the Nobility of *France*, in whom, the Strength of *France* consists, do always assist their King in those Levies upon their Tenants. But, my Lord, if you mark it, *France* was never free, in Effect, from Civil Wars; and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the *Spaniards*, or to be cantonised by the rebellious *French* themselves, since that Freedom of Wardship. But, my good Lord, to leave this Digression, that, wherein I would willingly satisfy your Lordship, is, that the Kings of *England* have never received Loss, by Parliament, or Prejudice.

Counf. No, Sir, you shall find that the Subjects in Parliament have decreed great Things, to the Disadvantage and Dishonour of our Kings in former Times.

Just. My good Lord, to avoid Confusion, I will make a short Report of them all, and then your Lordship may object, where you see Cause: And I doubt not but to give your Lordship Satisfaction. In the sixth Year of

Henry the Third, there was no Dispute, the House gave the King two Shillings of every Plough-land within *England*; and, in the End of the same Year, he had Escuage paid him, to wit, for every Knight's Fee, two Marks in Silver. In the fifth Year of that King, the Lords demanded the Confirmation of the Great Charter, which the King's Council, for that Time present, excused, alledging that those Privileges were extorted by Force, during the King's Minority; and yet the King was pleased to send forth his Writ to the Sheriffs of every County, requiring them to certify, what those Liberties were, and how used; and in Exchange of the Lords Demand, because they pressed him so violently, the King required all the Castles and Places, which the Lords held of his, and had held in the Time of his Father, with those Manors and Lordships, which they had heretofore wrested from the Crown; which at that Time, the King being provided of Forces, they durst not deny. In the fourteenth Year, he had the fifteenth Penny of all Goods given him, upon Condition to confirm the Great Charter: For, by Reason of the Wars in *France*, and the Loss of *Rochelle*, he was then forced to consent to the Lords, in all they demanded. In the tenth Year of his Reign, he fined the City of *London*, at fifty-thousand Marks, because they had received *Lewis* of *France*. In the eleventh Year, in the Parliament at *Oxford*, he revoked the Great Charter being granted, when he was under Age, and governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*. In his eleventh Year, the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Chester*, Marshal, *Edward* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrars*, and *Warwick*, and others rebelled against the King, and constrained him to yield unto them in what they demanded for their particular Interest; which Rebellion being appeased, he sailed into *France*; and, in his fifteenth Year, he had a Fifteenth of the Temporality, and a Dism and a Half of the Spirituality, and withal, Escuage of every Knight's Fee.

Counf. But what say you to the Parliament of *Westminster*, in the sixteenth Year of the King; where, notwithstanding the Wars of *France*, and his great Charge in Repulsing the *Welsh* Rebels, he was flatly denied the Subsidy demanded?

Just. I confess, my Lord, that the House excused themselves, by Reason of their Poverty, and the Lords Taking of Arms; in the next Year, it was manifest that the House was practised against the King: And was it not so, my good Lord, think you, in our two last Parliaments, for, in the first, even those, whom his Majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the Union; and in the second, there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your Lordship spoke of Dangers of Parliaments; in this, my Lord, there was a Denial, but there was no Danger at all: But to return where I left, What got the Lords, by Practising the House at that Time? I say, that those, that broke this Staff upon the King, were overturned with the Counterbuff, for he refused all those Lands which he had given in his Minority; he called all his exacting Officers to Account, he found them all faulty; he examined the Corruption of other Magistrates, and, from all these, he drew sufficient Money to satisfy his present Necessity; whereby, he not only spared his People, but highly contented them with an Act of great Justice: Yea, *Hubert*, Earl of *Kent*, the Chief Justice, whom he had most trusted, and most advanced, was found as false to the King, as any one of the rest; and, for Conclusion, in the End of that Year, at the Assembly of the States at *Lambeth*, the King had the fortieth Part of every Man's Goods given him freely towards his Debts; for the People, who, the same Year, had refused to give the King any Thing, when they saw he had squeezed those Sponges of the Commonwealth, they willingly yielded to give him Satisfaction.

Counf. But, I pray you, what became of this *Hubert*, whom the King had favoured above all Men, betraying his Majesty as he did?

Just. There were many that persuaded the King to put him to Death, but he could not be drawn to consent, but the King seized upon his Estate, which was great; yet, in the End, he left him a sufficient Portion, and gave him his Life, because he had done great Service in former Times: For his Majesty, though he took Advantage of his Vice, yet he forgot not to have Consideration of his Virtue. And upon this Occasion it was, that the King, betrayed by those whom he most trusted, entertained Strangers, and gave them

their Offices, and the Charge of his Castles and strong Places in *England*.

Counf. But the Drawing in of those Strangers was the Cause, that the Marshal, Earl of *Pembroke*, moved War against the King.

Just. It is true, my good Lord, but he was soon after slain in *Ireland*, and his whole masculine Race, ten Years extinguished, though there were five Sons of them; and, the Marshal being dead, who was the Mover and Ring-leader of that War, the King pardoned the rest of the Lords that had assisted the Marshal.

Counf. What Reason had the King so to do?

Just. Because he was so persuaded, that they loved his Person, and only hated those corrupt Counsellors, that then bore the greatest Sway under him, as also, because they were the best Men of War he had, whom, if he destroyed, having War with the *French*, he had wanted Commanders to have served him.

Counf. But what Reason had the Lords to take Arms?

Just. Because the King entertained the *Poitevins*: Were not they the King's Vassals also? Should the *Spaniards* rebel, because the *Spanish* King trusts to the *Neapolitans*, *Portuguese*, *Milanese*, and other Nations, his Vassals; seeing those, that are governed by the Viceroy and Deputies, are, in Policy, to be well entertained, and to be employed, who would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and employed by their Prince, they entertained themselves with the Hopes, that others the King's Vassals do. If the King had called in the *Spaniards*, or other Nations, not his Subjects, the Nobility of *England* had Reason of Grief.

Counf. But what People did ever serve the King of *England* more faithfully than the *Gascoignes* did, even to the last of the Conquest of that Duchy?

Just. Your Lordship says well, and I am of that Opinion, that, if it had pleased the Queen of *England*, to have drawn some of the chief of the *Irish* Nobility into *England*, and, by Exchange, to have made them good Freeholders in *England*, she had saved above two Millions of Pounds, which were consumed in Times of those Rebellions. For what held

held the *Gascoignes* firm to the Crown of *England*, of whom the Duke of *Espernon* married the Inheritrix, but his Earldom of *Kendal* in *England*, whereof the Duke of *Espernon*, in Right of his Wife, bears the Title to this Day. And, to the same End I take it, hath *James*, our sovereign Lord, given Lands to divers of the Nobility of *Scotland*; and, if I were worthy to advise your Lordship, I should think that your Lordship should do the King great Service, to put him in Mind to prohibit all the *Scottish* Nation, to alienate and sell away their Inheritance here; for, by the Selling, they not only give Cause to the *English* to complain, that the Treasure of *England* is transported into *Scotland*, but his Majesty is, thereby, also frustrated of making both Nations one, and of assuring the Service and Obedience of the *Scots* in the Future.

Couns. You say well; for though those of *Scotland*, that are advanced and enriched by the King's Majesty, will, no Doubt, serve him faithfully; yet, how their Heirs and Successors, having no Inheritance to lose in *England*, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our Parliament. And what say you to the Denial in the twenty-sixth Year of his Reign, even when the King was invited to come into *France* by the Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, and who promised to assist the King in the Conquest of many Places lost?

Just. It is true, my good Lord, that a Subsidy was then denied, and the Reasons are delivered in *English* Histories; and indeed, the King, not long before, had spent much Treasure, in aiding the Duke of *Bretagne* to no Purpose, for he drew over the King, but to draw on good Conditions for himself, as the Earl of *March*, his Father-in-Law, now did; as the *English* Barons did invite *Lewis* of *France*, not long before, as, in elder Times, all the Kings and States had done, and, in late Years, the Leaguers of *France* entertained the *Spaniards*, and the *French* Protestants and *Netherlands*, Queen *Elizabeth*; not with any Purpose to greaten those that aid them, but to purchase to themselves an advantageous Peace. But what say the Histories to this Denial? They say, with a World of Payments there mentioned, that the King had drawn the Nobility dry; and, besides that, whereas, not long before, great Sums of Money were

given, and the same appointed to be kept in four Castles, and not to be expended, but by the Advice of the Peers: It was believed that the same Treasure was yet unspent.

Couns. Good Sir, you have said enough? Judge you, whether it were not a Dishonour to the King, to be so tied, as not to expend his Treasure, but by other Men's Advice, as it were, by their Licence.

Just. Surely, my Lord, the King was well advised, to take the Money upon any Condition, and they were Fools that propounded the Restraint; for it doth not appear, that the King took any great Heed to those Overseers; Kings are bound by their Piety, and by no other Obligation. In Queen *Mary's* Time, when it was thought she was with Child, it was propounded in Parliament, that the Rule of the Realm should be given to King *Philip*, during the Minority of the hoped Prince or Princess; and the King offered his Assurance, in great Sums of Money, to relinquish the Government, at such Time as the Prince or Princess should be of Age: At which Motion, when all else were silent in the House, Lord *Dacres*, who was none of the wisest, asked who shall sue the King's Bond, which ended the Dispute: For what Bond is between a King and his Vassals, but the Bond of the King's Faith? But, my good Lord, the King, notwithstanding the Denial at that Time, was, with Gifts from particular Persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding on his Journey, for that Time, into *France*; he took with him thirty Casks, filled with Silver and Coin, which was a great Treasure in those Days. And, *Lastly*, notwithstanding the first Denial, in the King's Absence, he had *Escuage* granted him, to wit, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee.

Couns. What say you then to the twenty-eighth Year of that King, in which when the King demanded Relief, the States would not consent, except the same Order had been taken for the appointing of four Overseers for the Treasure? As also that the Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the States, with some Barons of the *Exchequer*, and other Officers.

Just. My good Lord, admit the King had yielded their Demands, then whatsoever had been ordained by those Magistrates to the Dislike of the Commonwealth, the People had
been

been without Remedy; whereas, while the King made them, they had their Appeal, and other Remedies. But those Demands vanished, and, in the End, the King had Escuage given him, without any of their Conditions. It is an excellent Virtue in a King to have Patience, and to give Way to the Fury of Men's Passions. The Whale, when he is struck by the Fisherman, grows in that Fury, that he cannot be resisted, but will overthrow all the Ships and Barques that come in his Way, but, when he hath tumbled a While, he is drawn to the Shore with a Twine-thread.

Counf. What say you then to the Parliament in the twenty-ninth Year of that King?

Just. I say, that, the Commons being unable to pay, the King relieves himself upon the richer Sort; and so it likewise happened in the thirty-third Year of the King, in which he was relieved chiefly by the City of *London*. But, my good Lord, in the Parliament in *London*, in the thirty-eighth Year, he had given him the Tenth of all the Revenues of the Church for three Years, and three Marks of every Knight's Fee throughout the Kingdom, upon his Promise and Oath for the Observing of *Magna Charta*; but, in the End of the same Year, the King being then in *France*, he was denied the Aids which he required. What is this to the Danger of a Parliament? Especially at this Time they had Reason to refuse, they had given so great a Sum in the Beginning of the same Year; and again, because it was known that the King had but pretended War with the King of *Castile*, with whom he had secretly contracted an Alliance, and concluded a Marriage between his Son *Edward* and the Lady *Eleanor*. These false Fires do but fright Children; and it commonly falls out, that, when the Cause given is known to be false, the Necessity pretended is thought to be feigned; Royal Dealing hath evermore Royal Success; and, as the King was denied in the thirty-eighth Year, so was he denied in the thirty-ninth Year, because the Nobility and the People saw it plainly, that the King was abused by the Pope, who, as well in Despite to *Manfred*, Bastard Son to the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, as to cousin the King, and to waste him, would needs bestow on the King the Kingdom of *Sicily*; to recover which, the King sent all the Treasure he could borrow or scrape to the Pope, and withal gave him Letters of Credence, for to take up what he could in *Italy*, the King binding himself for

the Payment. Now, my good Lord, the Wisdom of Princes is seen in nothing more than in their Enterprises. So how unpleasing it was to the State of *England* to consume the Treasure of the Land, and in the Conquest of *Sicily*, so far of, and otherwise, for that the *English* had lost *Normandy* under their Noses, and so many goodly Parts of *France* of their own proper Inheritance: The Reason of the Denial is as well to be considered as the Denial.

Counf. Was not the King also denied a Subsidy in the forty-first Year of his Reign?

Just. No, my Lord, for, although the King required Money, as before, for the impossible Conquest of *Sicily*, yet the House offered to give Fifty-two thousand Marks, which, whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain; and, whilst the King dreamed of *Sicily*, the *Welch* invaded and spoiled the Borders of *England*, for, in the Parliament of *London*, when the King urged the House for prosecuting the Conquest of *Sicily*, the Lords, utterly disliking the Attempt, urged the Prosecuting of the *Welchmen*; which Parliament, being prorogued, did assemble at *Oxford*, and was called the Mad-Parliament, which was no other than an Assembly of Rebels; for the Royal Assent of the King, which gives Life to all Laws, formed by the three Estates, was not a Royal Assent, when both the King and the Prince were constrained to yield to the Lords. A constrained Consent is the Consent of a Captive, and not of a King, and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For, if it be not properly a Parliament where the Subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the King is bound, for all kingly Rule was taken from the King, and twelve Peers appointed, and, as some Writers have it, twenty-four Peers to govern the Realm; and therefore the Assembly made by *Jack Straw*, and other Rebels, may as well be called a Parliament as that of *Oxford*. *Principis nomen habere, non est esse Princeps*; for thereby was the King driven not only to compound all Quarrels with the *French*, but to have Means to be revenged on the rebel Lords; but he quitted his Right to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, and *Mayne*.

Counf. But, Sir, what needed this Extremity, seeing the Lords require but the Confirmation of the former Charter, which was not prejudicial to the King to grant?

Just.

Just. Yes, my good Lord, but they insulted upon the King, and would not suffer him to enter into his own Castles; they put down the Purveyor of the Meat for the Maintenance of his House, as if the King had been a Bankrupt, and gave Order that, without ready Money, he should not take up a Chicken. And altho' there is nothing against the Royalty of a King in these Charters (the Kings of England being Kings of Freemen and not of Slaves) yet it is so contrary to the Nature of a King to be forced even to those Things which may be to his Advantage, as the King had some Reason to seek the Dispensation of his Oath from the Pope, and to draw in Strangers for his own Defence; yea, *Jure salvo Coronæ nostræ* is intended inclusively in all Oaths and Promises exacted from a Sovereign.

Counf. But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a Thing it is to call in other Nations, both for the Spoil they make, as also, because they have often held the Possession of the best Places with which they have been trusted.

Just. It is true, my good Lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a King as to be constrained and held as Prisoner to his Vassals, for by that *Edward the Second* and *Richard the Second* lost their Kingdom and their Lives. And for Calling in of Strangers, Was not King *Edward the Sixth* driven to call in Strangers against the Rebels in *Norfolk*, *Cornwall*, *Oxfordshire*, and elsewhere? Have not the Kings of *Scotland* been oftentimes constrained to entertain Strangers against the Kings of *England*? And the King of *England* at this Time, had he not been divers Times assisted by the Kings of *Scotland*, had been endangered to have been expelled for ever.

Counf. But yet you know those Kings were deposed by Parliament.

Just. Yea, my good Lord, being Prisoners, being out of Possession, and being in their Hands that were Princes of the Blood, and Pretenders. It is an old Country Proverb, *That Might overcomes Right*: A weak Title, that wears a strong Sword, commonly prevails against a strong Title that wears but a weak one, otherwise *Philip the Second* had never been Duke of *Portugal*, nor Duke of *Milan*, nor King of *Naples* and *Sicily*. But, good Lord, *Errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum*: I speak of regal, peaceable, and lawful Parliaments. The King, at this

Time, was but a King in Name, for *Gloucester*, *Leicester*, and *Chichester* made Choice of other nine, to whom the Rule of the Realm was committed, and the Prince was forced to purchase his Liberty from the Earl of *Leicester*, by giving for his Ransom the County Palatine of *Chester*. But, my Lord, let us judge of those Occasions by their Events: What became of this proud Earl? Was he not soon after slain in *Evesham*? Was he not left naked in the Field, and left a shameful Spectacle, his Head being cut off from his Shoulders, his Privy-Parts from his Body, and laid on each Side of his Nose? And did not God extinguish his Race? After which, in a lawful Parliament at *Westminster*, confirmed in a following Parliament of *Westminster*, Were not all the Lords that followed *Leicester* disinherited? And when that Fool *Gloucester*, after the Death of *Leicester*, whom he had formerly forsaken, made himself the Head of a second Rebellion, and called in Strangers, for which, not long before, he had cried out against the King, Was not he in the End, after that he had seen the Slaughter of so many of the Barons, the Spoil of their Castles and Lordships, constrained to submit himself, as all the Survivors did, of which they, that sped best, paid their Fines and Ransoms, the King reserving to his younger Son the Earldoms of *Leicester* and *Darby*.

Counf. Well, Sir, we have disputed this King to his Grave; though it be true, that he outlived all his Enemies, and brought them to Confusion; yet those Examples did not terrify their Successors, but the Earl Marshal, and *Hereford*, threatened King *Edward the First* with a new War.

Just. They did so; but, after the Death of *Hereford*, the Earl Marshal repented himself, and, to gain the King's Favour, he made him Heir of all his Lands. But what is this to the Parliament? For there was never a King of this Land had more given him for the Time of his Reign, than *Edward the Son of Henry the Third* had.

Counf. How doth it appear?

Just. In this Sort, my good Lord; in this King's third Year, he had given him the fifteenth Part of all Goods. In his sixth Year, a twentieth; in his twelfth Year, a twentieth; in his fourteenth Year he had Escuage, to wit, forty Shillings of every Knight's Fee; in his eighteenth Year, he had the eleventh Part of all moveable

moveable Goods within the Kingdom; in his nineteenth Year, the tenth Part of all Church Livings in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, for six Years, by Agreement from the Pope; in his three and twentieth Year, he raised a Tax upon Wool and Fells, and, on a Day, caused all the Religious Houses to be searched, and all the Treasure in them to be seized and brought to his Coffers, excusing himself, by laying the Fault upon his Treasurer; he had also, in the End of the same Year, of all Goods, of all Burgesses, and of the Commons, the tenth Part; in the twenty-fifth Year of the Parliament of *St. Edmundsbury*, he had an eighteenth Part of the Goods of the Burgesses, and of the People in general, the tenth Part. He had also the same Year, by putting the Clergy out of his Protection, a fifth Part of their Goods; and, in the same Year, he set a great Tax upon Wools, to wit, from half a Mark to forty Shillings upon every Sack; whereupon the Earl Marshal and the Earl of *Hereford*, refusing to attend the King into *Flanders*, pretended the Grievances of the People. But, in the End, the King having pardoned them, and confirmed the Great Charter, he had the ninth Penny of all Goods, from the Lords and Commons of the Clergy; in the South he had the tenth Penny, and in the North the fifth Penny. In the two and thirtieth Year, he had a Subsidy freely granted: In the three and thirtieth Year, he confirmed the Great Charter of his own Royal Disposition, and the States, to shew their Thankfulness, gave the King, for one Year, the sixth Part of their Goods. And the same Year the King used the Inquisition, called *Traile Baston*: By which all Justices and other Magistrates were grievously fined, that had used Extortion, or Bribery, or had otherwise misdemeaned themselves, to the great Contentation of the People. This Commission likewise did enquire of Intruders, Barrators, and all other the like Vermin, whereby the King gathered a great Mass of Treasure, with a great deal of Love. Now, for the whole Reign of this King, who governed *England* thirty-five Years, there was not any Parliament to Prejudice.

Counf. But there was Taking of Arms by the Earl Marshal and *Hereford*.

Just. That is true, but why was that? Because the King, notwithstanding all that was given him by Parliament, did lay the greatest Taxes that ever King did without their Con-

sent. But what lost the King by those Lords? One of them gave the King all his Lands, the other died in Disgrace.

Counf. But what say you to the Parliament in *Edward the Second's* Time, his Successor: Did not the House of Parliament banish *Pierce Gaveston*, whom the King favoured?

Just. But what was this *Gaveston*, but an Esquire of *Gascoigne*, formerly banished the Realm by King *Edward the First*, for corrupting the Prince *Edward*, now reigning? And, the whole Kingdom fearing and detesting his venomous Disposition, they besought his Majesty to cast him off; which the King performed by an Act of his own, and not by Act of Parliament; yea, *Gaveston's* own Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Gloucester*, was one of the chiefest Lords that procured it. And yet, finding the King's Affection to follow him so strongly, they all consented to have him recalled. After which, when his Credit so increased, that he despised and set at nought all the ancient Nobility, and not only persuaded the King to all Manner of Outrages and Riots, but withal transported what he listed of the King's Treasure, and Jewels, the Lords urged his Banishment the second Time; but neither was the first, nor the second Banishment forced by Act of Parliament, but by the forceable Lords his Enemies. Lastly, He being recalled by the King, the Earl of *Langcaster* caused his Head to be struck off, when those of his Party had taken him Prisoner. By which presumptuous Act, the Earl and the rest of his Company committed Treason and Murder; Treason, by raising an Army without Warrant; Murder, by taking away the Life of the King's Subject. After which, *Gaveston* being dead, the *Spencer's* got Possession of the King's Favour, though the younger of them was placed about the King by the Lords themselves.

Counf. What say you, then, to the Parliament, held at *London* about the sixth Year of that King?

Just. I say, that King was not bound to perform the Acts of this Parliament, because the Lords, being too strong for the King, forced his Consent; for these be the Words of our own History: 'They wrested too much beyond the Bounds of Reason.'

Counf. What say you to the Parliaments of the White Wands, in the three-and-thirtieth Year of the King?

Just. I say, the Lords, that were so moved, came with an Army, and, by strong Hand, surpris'd the King. ' They constrained (saith ' the Story) the rest of the Lords, and compelled many of the Bishops to consent unto ' them.' Yea, it saith further, That the King durst not but grant all that they required, to wit, for the Banishment of the *Spencers*. Yea, they were so insolent, that they refused to lodge the Queen, coming through *Kent*, in the Castle of *Leeds*, and sent her to provide her Lodging where she could get it, late in the Night; for which, notwithstanding, some, that kept her out, were soon after taken and hanged, and therefore your Lordship cannot call this a Parliament, for the Reasons before alledged. But, my Lord, What became of these Lawgivers to the King? Even when they were greatest, a Knight of the North, called *Andrew Herkeley*, assembled the Forces of the Country; overthrew them and their Army; slew the Earl of *Hereford*, and other Barons; took their General, *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, the King's Cousin-german, at that Time possessed of five Earldoms; the Lords *Clifford*, *Talbot*, *Mowbray*, *Maudint*, *Wilmington*, *Warren*; Lords *Darcy*, *Withers*, *Knevil*, *Leybourne*, *Bekes*, *Lovell*, *Fitzwilliams*, *Watervild*, and divers other Barons, Knights, and Esquires; and, soon after, the Lord *Percy* and the Lord *Warren* took the Lord *Baldemere* and the Lord *Audley*, the Lords *Teis*, *Gifford*, *Tutchet*, and many others, that fled from the Battle; the most of which passed under the Hands of the Hangman, for Constraining the King under the Colour and Name of a Parliament. By this your good Lordship may judge, to whom those tumultuous Assemblies, which our Histories falsely call *Parliaments*, have been dangerous; the Kings in the End ever prevailed, and the Lords lost their Lives and Estates; after which, the *Spencers*, in their Banishment at *York*, in the fifteenth Year of the King, were restored to their Honours and Estates; and therein the King had a Subsidy given him, the sixth Penny of Goods throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*.

Counf. Yet, you see, the *Spencers* were soon after dissolved.

Just. It is true, my Lord, but that is nothing to our Subject of Parliament; they may thank their own Insolency, for they branded and despised the Queen, whom they ought to

have honoured as the King's Wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other Men's Ruins; they were ambitious, and exceeding malicious; whereupon that came, that, when Chamberlain *Spencer* was hanged in *Hereford*, a Part of the four-and-twentieth Psalm was written over his Head: *Quid gloriaris in malitia, potens?*

Counf. Well, Sir; you have all this While excused yourself upon the Strength and Rebellions of the Lords; but what say you now to King *Edward the Third*? In whose Time (and during the Time of this victorious King, no Man durst take Arms, or rebel) the three Estates did him the greatest Affront, that ever King received or endured; therefore I conclude where I began, that these Parliaments are dangerous for a King.

Just. To answer your Lordship in Order: May it please you first to call to Mind what was given this great King, by his Subjects, before the Dispute betwixt him and the House happened, which was in his latter Days. From his first Year to his fifth Year, there was nothing given the King by his Subjects; in the eighth Year, at the Parliament at *London*, a Tenth and a Fifteenth was granted. In his tenth Year, he seized upon the *Italians* Goods here in *England* to his own Use, with all the Goods of the Monks *Cluniacks*, and others of the Order of the *Cisterrians*. In the eleventh Year, he had given him by Parliament a notable Relief, the one Half of the Wools throughout *England*, and, of the Clergy, all their Wools; after which, in the End of the Year, he had granted, in this Parliament at *Westminster*, forty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool, and, for every thirty Wool-fells, forty Shillings; for every Last of Leather as much, and for all other Merchandises after the same Rate. The King promising, that, this Year's Gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old Custom, he had, over and above this great Aid, the eighth Part of all Goods of all Citizens and Burghesses, and others, as of foreign Merchants; and, of such as lived not of the Gain of Breeding of Sheep and Cattle, the Fifteenth of their Goods. Nay, my Lord, this was not all, though more than ever was granted to any King; for the same Parliament bestowed on the King the ninth Sheaf of all the Corn within the Land, the ninth Fleece, and the ninth Lamb, for two Years next following:

Now, What thinks your Lordship of this Parliament?

Counf. I say, they were honest Men.

Just. And I say, the People are as loving to their King now, as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withal; and so his Majesty had found them in his last two Parliaments, if his Majesty had not been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

Counf. But, I pray you, Sir, Whom shall a King trust, if he may not trust those, whom he hath so greatly advanced?

Just. I will tell your Lordship whom the King may trust.

Counf. Who are they?

Just. His own Reason, and his own excellent Judgment, which have not deceived him in any Thing, wherein his Majesty hath been pleased to exercise them. 'Take Counsel of thine Heart, saith the Book of *Wisdom*, for there is none more faithful unto thee, than it.'

Counf. It is true; but his Majesty found, that those wanted no Judgment, whom he trusted; and how could his Majesty divine of their Honesties?

Just. Will you pardon me, if I speak freely? For I speak out of Love, which, as *Solomon* saith, *covereth all Trespasses*. The Truth is, That his Majesty would never believe any Man that spoke against them, and they knew it well enough; which gave them Boldness to do what they did.

Counf. What was that?

Just. Even, my good Lord, to ruin the King's Estate, so far as the Estate of so great a King may be ruined by Men ambitious and greedy without Proportion. It had been a brave Increase of Revenue, my Lord, to have raised five-hundred thousand Pounds in Land of the King's to twenty-thousand Pounds Revenue, and to raise the Revenue of Wards to twenty-thousand Pounds more: Forty-thousand Pounds; added to the rest of his Majesty's Estate, had so enabled his Majesty, that he could never have wanted; and, my good Lord, it had been an honest Service to the King, to have added seven-thousand Pounds in Lands of the Lord *Cobham's* Woods and Goods, being worth thirty-thousand Pounds more.

Counf. I know not the Reason why it was not done.

Just. Neither doth your Lordship, per-

chance, know the Reason why the ten-thousand Pounds, offered by *Swinerton*, for a Fine of the *French* Wines, was, by the then Lord Treasurer, conferred on *Devonshire* and his Mistress.

Counf. What moved the Treasurer to reject and cross that Raising of the King's Lands?

Just. The Reason, my good Lord, is manifest; for, had the Land been raised, then had the King known, when he had given or exchanged Land, what he had given or exchanged.

Counf. What Hurt had that been to the Treasurer? Whose Office is truly to inform the King of the Value of all that he giveth.

Just. So he did, when it did not concern himself, nor his Particular; for he could never admit any one Piece of a good Manor to pass in my Lord *Aubigne's* Book of a thousand Pounds Land, till he himself had bought, and then all the remaining Flowers of the Crown were culled out. Now, had the Treasurer suffered the King's Lands to have been raised, How could his Lordship have made Choice of the old Rents, as well in that Book of my Lord *Aubigne*, as in Exchange of *Theobalds*; for which he took *Hatfield* in it, which the greatest Subject, or Favourite, Queen *Elisabeth* had, never durst have named unto her, by Way of Gift or Exchange? Nay, my Lord, so many other goodly Manors have passed from his Majesty, that the very Heart of the Kingdom mourneth to remember it, and the Eyes of the Kingdom shed Tears continually at the Beholding it; yea, the Soul of the Kingdom is heavy unto Death with the Consideration thereof, that so magnanimous a Prince should suffer himself to be so abused.

Counf. But, Sir, you know, that *Cobham's* Lands were entailed upon his Cousins.

Just. Yea, my Lord; but, during the Lives and Races of *George Brooke's* Children, it had been the King's, that is to say, for ever in Effect; but, to wrest the King, and to draw the Inheritance upon himself, he persuaded his Majesty to relinquish his Interest for a petty Sum of Money; and, that there might be no Counterworking, he sent *Brooke* six-thousand Pounds to make Friends; whereof himself had two-thousand Pounds back again, *Buckhurst* and *Berwick* had the other four-thousand Pounds, and the Treasurer and his Heirs the Mass of Land for ever.

Counf.

Counf. What then, I pray you, came to the King, by this great Confiscation?

Just. My Lord, the King's Majesty, by all those goodly Possessions, Woods, and Goods, loseth five-hundred Pounds by the Year, which he giveth in Pension to *Cobham*, to maintain him in Prison.

Counf. Certainly, even in Conscience, they should have reserved so much of the Land in the Crown, as to have given *Cobham* Meat and Apparel, and not made themselves so great Gainers, and the King five-hundred Pounds *per Annum* Loser by the Bargain: But it is past; 'Confilium non est eorum, quæ fieri nequeunt.'

Just. Take the rest of the Sentence, my Lord: 'Sed confilium versatur in iis, quæ sunt in nostra potestate.' It is yet, my good Lord, in *potestate Regis* to right himself. But this is not all, my Lord; and, I fear, knowing your Lordship's Love to the King, it would put you into a Fever to hear all; I will, therefore, go on with my Parliaments.

Counf. I pray do so; and, amongst the rest, I pray you, What think you of the Parliament holden at *London* in the fifteenth Year of King *Edward the Third*?

Just. I say, there was nothing concluded therein to the Prejudice of the King: It is true, that, a little before the Sitting of the House, the King displaced his Chancellor, and his Treasurers, and most of all his Judges, and Officers of the *Exchequer*, and committed many of them to Prison, because they did not supply him with Money, being beyond the Seas: For the rest, the States assembled besought the King, that the Laws of the two Charters might be observed, and that the great Officers of the Crown might be chosen by Parliament.

Counf. But what Success had these Petitions?

Just. The Charters were observed, as before, and so they will be ever; and the other Petition was rejected, the King being pleased, notwithstanding, that the great Officers should take an Oath in Parliament to do Justice. Now for the Parliament of *Westminster*: In the seventeenth Year of the King, the King had three Marks and a Half for every Sack of Wool transported; and, in his Eighteenth, he had a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, for one Year. His Majesty forbore, after this, to charge his Subjects with any more Payments, until the Twenty-ninth of his

Reign, when there was given the King, by Parliament, fifty Shillings for every Sack of Wool transported, for six Years, by which Grant, the King received a thousand Marks a Day, a greater Matter than a thousand Pounds in these Days; and a thousand Pounds a Day amounts to three-hundred sixty-five thousand Pounds a Year, which was one of the greatest Presents that ever was given to a King of this Land. For, besides the Cheapness of all Things in that Age, the King's Soldiers had but Threepence a Day Wages, a Man at Arms Sixpence, and a Knight but two Shillings. In the Parliament at *Westminster*, in the thirty-third Year, he had twenty-six Shillings and Eightpence for every Sack of Wool transported; and, in the forty-second Year, three Pounds and three Fifteenths. In his forty-fifth Year, he had fifty-thousand Pounds of the Laity; and, because the Spirituality disputed it, and did not pay so much, the King changed his Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy-Seal, being Bishops, and placed Laymen in their Room.

Counf. It seems, that, in those Days, the Kings were no longer in Love with their great Chancellors, than when they deserved well of them.

Just. No, my Lord, they were not, and that was the Reason they were well served; and it was the Custom then, and in many Ages after, to change the Treasurer and the Chancellor every three Years, and withal, to hear all Men's Complaints against them.

Counf. But, by this often Change, the Saying is verified, That there is no Inheritance in the Favour of Kings. *He that keepeth the Fig-tree, saith Solomon, shall eat the Fruit thereof*; for Reason it is, that the Servant live by the Master.

Just. My Lord, you say well in both; but, had the Subject an Inheritance in the Prince's Favour, where the Prince had no Inheritance in the Subject's Fidelity, then were Kings in a more unhappy State than common Persons. For the rest, *Solomon* meaneth not, That he, that keepeth the *Fig-tree*, should surfeit; though he meaneth he should eat, he meaneth not he should break the Branches in Gathering the Figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the Owner of the Tree; for what saith he in the following Chapter, he saith, That he, that maketh Haste to be Rich, cannot be innocent. And, before that, he saith, That the End of an Inheritance, hastily gotten, cannot be blessed.

Your Lordship hath heard of few, or none, great with Kings, that have not used their Power to oppress, that have not grown insolent and hateful to the People; yea, insolent towards those Princes that advanced them.

Counf. Yet you see that Princes can change their Fancies.

Just. Yea, my Lord, when Favourites change their Faith, when they forget, that, how familiar soever Kings make themselves with their Vassals, yet they are Kings: *He that provoketh a King to Anger, saith Solomon, sinneth against his own Soul.* And he further saith, *That Pride goeth before Destruction, and a high Mind before a Fall.* I say therefore, that in discharging those *Lucifers*, how dear soever they have been, Kings make the World know, that they have more of Judgment than of Passion; yea, they thereby offer a satisfactory Sacrifice to all their People; too great Benefits of Subjects to their King, where the Mind is blown up with their own Deservings, and too great Benefits of Kings conferred upon their Subjects, where the Mind is not qualified with a great Deal of Modesty, are equally dangerous. Of this latter, and insolent, had King *Richard the Second* delivered up to Justice but three or four, he had still held the Love of the People, and thereby his Life and Estate.

Counf. Well, I pray you go on with your Parliaments.

Just. The Life of this great King *Edward* draws to an End, so do the Parliaments of this Time, where, in fifty Years Reign, he never received any Affront; for, in his forty-ninth Year, he had a Dismissal and a Fifteen granted him freely.

Counf. But, Sir, it is an old Saying, That all is well that ends well; judge you, whether, that, in his fiftieth Year in the Parliament at *Westminster*, he received not an Affront, when the House urged the King to remove and discharge from his Presence the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* his Chamberlain, Sir *Richard Sturmy*, and others, whom the King favoured and trusted. Nay, they pressed the King to thrust a certain Lady out of the Court, which at that Time bore the greatest Sway therein.

Just. I will with Patience answer your Lordship to the full; and, First, your Lordship may remember by that which I even now said, that never King had so many Gifts, as this King had from his Subjects, and it hath

never grieved the Subjects of *England* to give to their King; but when they knew there was a devouring Lady, that had her Share in all Things that passed, and the Duke of *Lancaster* was as scraping as she; that the Chancellor did eat up the People as fast as either of them both: It grieved the Subjects to feed these Cormorants. But, my Lord, there are two Things by which the Kings of *England* have been pressed, to wit, by their Subjects, and by their own Necessities. The Lords in former Times were far stronger, more warlike, and better followed, living in their Countries, than now they are. Your Lordship may remember in your Reading, that there were many Earls could bring into the Field a thousand barbed Horses, and many a Baron five or six hundred barbed Horses; whereas, now, very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the King. But to say the Truth, my Lord, the Justices of Peace in *England* have opposed the Instruments of War in *England*; the King's Writ runs over all, and the great Seal of *England*, with that of the next Constables, will serve the Turn to affront the greatest Lords in *England*, that shall move against the King. The Force, therefore, by which our Kings in former Times were troubled, is vanished away: But the Necessities remain. The People, therefore, in these latter Ages, are no less to be pleased than the Peers; for, as the latter are become less, so, by reason of the Training through *England*, the Commons have all the Weapons in their Hands.

Counf. And was it not so ever?

Just. No, my good Lord, for the Noblemen had in their Armories to furnish some of them a thousand, some two thousand, and some three thousand Men; whereas, now, there are not many that can arm fifty.

Counf. Can you blame them? But I will only answer for myself, between you and me be it spoken, I hold it not safe to maintain so great an Armory, or Stable; it might cause me, or any other Nobleman, to be suspected, as to the Preparing of some Innovation.

Just. Why so, my Lord? Rather to be commended, as preparing against all Danger of Innovation.

Counf. It should be so; but call your Observation to Account, and you shall find it as I say; for, indeed, such a Jealousy hath been held, ever since the Time of the Civil Wars, over the military Greatness of our Nobles, as

made them have little Will to bend their Studies that Way; wherefore, let every Man provide according as he is rated in the Muster-Book; you understand me.

Just. Very well, my Lord, as what might be replied in the Perceiving so much; I have ever, to deal plainly and freely with your Lordship, more feared at Home popular Violence, than all the foreign that can be made, for it can never be in the Power of any foreign Prince, without a Papistical Party, either to disorder or endanger his Majesty's Estate.

Counf. By this it seems, it is no less dangerous to leave the Power in the People, than in the Nobility.

Just. My good Lord, the Wisdom of our own Age is the Foolishness of another; the Time present ought not to be preferred to the Policy that was, but the Policy that was, to the Time present. So that, the Power of the Nobility being now withered, and the Power of the People in the Flower, the Care to content them should not be neglected, the Way to win them often practised, or, at least, to defend them from Oppression. The Motive of all Dangers, that ever this Monarchy hath undergone, should be carefully heeded, for this Maxim hath no Postern, *Potestas humana radicitur in voluntatibus hominum.* And now, my Lord, for King Edward; it is true, he was not subject to Force, yet he was subject to Necessity, which, because it was violent, he gave Way unto it: *Potestas, saith Pythagoras, juxta necessitatem habitat.* And it is true, that, at the Request of the House, he discharged and put from him those beforenamed; which done, he had the greatest Gift, but one, that he received in all his Days, to wit, from every Person, Man, and Woman, above the Age of fourteen Years, Four-pence of old Money, which made many Millions of Groats, worth Six-pence of our Money. This he had in general; besides, he had, of every beneficed Priest, Twelve-pence: And, of the Nobility and Gentry, I know not how much, for it is not set down. Now, my good Lord, What lost the King by satisfying the Desires of the Parliament-House? For, as soon as he had the Money in Purse, he recalled the Lords, and restored them, and who durst call the King to Account, when the Assembly were dissolved? *Where the Word of a King is, there is Power, saith Ecclesiasticus. Who shall say unto him, What dost thou?* saith the same Author; for to

every Purpose there is a Time and Judgment; the King gave Way to the Time, and his Judgment persuaded him to yield to Necessity, *Consularius nemo melior est quam tempus.*

Counf. But yet, you see the King was forced to yield to their Demands?

Just. Doth your Lordship remember the Saying of Monsieur de Lange, That he, that hath the Profit of the War, hath also the Honour of the War, whether it be by Battle or Retreat; the King, you see, had the Profit of the Parliament, and therefore the Honour also: What other End had the King than to supply his Wants? A wise Man hath evermore Respect unto his Ends: And the King also knew, that it was the Love that the People bore him, that they urged the Removing of those Lords; there was no Man amongst them, that sought himself in that Desire, but they all sought the King, as, by the Success, it appeared. My good Lord, Hath it not been ordinary in England, and in France, to yield to the Demands of Rebels? Did not King Richard the Second grant Pardon to the outrageous Rogues and Murderers, that followed Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler, after they had murdered his Chancellor, his Treasurer, Chief Justice, and others, broke open his Exchequer, and committed all Manner of Outrages and Villainies? And why did he do it? But to avoid a greater Danger: I say, the Kings have then yielded to those that hated them and their Estates, to wit, to pernicious Rebels. And yet, without Dishonour, shall it be called Dishonour for the King to yield to honest Desires of his Subjects? No, my Lord, those, that tell the King those Tales, fear their own Dishonour, and not the King's; for the Honour of the King is supreme, and, being guarded by Justice and Piety, it cannot receive neither Wound nor Stain.

Counf. But, Sir, what Cause have any, under our King, to fear a Parliament?

Just. The same Cause that the Earl of Suffolk had in Richard the Second's Time, and the Treasurer Farham, with others; for these great Officers, being generally hated for Abusing both the King and the Subject, at the Request of the States were discharged, and others put in their Rooms.

Counf. And was not this a Dishonour to the King?

Just. Certainly, no; for King Richard knew that his Grandfather had done the like, and,

and, though the King was, in his Heart, utterly against it, yet had he the Profit of his Exchange; for *Suffolk* was fined at twenty-thousand Marks, and one-thousand Pounds Lands.

Counf. Well, Sir, we will speak of those that fear the Parliament some other Time; but I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troublesome Reign of *Richard the Second* who succeeded, the Grandfather being dead.

Just. That King, my good Lord, was one of the most unfortunate Princes that ever *England* had; he was cruel, extreme prodigal, and wholly carried away with his two Minions, *Suffolk* and the Duke of *Ireland*, by whose ill Advice, and others, he was in Danger to have lost his Estate, which, in the End, being led by Men of the like Temper, he miserably lost. But for his Subsidies he had given him in his first Year, being under Age, two Tenths and two Fifteenths: In which Parliament *Alice Pierce*, who was removed in King *Edward's* Time, with *Lancaster*, *Latimer*, and *Sturmy*, were confiscated and banished. In his second Year, at the Parliament at *Gloucester*, the King had a Mark upon every Sack of Wool, and Sixpence the Pound upon Wards. In his third Year, at the Parliament at *Winchester*, the Commons were spared, and a Subsidy given by the better Sort; the Dukes gave twenty Marks, and Earls six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Mitres six Marks, every Mark three Shillings four-pence; and every Knight, Justice, Esquire, Sheriff, Parson, Vicar, and Chaplain paid proportionably, according to their Estates.

Counf. This, methinks, was no great Matter.

Just. It is true, my Lord, but a little Money went far in those Days: I myself once moved it in Parliament in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, who desired much to spare the common People, and I did it by her Commandment; but when we cast up the Subsidy Books, we found the Sum but small, when the thirty Pounds Men were left out. In the Beginning of his fourth Year, a Tenth with a Fifteenth were granted, upon Condition, that for one whole Year no Subsidies should be demanded; but this Promise was as suddenly forgotten as made, for, in the End of that Year, the great Subsidy of Poll-Money was granted in the Parliament at *Northampton*.

Counf. Yea, but there followed the terrible Rebellion of *Baker*, *Straw*, and others; *Lescler*, *Wrais*, and others,

Just. That was not the Fault of the Parliament, my Lord, it is manifest that the Subsidy given was not the Cause; for it is plain, that the Bondmen of *England* began it, because they were grievously pressed by the Lords in their Tenure of Villenage, as also for the Hatred they bore to the Lawyers and Attornies; for the Story of those Times say, that they destroyed the Houses and Manors of Men of Law, and such Lawyers, as they caught, slew them, and beheaded the Lord Chief Justice; which Commotion being once begun, the Head Money was by other Rebels pretended. A Fire is often kindled with a little Straw, which oftentimes takes Hold of greater Timber, and consumes the whole Building: And that this Rebellion was begun by the discontented Slaves, whereof there have been many in elder Times the like, is manifest by the Charter of Manumission, which the King granted in *hæc verba*, *Rich. Dei Gratia, &c. fecitis quod de gratia nostra spirituali manumissimus, &c.* To which, seeing the King was constrained by Force of Arms, he revoked the Letters Patents, and made them void, the same Revocation being strengthened by the Parliament ensuing. In which the King had given him a Subsidy upon Wools, called a *Maletot*. In the same fourth Year was the Lord Treasurer discharged of his Office, and *Hales*, Lord of *St. John's*, chosen in his Place. In his fifth Year was the Treasurer again changed, and the Staff given to *Segrave*, and the Lord Chancellor was also changed, and the Staff given to the Lord *Scroope*: Which Lord *Scroope* was again, in the Beginning of his sixth Year, turned out; and the King, after that he had for a While kept the Seal in his own Hand, gave it to the Bishop of *London*, from whom it was soon after taken and bestowed on the Earl of *Suffolk*, who, they say, had abused the King, and converted the King's Treasure to his own Use. To this the King condescended; and though, saith *Walsingham*, he deserved to lose his Life and Goods, yet he had the Favour to go at Liberty upon good Sureties; and because the King was but young, and that the Relief granted was committed to the Trust of the Earl of *Arundel*, for the Furnishing of the King's Navy against the *French*.

Counf. Yet you see it was a Dishonour to the King to have his beloved Chancellor removed.

Just. Truly, no, for the King had both his Fine, one-thousand Pound Lands, and a Subsidy to boot. And though, for the present, it pleased the King to fancy a Man all the World hated, the King's Passion overcoming his Judgment, yet it cannot be called a Dishonour, for the King is to believe the General Council of the Kingdom, and to prefer it before his Affection, especially when *Suffolk* was proved to be false, even to the King; for, were it otherwise, Love and Affection might be called a Frenzy and a Madnes, for it is the Nature of human Passions, that the Love, bred by Fidelity, doth change itself into Hatred, when the Fidelity is first changed into Falshood.

Counf. But, you see, there were thirteen Lords chosen in Parliament, to have the Oversight of the Government under the King.

Just. No, my Lord, it was to have the Oversight of those Officers, which, saith the Story, had imbezelled, lewdly wasted, and prodigally spent the King's Treasure; for to grant the Commission to those Lords, or to any six of them, joined with the King's Council, was one of the most royal and most profitable Things he ever did, if he had been constant to himself. But, my good Lord, Man is the Cause of his own Misery; for I will repeat the Substance of the Commission granted by the King, and confirmed by a Parliament, which, whether it had been profitable for the King to have prosecuted, your Lordship may judge.

The Preamble hath these Words:

'Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King perceiveth, by the grievous Complaints of the Lords and Commons of this Realm, that the Rents, Profits, and Revenues of this Realm, by the singular and insufficient Counsel and evil Government, as well of some his late great Officers, &c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, elained, given, granted, alienated, destroyed, and evil dispended, that he is so much impoverished and void of Treasure and Goods, and the Substance of the Crown so much diminished and destroyed, that his Estate may not honourably be sustained as appertaineth: The King, of his Free-will, at the Request of the Lords and Commons, hath ordained *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and others, with his Chancellor, Treasurer,

'Keeper of his Privy-Seal, to survey and examine as well the Estate and Governance of his House, &c. as of all the Rents, and Profits, and Revenues that to him appertain, and to be due, or ought to appertain and be due, &c. And all Manner of Gifts, Grants, Alienations and Confirmations made by him of Lands, Tenements, Rents, &c. bargained and sold to the Prejudice of him and his Crown, &c. And of his Jewels and Goods which were his Grandfather's at the Time of his Death, &c. and where they be become.'

This is, in Effect, the Substance of the Commission, which your Lordship may read at large in the Book of Statutes, this Commission being enacted in the tenth Year of the King's Reign. Now, if such a Commission were in these Days granted to the faithful Men, that have no Interest in the Sales, Gifts, nor Purchases, nor in the Keeping of the Jewels at the Queen's Death, nor in the Obtaining Grants of the King's best Lands, I cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered; and, what says your Lordship, Was not this a noble Act for the King, if it had been followed to Effect?

Counf. I cannot tell whether it were or no; for it gave Power to the Commissioners to examine all the Grants.

Just. Why, my Lord, doth the King grant any thing that shames at the Examination? Are not the King's Grants on Record?

Counf. But, by your Leave, it is some Dishonour to a King, to have his Judgment called in Question.

Just. That is true, my Lord, but in this, or whensoever the like shall be granted in the future, the King's Judgment is not examined, but their Knavery that abused the King. Nay, by your Favour, the contrary is true, that when a King will suffer himself to be eaten up by a Company of petty Fellows, by himself raised, therein both the Judgment and Courage is disputed. And, if your Lordship will disdain it at your own Servants Hands, much more ought the great Heart of a King to disdain it. And surely, my Lord, it is a greater Treason, though it undercreep the Law, to tear from the Crown the Ornaments thereof: And it is an infallible Maxim, that he, that

that loves, not his Majesty's Estate, loves not his Person.

Counf. How came it then that the Act was not executed?

Just. Because these, against whom it was granted, persuaded the King to the contrary, as the Duke of *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, the Chief Justice *Tresilian*, and others; yea, that which was lawfully done by the King, and the Great Council of the Kingdom, was, by the Mastery which *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and *Tresilian* had over the King's Affections, broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the King not by any private Invention, but by a General Council, were, by a private and partial Assembly, adjudged Traitors, and the most honest Judges of the Land, forced to subscribe to that Judgment: Infomuch, that Judge *Belknap* plainly told the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, when he was constrained to set to his Hand, that he wanted but a Rope, that he might therewith receive a Reward for his Subscription. And in this Council of *Nottingham* was hatched the Ruin of those which governed the King, of the Judges by them constrained, of the Lords that loved the King, and sought a Reformation, and of the King himself; for though the King found by all the Sheriffs of the Shires, that the People would not fight against the Lords, whom they thought to be most faithful unto the King; when the Citizens of *London* made the same Answer, being at that Time able to arm fifty-thousand Men, and told the Mayor, that they would never fight against the King's Friends, and Defenders of the Realm; when the Lord *Ralph Bassett*, who was near the King, told the King boldly, that he would not adventure to have his Head broken for the Duke of *Ireland's* Pleasure; when the Lord of *London* told the Earl of *Suffolk* in the King's Presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c. yet would the King, in the Defence of the Destroyers of his Estate, lay Ambushes to intrap the Lords, when they came upon his Faith; yea, when all was pacified, and that the King, by his Proclamation, had cleared the Lords, and promised to produce *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and the Archbishop of *York*, *Tresilian* and *Bramber*, to answer at the next Parliament: These Men confessed, that they durst not appear; and when *Suffolk* fled to *Calais*, and the Duke of *Ireland* to *Chester*, the King

caused an Army to be levied in *Lancashire*, for the safe Conduict of the Duke of *Ireland* to his Presence, whenas the Duke, being encountered by the Lords, ran like a Coward from his Company, and fled into *Holland*. After this was holden a Parliament, which was called That Wrought Wonders; in the eleventh Year of this King, wherein the forenamed Lords, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest, were condemned and confiscated, the Chief Justice hanged, with many others, the rest of the Judges condemned and banished, and a Tenth and Fifteenth given to the King.

Counf. But, good Sir, the King was first besieged in the *Tower of London*, and the Lords came to the Parliament, and no Man durst contradict them.

Just. Certainly, in raising an Army, they committed Treason; and though it did appear, that they all loved the King, for they did him no Harm, having him in their Power, yet our Law doth construe all Levying of War without the King's Commission, and all Force raised to be intended for the Death and Destruction of the King, not attending the Sequel. And it is so judged upon good Reason, for every unlawful and ill Action is supposed to be accompanied with an ill Intent. And besides, those Lords used too great Cruelty, in procuring the Sentence of Death against divers of the King's Servants, who were bound to follow and obey their Master and Sovereign Lord, in that he commanded.

Counf. It is true, and they were also greatly to blame to cause then so many Seconds to be put to Death, seeing the Principals, *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and *York*, had escaped them. And what Reason had they to seek to inform the State by strong Hand? Was not the King's Estate as dear to himself, as to them? He that maketh a King know his Error mannerly and private, and gives him the best Advice, he is discharged before God and his own Conscience. The Lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the King to his own Ways, who had more to lose than they had.

Just. My Lord, the Taking of Arms cannot be excused in respect of the Law; but this might be said for the Lords, that the King being under Years, and being wholly governed by their Enemies, and the Enemies of the Kingdom; and because, by those evil Men's Persuasions,

Persuasions, it was advised, how the Lords should have been murdered at a Feast in in *London*, they were excusable, during the King's Minority, to stand upon their Guards against their particular Enemies. But we will pass it over, and go on with our Parliaments that followeth, whereof that of *Cambridge* in the King's twelfth Year was the next; therein the King had given him a Tenth and a Fifteenth; after which, being twenty Years of Age, he rechanged, saith *H. Knighton*, his Treasurer, his Chancellor, the Justices of either Bench, the Clerk of the Privy-Seal, and others, and retook the Government into his own Hands. He also took the Admiral's Place from the Earl of *Arundel*, and, in his Room, he placed the Earl of *Huntingdon*; in the Year following, which was the thirteenth Year of the King, in the Parliament at *Westminster*, there was given to the King upon every Sack of Wool fourteen Shillings, and Sixpence in the Pound upon other Merchandise.

Counf. But, by your Leave, the King was restrained this Parliament, that he might not dispose of, but a third Part of the Money gathered.

Just. No, my Lord, by your Favour. But true it is, that Part of this Money was, by the King's Consent, assigned towards the Wars, but yet left in the Lord Treasurer's Hands. And my Lord, it would be a great Ease, and a great Saving to his Majesty, our Lord and Master, if it pleased him to make his Assignations, upon some Part of his Revenues, by which he might have one-thousand Pounds, upon every ten-thousand Pounds, and save himself a great Deal of Clamour: For seeing, of Necessity, the Navy must be maintained, and that those poor Men, as well Carpenters, as Ship-keepers, must be paid, it were better for his Majesty, to give an Assignment to the Treasurer of his Navy, for the receiving of so much as is called *ordinary*, than to discontent those poor Men, who being made desperate Beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them that lie in wait to destroy the King's Estate. And if his Majesty did the like in all other Payments, especially, where the Necessity of such, as are to receive, cannot possibly give Days; his Majesty might then, in a little Roll, behold his Receipts and Expences; he might quiet his Heart, when all Necessaries were provided for, and then dispose the rest at his Pleasure. And my good Lord, how ex-

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cellently, and easily, might this have been done, if the Four-hundred thousand Pounds had been raised, as aforesaid, upon the King's Lands, and Wards; I say, that his Majesty's House, his Navy, his Guards, his Pensioners, his Ammunition, his Ambassadors, and all else of ordinary Charge, might have been defrayed, and a great Sum left for his Majesty's casual Expences, and Rewards; I will not say, they were not in Love with the King's Estate, but I say, they were unfortunately born, for the King, that crossed it.

Counf. Well, Sir, I would it had been otherwise. But for the Assignments, there are among us, that will not willingly endure it; Charity begins with itself, Shall we hinder ourselves of fifty-thousand Pounds, *per Annum*, to save the King Twenty? No, Sir, what will become of our New-years Gifts, our Presents, and Gratuities? We can now say to those, that have Warrants for Money, that there is not a Penny in the *Exchequer*, but the King gives it away unto the *Scots*, faster than it comes in.

Just. My Lord, you say well, at least you say the Truth, that such are some of our Answers, and hence comes that general Murmur to all Men, that have Money to receive; I say, that there is not a Penny given to that Nation, be it for Service, or otherwise, but it is spread over all the Kingdom; yea, they gather Notes, and take Copies of all the Privy-Seals, and Warrants, that his Majesty hath given for the Money for the *Scots*, that they may shew them in Parliament. But of his Majesty's Gifts to the *English*, there is no Bruit, though they may be ten Times as much as the *Scots*. And, yet my good Lord, howsoever they be thus answered, that to them sue for Money out of the *Exchequer*, it is due to them for Ten, or Twelve, or Twenty in the Hundred abated, according to their Qualities that shew, they are always furnished. For Conclusion, if it would please God to put into the King's Heart, to make their Assignations, it would save him many a Pound, and gain him many a Prayer, and a great Deal of Love, for it grieveth every honest Man's Heart, to see the Abundance which even the petty Officers in the *Exchequer* and others gather both from the King and Subject, and to see a World of poor Men run after the King for their ordinary Wages.

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Counf.

Counf. Well, well, did you never hear this old Tale, that when there was a great Contention about the Weather, the Seamen complaining of contrary Winds, when those of the high Countries desired Rain, and those of the Vallies, Sun-shining Days, *Jupiter* sent them Word by *Mercury*, then, when they had all done, the Weather should be as it had been; and it shall ever fall out so with them that complain, the Course of Payments shall be as they have been. What care we, what petty Fellows say? Or what care we for your Papers? Have not we the King's Ears, who dares contest with us? Though we cannot be revenged on such as you are, for telling the Truth, yet upon some other Pretence, we will clap you up, and you shall sue to us, before you get out. Nay, we will make you confess, that you were deceived in your Projects, and eat your own Words; learn this of me Sir, that as a little good Fortune is better than a great Deal of Virtue; so the least Authority hath Advantage over the greatest Wit. Was he not the wisest Man that said, 'The Battle was not to the Strongest, nor yet 'Bread for the Wife; nor Riches to Men of 'Understanding, nor Favour to Men of Knowledge;' but that Time and Chance came to them all.

Just. It is well for your Lordship that it is so. But Queen *Elizabeth* would set the Reason of a mean Man, before the Authority of the greatest Counsellor she had, and by her Patience therein, she raised upon the usual and ordinary Customs of *London*, without any new Imposition, above Fifty-thousand Pounds a Year; for though the Treasurer *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, and Secretary *Walsingham*, all three Pensioners to Customer *Smith*, did set themselves against a poor Waiter, of the Custom-house, called *Carwarden*; and commanded the Grooms of the Privy-Chamber, not to give him Access; yet the Queen sent for him, and gave him Countenance against them all. It would not serve the Turn, my Lord, with her, when your Lordships would tell her, that the Disgracing her great Officers, by hearing the Complaints of busy Heads, was a Dishonour to herself; but she had always this Answer, 'That if a Man 'complain unjustly against a Magistrate, it 'were Reason he should be severely punished; 'if justly, she was Queen of the Small, as well

'as of the Great, and would hear their Complaints.' For my good Lord, a Prince, that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsaketh one of the greatest Regalities, belonging to a Monarchy; to wit, the last Appeal, or as the *French* call it, *le dernier resort*.

Counf. Well, Sir, this from the Matter, I pray you go on.

Just. Then my Lord, in the King's fifteenth Year, he had a Tenth, and a Fifteenth granted in the Parliament of *London*. And the same Year, there was a great Council called at *Stamford*, to which divers Men were sent for, of divers Counties, besides the Nobility, of whom the King took Advice, Whether he should continue the War, or make a final End with the *French*?

Counf. What needed the King to take the Advice of any, but of his own Council, in Matter of Peace and War?

Just. Yea, my Lord, for it is said in the Proverbs, *Where are many Counsellors, there is Health*. And if the King had made the War, by a general Consent, the Kingdom in general were bound to maintain the War, and they could not then say, when the King required Aid, that he undertook a needless War.

Counf. You say well, but I pray you go on.

Just. After the Subsidy in the fifteenth Year, the King desired to borrow Ten-thousand Pounds of the *Londoners*, which they refused to lend.

Counf. And was not the King greatly troubled therewith?

Just. Yea, but the King troubled the *Londoners* soon after, for the King took the Advantage of a Riot, made upon the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Men; sent for the Mayor, and other the ablest Citizens; committed the Mayor to Prison, in the Castle of *Windsor*, and others, to other Castles, and made a Lord Warden of this City, till in the End, what with Ten-thousand Pounds, ready Money, and other rich Presents, instead of lending Ten-thousand Pounds, it cost them Twenty-thousand Pounds. Between the fifteenth Year and twentieth Year, he had two Aids given him in the Parliaments of *Winchester* and *Westminster*; and this latter was given to furnish the King's Journey into *Ireland*, to establish that Estate which was greatly shaken, since the Death of the King's Grandfather, who received thence,

thence yearly, thirty-thousand Pounds ; and during the King's Stay in *Ireland*, he had a Tenth and a Fifteenth granted.

Counf. And good Reason, for the King had in his Army four-thousand Horfe, and thirty-thousand Foot.

Just. That by your Favour, was the King's Error ; for great Armies do rather devour themselves, than destroy Enemies. Such an Army, whereof the fourth Part would have conquered all *Ireland*, was in Respect of *Ireland*, such an Army as *Xerxes* led into *Greece* ; in his twentieth Year, wherein he had a Tenth of the Clergy, was the great Conspiracy of the King's Uncle, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and of *Mowbray*, *Arundel*, *Nottingham*, and *Warwick*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, and others, who, in the twenty-first Year of the King, were all redeemed by Parliament. And what thinks your Lordship, was not this Assembly of the three Estates, for the King's Estate, wherein he so prevailed, that he not only overthrew those popular Lords, but, besides, the *English* Chronicle saith, the King so wrought and brought Things about, that he obtained the Power of both Houses to be granted to certain Persons, to fifteen Noblemen and Gentlemen, or to Seven of them ?

Counf. Sir, whether the King wrought well or ill, I cannot judge ; but our Chronicles say, that many Things were done in this Parliament, to the Displeasure of no small Number of People, to wit, for that divers rightful Heirs were disinherited of their Lands and Livings, with which wrongful Doings, the People were much offended ; so that the King, with those that were about him, and chief in Council, came into great Infamy and Slandering.

Just. My good Lord, if your Lordship will pardon me, I am of Opinion, that those Parliaments, wherein the Kings of this Land have satisfied the People, as they have been ever prosperous, so, where the King hath restrained the House, the Contrary hath happened ; for the King's Atchievements, in this Parliament, were the ready Preparations to his Ruin.

Counf. You mean by the general Discontentment that followed, and because the King did not proceed legally with *Gloucester* and others. Why, Sir, this was not the first Time that the Kings of *England* have done Things,

without the Council of the Land ; yea, contrary to the Law.

Just. It is true my Lord, in some Particulars, as even at this Time the Duke of *Gloucester* was made away at *Calais* by a strong Hand, without any lawful Trial ; for he was a Man so beloved of the People, and so allied, having the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, his Brethren, the Duke of *Aumale* and the Duke of *Hereford* his Nephews, the great Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with divers others of his Part, in the Conspiracy, as the King durst not try him, according to the Law ; for at the Trial of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the King was forced to entertain a petty Army about him. And though the Duke was greatly lamented, yet, it cannot be denied, but that he was then a Traytor to the King : And was it not so, my Lord, with the Duke of *Guise* ? Your Lordship doth remember the spur-gauled Proverb, that *Necessity hath no Law* ; and my good Lord, it is the Practice of doing Wrong, and of general Wrongs done, that brings Danger, and not where Kings are pressed, in this, or that Particular, for there is great Difference between natural Cruelty, and accidental. And therefore it was *Machiavel's* Advice, that, ' All that a King did in that Kind, he should do at once, and by his Mercies afterwards, make the World know, that his Cruelty was not affected.' And, my Lord, take this for a general Rule, that the immortal Policy of a State cannot admit any Law or Privilege whatsoever, but in some Particular, or other, the same is necessarily broken ; yea, in a *Aristocratie*, or popular Estate, which vaunts so much of Equality, and common Right, more Outrage hath been committed, than in any Christian Monarchy.

Counf. But whence came this Hatred, between the Duke, and the King his Nephew.

Just. My Lord, the Duke's Constraining the King, when he was young, stuck in the King's Heart, and now the Duke's proud Speech to the King, when he had surrendered *Brest*, formerly engaged to the Duke of *Bretaigne*, kindled again these Coals, that were not altogether extinguished, for he used these Words : ' Your Grace ought to put your Body in great Pain, to win a Strong-hold or Town, by Feats of Arms, before you take upon you to sell or deliver any Town, gotten by the Manhood, and strong Hand, and Policy of your noble Progenitors.' Whereat

faith the Story, the King changed his Countenance, &c. and to say Truth, it was a proud and masterly Speech of the Duke; besides, that inclusively, he taxed him of Sloth and Cowardice, as if he had never put himself to the Adventure of winning such a Place; undutiful Words of a Subject do often take deeper Root, than the Memory of ill Deeds does: The Duke of *Biron* found it, when the King had him at Advantage. Yea, the late Earl of *Essex* told Queen *Elisabeth*, that her Conditions were as crooked as her Carcass, but it cost him his Head; which his Insurrection had not cost him, but for that Speech: *Who will say unto a King, faith Job, thou art wicked.* Certainly, it is the same Thing to say unto a Lady, thou art crooked, and perchance more, as to say unto a King, he is wicked, and to say, that he is a Coward, or to use any other Words of Disgrace; it is one and the same Error.

Counf. But what say you for *Arundel*, a brave and valiant Man, who had the King's Pardon of his Contempt, during his Minority?

Just. My good Lord, the Parliament which, you say, disputes the King's Prerogative, did quite contrary, and destroyed the King's Charter and Pardon formerly given to *Arundel*. And, my good Lord, do you remember, that, at the Parliament, that wrought Wonders, when these Lords compounded that Parliament, as the King did this, they were so mercilefs towards all, that they thought their Enemies, as the Earl of *Arundel* most insolently suffered the Queen to kneel unto him, three Hours, for the Saving of one of her Servants; and that Scorn of his *manebat alta mente repositum*. And, to say the Truth, it is more barbarous and unpardonable than any Act, that ever he did, to permit the Wife of his Sovereign to kneel to him, being the King's Vassal. For, if he had saved the Lord's Servant freely at her first Request, as it is like enough, that the Queen would also have saved him, *Miseris succurrens paria obtinebis aliquando*: For your Lordship sees, that the Earl of *Warwick*, who was as far in the Treason, as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also, at this Parliament, that the Duke of *Hereford* accused *Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*; and that the Duke of *Hereford*, Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, was banished to the King's Confinement, as your Lordship well knows.

Counf. I know it well, and God knows, that the King had, then, a silly and weak Council about him, that persuaded him to banish a Prince of the Blood, a most valiant Man, and the best beloved of the People in General, of any Man living; especially, considering that the King gave every Day, more than other, Offence to his Subjects. For, besides that he fined the Inhabitants, that assisted the Lords in his Minority, of the seventeen Shires, which Offence he had long before pardoned; his blank Charters, and letting the Realm to Farm, to mean Persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the People's Hatred towards the present Government.

Just. You say well, my Lord, Princes of an ill Destiny do always follow the worst Counsel, or, at least, embrace the best, after Opportunity is lost: *Qui consilia non ex suo corde sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed auribus cogitant.* And this was not the least Grief of the Subjects in General, that those Men had the greatest Part of the Spoil of the Commonwealth, which, neither by Virtue, Valour, or Counsel, could add any Thing unto it: *Nihil est sordidius, nihil crudelius*, faith *Antoninus Pius*, *quam Remp. ab iis arroti, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferunt.*

Counf. Indeed, the Letting to Farm the Realm was very grievous to the Subject.

Just. Will your Lordship pardon me, if I tell you that the Letting to Farm of his Majesty's Customs, the greatest Revenue of the Realm, is not very pleasing.

Counf. And why, I pray you, Doth not the King thereby raise his Profits every third Year, and one Farmer outbid another to the King's Advantage?

Just. It is true, my Lord, but it grieves the Subject to pay Custom to the Subject; for what mighty Men are those Farmers become, and if those Farmers get many Thousands every Year, as the World knows they do, why should they not now, being Men of infinite Wealth, declare unto the King, upon an Oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the King's Collectors of his Customs? Did not Queen *Elisabeth*, who was reputed both a wife and just Princess, after she had brought *Customer Smith*, from fourteen-thousand Pounds a Year, to Forty-two Thousand a Year, make him lay down a Recompence for that which he had gotten? And, if these Farmers do give

no Recompense, let them yet present the King with the Truth of their Receivings and Profits. But, my Lord, for Conclusion, after *Bolingbrook* arriving in *England*, with a small Troop: Notwithstanding the King, at his Landing out of *Ireland*, had a sufficient and willing Army: Yet he, wanting Courage to defend his Right, gave Leave to all his Soldiers to depart, and put himself into his Hands that cast him into his Grave.

Counf. Yet you see, he was deposed by Parliament.

Just. As well may your Lordship say, he was knocked in the Head by Parliament, for your Lordship knows, that, if King *Richard* had ever escaped out of their Fingers that deposed him, the next Parliament would have made all the Deposers Traytors and Rebels, and that justly. In which Parliament, or rather unlawful Assembly, there appeared but one honest Man, to wit, the Bishop of *Carlisle* who scorned his Life, and Estate, in Respect of Right and his Allegiance, and defended the Right of his Sovereign Lord, against the King Elect and his Partakers.

Counf. Well, I pray go on with the Parliaments held, in the Time of his Successor *Henry the Fourth*.

Just. This King had, in his third Year, a Subsidy, and in his Fifth, a Tenth of the Clergy, without a Parliament: In his sixth Year, he had so great a Subsidy, that the House required, there might be no Record thereof left to Posterity, for the House gave him twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and of every twenty Pounds, Land, Twenty-pence, and Twelve-pence the Pound, for Goods.

Counf. Yea, in the End of this Year, the Parliament pressed the King, to annex unto the Crown all temporal Possessions belonging to Church-men, within the Land; which, at that Time, was the third Foot of all *England*. But the Bishops made Friends, and in the End saved their Estates.

Just. By this you see, my Lord, that *Cromwell* was not the first that thought on such a Business. And, if King *Henry the Eighth* had reserved the Abbies, and other Church-lands, which he had given at that Time, the Revenue of the Crown of *England* had exceeded the Revenue of the Crown of *Spain*, with both the *Indies*; whereas, used as it was, a little enriching the Crown, it served but to

make a Number of Pettifoggers, and other Gentlemen.

Counf. But what had the King, instead of his great Revenue?

Just. He had a Fifteenth of the Commons, and a Tenth, and a Half of the Clergy; and withal, all Pensions granted by King *Edward*, and King *Richard*, were made void. It was also moved, that all Crown Lands formerly given, at least given by King *Edward*, and King *Richard*, should be taken back.

Counf. What think you of that, Sir? Would it not have been a Dishonour to the King? And would not his Successors have done the like to those, that the King had advanced?

Just. I cannot answer your Lordship, but by distinguishing, for, where the Kings had given Land for Services, and had not been over-reached in his Gifts, there it had been a Dishonour to the King to have made void the Grants of his Predecessors, or his Grants; but all those Grants of the Kings, wherein they were deceived, the very Custom and Policy of *England* makes them void, at this Day.

Counf. How mean you that, for his Majesty hath given a great Deal of Land among us, since he came into *England*, and would it stand with the King's Honour, to take it from us again?

Just. Yea, my Lord, very well with the King's Honour; if your Lordship, or any Lord else, have, under the Name of a hundred Pounds Land a Year, gotten five-hundred Pounds Land, and so after that Rate.

Counf. I will never believe, that his Majesty will ever do any such Thing.

Just. And I believe, as your Lordship doth, but we spoke before, of those that dissuaded the King from Calling it a Parliament: And your Lordship asked me the Reason, Why any Man should dissuade it, to fear it? To which, this Place gives me an Opportunity to make your Lordship an Answer; for though his Majesty will, of himself, never question those Grants; yet, when the Commons shall make humble Petition to the King in Parliament, that it will please his Majesty to assist them in his Relief, with that which ought to be his own; which, if it will please his Majesty to yield unto, the House will most willingly furnish and supply the rest; With what Grace, can his Majesty deny that honest Suit

of theirs, the like having been done in many Kings Times before? This Proceeding, my good Lord, may perchance prove all your Phrases of the King's Honour false *Engliſh*.

Counſ. But this cannot concern many, and, for myſelf, I am ſure it concerns me little.

Juſt. It is true, my Lord, and there are not many that diſſuade his Majeſty from a Parliament.

Counſ. But they are great ones, a few of which will ſerve the Turn well enough.

Juſt. But, my Lord, be they never ſo great, as great as Giants, yet, if they diſſuade the King from his ready and aſſured Way of his Subſiſtence, they muſt deviſe how the King may be elſewhere ſupplied, for they otherwiſe run into a dangerous Fortune.

Counſ. Hold you contented, Sir, the King needs no great Diſſuaſion.

Juſt. My Lord, learn of me, that there is none of you all, that can pierce the King. It is an eſſential Property of a Man truly wiſe, not to open all the Boxes of his Boſom, even to thoſe, that are neareſt and deareſt unto him; for, when a Man is diſcovered to the very Bottom, he is after the leſs eſteemed. I dare undertake, that, when your Lordſhip hath ſerved the King twice twelve Years more, you will find, that his Majeſty hath reſerved ſomewhat beyond all your Capacities; his Majeſty hath great Reaſon to put off the Parliament, at his laſt Refuge; and in the mean Time, to make Trial of all your Loves to ſerve him; for his Majeſty hath had good Experience, how well you can ſerve yourſelves: But when the King finds, that the Building of your own Fortunes and Factions hath been the diligent Studies, and the Service of his Majeſty, but the Exercices of your Leiſures: He may then perchance caſt himſelf upon the general Love of his People; of which, I truſt, he ſhall never be deceived, and leave as many of your Lordſhips, as have pilfered from the Crown, to their Examination.

Counſ. Well, Sir, I take no great Pleaſure in this Diſpute, go on I pray.

Juſt. In that King's fifth Year, he had alſo a Subſidy, which is got by holding the Houſe together, from *Eaſter to Chriſtmas*, and would not ſuffer them to depart. He had alſo a Subſidy, in his ninth Year. In his eleventh Year, the Commons did again preſs the King, to take all the Temporalities of the Churchmen

into his Hands, which they proved ſufficient to maintain a hundred and fifty Earls, fifteen-hundred Knights, and ſix-thouſand four-hundred Eſquires, with a hundred Hoſpitals; but they, not prevailing, gave the King a Subſidy.

As for the notorious Prince, *Henry the Fifth*, I find that he had given him, in his ſecond Year, three-hundred thouſand Marks, and, after that, two other Subſidies; one, in his fifth Year, another in his Ninth, without any Diſputes.

In the Time of his Succeſſor, *Henry the Sixth*, there were not many Subſidies. In his third Year, he had a Subſidy of a Tonnage and Poundage. And here, ſaith *John Stow*, began thoſe Payments, which we call Customs, becauſe the Payment was continued; whereas, before that Time, it was granted, but for a Year, two, or three, according to the King's Occaſions. He had alſo an Aid and Gathering of Money, in his fourth Year; and the like in his tenth Year, and, in his thirteenth Year, a Fifteenth. He had alſo a Fifteenth, for the Conveying of the Queen out of *France*, into *England*. In the twenty-eighth Year of that King, was the Act of Reſumption of all Honours, Towns, Caſtles, Signiories, Villages, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Fees, &c. But becauſe the Wages of the King's Servants were, by the Strictneſs of the Act, alſo reſtrained, this Act of Reſumption was expounded in the Parliament, at *Reading*, the thirty-fiſt Year of the King's Reign.

Counſ. I perceive that thoſe Acts of Reſumption were ordinary in former Times; for King *Stephen* reſumed the Lands, which, in former Times, he had given to make Friends, during the Civil Wars; and *Henry the Second* reſumed all, without Exception, which King *Stephen* had not reſumed; for, though King *Stephen* took back a great Deal, yet he ſuffered his truſtieſt Servants to enjoy his Gift.

Juſt. Yes, my Lord, and in after Times alſo, for this was not the laſt, nor ſhall be the laſt I hope. And judge you, my Lord, whether the Parliaments do not only ſerve the King, whatſoever is ſaid to the Contrary; for as all King *Henry the Sixth's* Gifts and Grants were made void, by the Duke of *York*, when he was in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom by Parliament; ſo, in the Time of King *Henry,*

Henry, when King *Edward* was beaten out again, the Parliament of *Westminster* made all his Acts void, and him and all his Followers Traytors, and gave the King many of their Heads and Lands. The Parliaments of *England* do always serve the King in Possession; it served *Richard the Second* to condemn the popular Lords; it served *Bollingbroke* to depose *Richard*. When *Edward the Fourth* had the Scepter, it made them all Beggars, that had followed *Henry the Sixth*; and it did the like for *Henry*, when *Edward* was driven out. The Parliaments are, as the Friendship of this World is, which always followeth Prosperity; for King *Edward the Fourth*, after that he was possessed of the Crown, he had, in his thirteenth Year, a Subsidy freely given him, and, in the Year following, he took a Benevolence through *England*; which arbitrary Taking from the People served that ambitious Traytor, the Duke of *Bucks*. After the King's Death, it was a plausible Argument to persuade the Multitude, that they should not permit, saith Sir *Thomas Moore*, his Line to reign any longer upon them.

Counf. Well, Sir, what say you to the Parliament of *Richard the Third*'s Time?

Just. I find but one, and therein he made divers good Laws; for King *Henry the Seventh*, in the Beginning of his third Year, had, by Parliament, an Aid granted unto him, towards the Relief of the Duke of *Bretagne*, then assailed by the *French King*. And although the King did not enter into the War, but by the Advice of the three Estates, who did willingly contribute; yet those Northern Men, which loved *Richard the Third*, raised Rebellion, under Colour of the Money imposed, and murdered the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom the King employed in that Collection. By which your Lordship sees, that it hath not been for Taxes and Impositions alone, that the Ill-disposed have taken Arms, but even for those Payments which have been appointed by Parliament.

Counf. And what became of these Rebels?

Just. They were fairly hanged, and the Money levied notwithstanding; in the King's first Year, he gathered a marvellous great Mass of Money, by a Benevolence, taking Pattern, by this Kind of Levy, from *Edward the Fourth*; but the King caused it first to

be moved in Parliament, where it was allowed, because the poorer Sort were therein spared. Yet it is true, that the King used some Art; for, in his Letters, he declared, that he would measure every Man's Affections by his Gifts. In the thirteenth Year, he had also a Subsidy, whereupon the *Cornish* Men took Arms, as the Northern Men of the Bishoprick of *Durham* had done, in the third Year of the King.

Counf. It is without Example, that ever the People have rebelled, for any Thing granted by Parliament, save in this King's Days.

Just. Your Lordship must consider, that he was not over-much beloved, for he took many Advantages, both upon the People and the Nobility.

Counf. And I pray you, What say they now of the new Impositions lately laid by the King's Majesty? Do they say they are justly or unjustly laid?

Just. To impose upon all Things brought into the Kingdom is very antient; which imposing, when it hath been continued a certain Time, is then called Customs, because the Subjects are accustomed to pay it; and yet the great Tax upon Wine is still called Impost, because it was imposed after the ordinary Rate of Payment had lasted many Years. But we do, now-a-days, understand those Things to be Impositions, which are raised by the Command of Princes, without the Advice of the Commonwealth; though, as I take it, much of that, which is now called Custom, was, at the first, imposed by Prerogative Royal; Now, whether it be Time or Consent that makes them just, I cannot define; Were they just, because new, or not justified yet by Time, or unjust, because they want a general Consent? Yet is this Rule of *Aristotle* verified, in Respect of his Majesty: 'Minus timent homines injustum pati a principe, quem cultorem Dei putant.' Yea, my Lord, they are also the more willingly borne, because all the World knows, they are no new Invention of the King's; and if those, that advised his Majesty to impose them, had raised his Lands, as it was offered them, to twenty-thousand Pounds more than it was, and his Wards to as much as aforesaid, they had done him far more acceptable Service. But they had their own Ends, in refusing

Pounds, in Goods four Marks, and so after the Rate; yea, every Man, that was valued but at forty Shillings, paid Twelve-pence, and every Man and Woman, above fifteen Years old, Four-pence; he had also, in his sixth Year, divers Subsidies granted him. In his Fourteenth, there was a Tenth demanded of every Man's Goods, but it was moderated. In the Parliament following, the Clergy gave the King the Half of their spiritual Livings for one Year, and, of the Laity, there was demanded eight-hundred Thousand Pounds, which could not be levied in *England*; but it was a marvellous great Gift, that the King had given him at that Time. In the King's seventeenth Year, was the Rebellion before spoken of, wherein the King disavowed the Cardinal; in his seventeenth Year, he had the Tenth and Fifteenth given by Parliament, which were, before that Time, paid to the Pope; and, before that Time also, the Monies, that the King borrowed in his fifteenth Year, were forgiven him, by Parliament, in his seventeenth Year. In his thirty-fifth Year, a Subsidy was granted of Four-pence the Pound, of every Man worth, in Goods, from twenty Shillings to five Pounds, from five Pounds to ten Pounds, and upwards, of every Pound two Shillings. And all Strangers, Denizens, and others, doubled this Sum; Strangers, not being Inhabitants above sixteen Years, Four-pence a Head. All that had Lands, Fees, and Annuities, from Twenty to Five, and so double, as they did for Goods: And the Clergy gave Six-pence the Pound. In the thirty-seventh Year, a Benevolence was taken, not voluntary, but rated by Commissioners, which, because one of the Aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a Soldier into *Scotland*. He had also another great Subsidy, of six Shillings the Pound, of the Clergy, and two Shillings and Eight-pence of the Goods of the Laity, and four Shillings the Pound upon Lands.

In the second Year of *Edward the Sixth*, the Parliament gave the King an Aid of Twelve-pence the Pound of Goods, of his natural Subjects, and two Shillings the Pound of Strangers, and this to continue for three Years; and, by the Statute of the Second and Third of *Edward the Sixth*, it may appear, the same Parliament did also give a second Aid, as followeth, to wit, of every Ewe, kept in several Pastures, Three-pence;

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of every Wether, kept as aforesaid, Two-pence; of every Sheep, kept in the Common, One-penny. Observation. The House gave the King also Eight-pence the Pound, of every Woollen-cloth, made for Sale, throughout *England*, for three Years. In the Third and Fourth of the King, by Reason of the troublesome Gathering of the Poll-money upon Sheep, and the Tax upon Cloth, this Act of Subsidy was repealed, and other Relief given the King, and, in the King's seventh Year, he had a Subsidy, and Two-fifteenths.

In the first Year of Queen *Mary*, Tonnage and Poundage were granted; in the second Year, a Subsidy was given to King *Philip*, and to the Queen; she had also a third Subsidy, in *Annis 4 & 5*.

Now, my Lord, for the Parliaments of the late Queen's [*Elizabeth's*] Time, in which there was nothing new, neither Head-money, nor Sheep-money, nor Escuage, nor any of these Kinds of Payments was required, but only the ordinary Subsidies, and those as easily granted as demanded. I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with any of them; neither can I inform your Lordship of all the Passages and Acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

Counf. No, it were but Time lost to speak of the latter; and, by those that are already remembered, we may judge of the rest; for those of the greatest Importance [are publick: But, I pray you, deal freely with me; What think you would be done for his Majesty, if he should call a Parliament at this Time? Or what would be required at his Majesty's Hands?

Just. The first Thing, that would be required, would be the same that was required by the Commons in the thirteenth Year of *Henry the Eighth*; to wit, That, if any Man of the Commons House should speak more largely, than of Duty he ought to do, all such Offences to be pardoned, and that to be of Record.

Counf. So might every Companion speak of the King what they list.

Just. No, my Lord; the Reverence, which a Vassal oweth to his Sovereign, is always intended for every Speech; howsoever, it must import the Good of the King, and his Estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise not: For, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, who gave Freedom of Speech in all Parliaments,

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ments, when *Wentworth* made those Motions, that were but supposed dangerous to the Queen's Estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the Privilege of the House, and there died.

Counf. What say you to the *Sicilian Vespers*, remembered in the last Parliament?

Just. I say, he repented him heartily that used that Speech; and indeed, besides that it was seditious, this Example held not: The French in Sicily usurped that Kingdom; they kept neither Law nor Faith; they took away the Inheritance of the Inhabitants; they took from them their Wives, and ravished their Daughters, committing all other Insolencies that could be imagined. The King's Majesty is the natural Lord of England; his Vassals of Scotland obey the English Laws; if they break them, they are punished without Respect: Yea, his Majesty put one of his Barons to a shameful Death, for being consenting only to the Death of a common Fencer; and which of these ever did, or durst commit any Outrage in England? But, to say the Truth, the Opinion of packing the last was the Cause of the Contention and Disorder that happened.

Counf. Why, Sir, do you not think it best to compound a Parliament of the King's Servants and others, that shall in all obey the King's Desires?

Just. Certainly no; for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the King's Part, nor on the Subjects, as by the Parliament before-remembered your Lordship may gather; for, from such a Composition, do arise all Jealousies and all Contentions. It was practised in elder Times, to the great Trouble of the Kingdom, and to the Loss and Ruin of Many. It was of later Time used by King *Henry the Eighth*, but every Way to his Disadvantage. When the King leaves himself to his People, they assure themselves, that they are trusted and beloved of their King; and there was never any Assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the Love and Trust of their King. *Henry the Sixth*, when his Estate was in Effect utterly overthrown, and utterly impoverished, at the humble Request of his Treasurer, made the same known to the House: Or otherwise, using the Treasurer's own Words, 'He humbly desired the King to take his Staff, that he might save his Wardship.'

Counf. But, you know, they will presently be in Hand with those Impositions, which the

King hath laid by his own Royal Prerogative.

Just. Perchance not, my Lord, but rather with those Impositions, that have been by some of your Lordships laid upon the King; which did not some of your Lordships fear, more than you do the Impositions laid upon the Subjects, you would never dissuade his Majesty from a Parliament; for no Man doubted, but that his Majesty was advised to lay those Impositions by his Council; and, for particular Things, on which they were laid, the Advice came from petty Fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the *Custum-house*. Now, my Lord, What Prejudice hath his Majesty, his Revenue being kept up, if the Impositions, that were laid by the Advice of a few, be in Parliament laid by the general Council of the Kingdom, which takes off all Grudging and Complaint?

Counf. Yea, Sir; but that, which is done by the King, with the Advice of his private or Privy-council, is done by the King's absolute Power?

Just. And by whose Power is it done in Parliament, but by the King's absolute Power? Mistake it not, my Lord: The three Estates do but advise, as the prime Council doth; which Advice, if the King embrace it, becomes the King's own Act in the one, and the King's Law in the other; for, without the King's Acceptation, both the publick and private Advices are but as empty Egg-shells. And what doth his Majesty lose, if some of those Things, which concern the poorer Sort, be made free again; and the Revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a Loss to the King to be beloved of the Commons? If it be Revenue, which the King seeks, Is it not better to take it of those that laugh, than of those that cry? Yea, if all be content to pay, upon Moderation and Change of the Species, Is it not more honourable, and more safe for the King, that the Subjects pay by Persuasion, than to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the King, Were it not better to give them the Rod into their own Hands, than to commit them to the Executioner? Certainly, it is far more happy for a sovereign Prince, that a Subject open his Purse willingly, than that the same be opened by Violence. Besides that, when Impositions are laid by Parliament, they are gathered by the Authority of the Law, which, as aforesaid, rejecteth all Complaints,

and stoppeth every inutinous Mouth. It shall ever be my Prayer, That the King embrace the Council of Honour and Safety; and let other Princes embrace that of Force.

Counf. But, good Sir, it is his Prerogative, which the King stands upon; and it is the Prerogative of the Kings, that the Parliaments do all diminish.

Just. If your Lordship would pardon me, I would say then, That your Lordship's Objection against Parliaments is ridiculous. In former Parliaments, three Things have been supposed Dishonour of the King: The *first*, That the Subjects have conditioned with the King, when the King hath needed them, to have the great Charter confirmed. The *second*, That the Estates have made Treasurers, for the necessary and profitable Disbursing of those Sums by them given, to the End that the Kings, to whom they were given, should expend them for their own Defence, and for the Defence of the Commonwealth. The *third*, That these have pressed the King to discharge some great Officers of the Crown, and to elect others: As touching the *first*, my Lord, I would fain learn what Disadvantage the Kings of this Land have had by confirming the great Charter; the Breach of which hath served only Men of your Lordship's Rank to assist their own Passions, and to punish and imprison, at their own Discretion, the King's poor Subjects, concerning their private Hatred, with the Colour of the King's Service; for the King's Majesty takes no Man's Inheritance, as I have said before, nor any Man's Life, but by the Law of the Land, according to the Charter: Neither doth his Majesty imprison any Man (Matter of Practice, which concerns the Preservation of his Estate, excepted) but by the Law of the Land, and yet he useth his Prerogative, as all the Kings of England have ever used it; for the supreme Reason causes to practise many Things without the Advice of the Law; as, in Insurrections and Rebellions, it useth the Martial, and not the Common Law, without any Breach of the Charter, the Intent of the Charter considered truly. Neither hath any Subject made Complaint, or been grieved, in that the Kings of this Land, for their own Safeties, and Preservation of their Estates, have used their Prerogatives, the great Ensign, on which there is written *Soli Deo*. And, my good Lord, Was not Buckingham in Eng-

land, and Byron in France condemned, their Peers uncalled? And, withal, Was not Byron utterly (contrary to the Customs and Privileges of the French) denied an Advocate to assist his Defence? For, where Law's Fore-cast cannot provide Remedies for future Dangers, Princes are forced to assist themselves by their Prerogatives. But that, which hath been ever grievous, and the Cause of many Troubles very dangerous, is, That your Lordships, abusing the Reasons of State, do punish and imprison the King's Subjects at your Pleasure: It is you, my Lords, that, when Subjects have sometimes Need of the King's Prerogative, do then use the Strength of the Law; and, when they require the Law, you afflict them with the Prerogative, and tread the great Charter, which hath been confirmed by sixteen Acts of Parliament, under your Feet, as a torn Parchment, or Waste-paper.

Counf. Good Sir, which of us do, in this Sort, break the great Charter? Perchance you mean, that we have advised the King to lay the new Impositions.

Just. No, my Lord, there is Nothing in the great Charter against Impositions; and, besides that, Necessity doth persuade them: And if Necessity do, in somewhat, excuse a private Man, *a fortiori*, it may then excuse a Prince. Again, The King's Majesty hath Profit and Increase of Revenue by the Impositions. But there are of your Lordships, contrary to the direct Letter of the Charter, that imprison the King's Subjects, and deny them the Benefit of the Law, to the King's Disprofit. And, What do you do otherwise thereby, if the Impositions be in any Sort grievous, but *Renovare dolores*? And, withal, dig out of the Dust the long-buried Memory of the Subjects former Intentions, with their Kings.

Counf. What mean you by that?

Just. I will tell your Lordship, when I dare: In the mean Time, it is enough for me, to put your Lordship in Mind, That all the Estates in the World, in the Offence of the People, have either had Profit or Necessity to persuade them to adventure it; of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the Subject exceedingly grieved, your Lordship may conjecture, that the House will be humble Suitors for a Redress. And, if it be a Maxim in Policy to please the People in all Things indifferent, and never suffer them to be beaten, but for the King's Benefit (for there are no Blows

forgotten with the Smart, but those) then I say, to make them Vassals to Vassals, is but to batter down those mastering Buildings, erected by King *Henry the Seventh*, and fortified by his Son, by which the People and Gentry of England were brought to depend upon the King alone. Yea, my good Lord, our late dear Sovereign kept them up, and to their Advantage, as well repaired as ever Prince did. *Defend me, and spend me*, saith the *Irish Churl*.

Counf. Then you think, that this violent Breach of the Charter will be the Cause of Seeking the Confirmation of it in the next Parliament, which otherwise could never have been moved?

Just. I know not, my good Lord, perchance not; for, if the House press the King to grant unto them all that is theirs by the Law, they cannot, in Justice, refuse the King all that is his by the Law. And where will be the Issue of such a Contention? I dare not divine, but sure I am, that it will tend to the Prejudice both of the King and Subject.

Counf. If they dispute not their own Liberties, Why should they then dispute the King's Liberties, which we call his Prerogative?

Just. Amongst so many and so divers Spirits, no Man can foretel what may be propounded; but howsoever, if the Matter be not slightly handled on the King's Behalf, these Disputes will soon dissolve; for the King hath so little Need of his Prerogative, and so great Advantage by the Laws, as the Fear of Impairing the one, to wit, the Prerogative, is so impossible; and the Burthen of the other, to wit, the Law so weighty, as but by a Branch of the King's Prerogative, namely, of his Remission and Pardon, the Subject is no Way able to undergo it. This, my Lord, is no Matter of Flourish that I have said, but it is the Truth, and unanswerable.

Counf. But to execute the Laws very severely would be very grievous?

Just. Why, my Lord, are the Laws grievous, which ourselves have required: of our Kings? And are the Prerogatives also, which our Kings have reserved to themselves, also grievous? How can such a People then be well pleased? And if your Lordship confess that the Laws give too much, Why does your Lordship urge the Prerogative that gives more? Nay, I will be bold to say it, that, except the Laws were better observed, the Prerogative of

a religious Prince hath manifold less Perils, than the Letter of the Law hath. Now, my Lord, for the Second and Third, to wit, for the Appointing of Treasurers, and Removing of Counsellors, our Kings have evermore laughed them to Scorn that have pressed either of these; and, after the Parliament dissolved, took the Money of the Treasurers of the Parliament, and recalled and restored the Officers discharged; or else they have been contented, that some such Persons should be removed at the Request of the whole Kingdom, which they themselves, out of their noble Natures, would not seem willing to remove.

Counf. Well, Sir, Would you, notwithstanding all these Arguments, advise his Majesty to call a Parliament?

Just. It belongs to your Lordships, who enjoy the King's Favour, and are chosen for your able Wisdom, to advise the King. It were a strange Boldness in a poor and private Person, to advise Kings, attended with so understanding a Council. But, belike your Lordships have conceived some other Way, how Money may be gotten otherwise. If any Trouble should happen, your Lordship knows, that then there were Nothing so dangerous for a King, as to be without Money: A Parliament cannot assemble in Haste, but present Dangers require hasty Remedies. It will be no Time then to discontent the Subjects, by using any inordinate Ways.

Counf. Well, Sir, all this notwithstanding, we dare not advise the King to call a Parliament, for, if it should succeed ill, we, that advise, should fall into the King's Disgrace. And, if the King be driven into any Extremity, we can say to the King, that, because we found it extremely displeasing to his Majesty to hear of a Parliament, we thought it no good Manners to make such a Motion.

Just. My Lord, to the First let me tell you, that there was never any just Prince that hath taken any Advantage of the Success of Councils, which have been founded on Reason. To fear that were to fear the Loss of the Bell, more than the Loss of the Steeple, and were also the Way to beat all Men from the Studies of the King's Service. But for the Second, where you say you can excuse yourselves upon the King's own Protesting against a Parliament; the King, upon better Consideration, may encounter that Fineness of yours.

Counf. How, I pray you?

Just.

Just. Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your Lordships together, and by delivering unto you, that he hears how his loving Subjects in general are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a Parliament, for that was the common Answer to all the Sheriffs in *England*, when the late Benefaction was commanded. In which Respect, and because you came short in all your Projects, and because it is a Thing most dangerous for a King to be without Treasure, he requires such of you, as either dislike, or rather, fear a Parliament, to set down your Reasons in Writing, why you either disliked, or feared it. And, such as I wish and desire it, to set down Answers to your Objections: And so shall the King prevent the Calling, or not Calling, on his Majesty, as some of your great Counsellors have done in many other Things, shrinking up their Shoulders, and saying, *The King will have it so.*

Counf. Well, Sir, it grows late, and I will bid you Farewell, only you shall take well with you this Advice of mine: That, in all that you have said against our Greatest, those Men, in the End, shall be your Judges in their own Cause; you, that trouble yourself with Reformation, are like to be well rewarded; for hereof you may assure yourself, that we will never allow of any Invention, how profitable soever, unless it proceed, or seem to proceed, from ourselves.

Just. If then, my Lord, we may presume to say, that Princes may be unhappy in any Thing, certainly they are unhappy in Nothing more, than in suffering themselves to be so inclosed. Again, if we may believe *Pliny*, who tells us, ‘That it is an ill Sign of Prosperity ‘in any Kingdom or State, where such, as deserve well, find no other Recompence ‘than the Contentment of their own Consciences;’ a far worse Sign is it, where the justly Accused shall take Revenge of the just Accuser. But, my good Lord, there is this Hope remaining, that, seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted most, he will not, for the future Dishonour of his Judgment, so well informed by his own Experience, expose such of his Vassals (as have had no other Motives to serve him, than simply the Love of his Person and his Estate) to their Revenge, who have only been moved by the Love of their own Fortunes, and their Glory.

Counf. But, good Sir, the King hath not been deceived by all?

Just. No, my Lord, neither have all been trusted, neither doth the World accuse all, but believe, that there be amongst your Lordships very just and worthy Men, as well of the Nobility, as others, but those, though most honoured in the Commonwealth, yet, have they not been most employed: Your Lordship knows it well enough, that three or four of your Lordships have thought your Hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest Affairs in the Commonwealth, and strong enough all the Land have found them to bear down whom they pleased.

Counf. I understand you: But how shall it appear, that they have only sought themselves?

Just. There needs no Perspective-Glass to discern it, for neither in the Treaties of Peace and War, in Matters of Revenue, and Matters of Trade, any Thing hath happened either of Love or Judgment. No, my Lord, there is not any one Action of theirs eminent, great or small, the Greatness of themselves only excepted.

Counf. It is all one; your Papers can neither answer nor reply, we can. Besides, you tell the King no News in delivering these Complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

Just. For the First, my Lord, whereas he hath once the Reasons of Things delivered him, your Lordships shall need to be well advised; in their Answers, there is no Sophistry will serve their Turn, where the Judge and the Understanding are both supreme. For the Second, to say that his Majesty knows, and cares not, that, my Lord, were but to despair all his faithful Subjects. But by your Favour, my Lord, we see it is contrary; we find now, that there is no such singular Power as there hath been; Justice is described with a Balance in her Hand, holding it even; and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any King’s Days; for singular Authority begets but general Oppression.

Counf. Howsoever it be, that is Nothing to you, that have no Interest in the King’s Favour, nor perchance, in his Opinion; and, concerning such a one, the Mistaking, or but Misconceiving of any one hard Word, Phrase, or Sentence, will give Argument to the King, either to condemn, or reject the whole Discourse. And, howsoever his Majesty may neglect

neglect your Informations, you may be sure that others, at whom you point, will not neglect their Revenges; you will therefore confess it, when it is too late, that you are exceeding sorry that you have not followed my Advice. Remember Cardinal *Wolsey*, who lost all Men for the King's Service, and, when their Malice, whom he grieved, had not outlived the King's Affection, you know what became of him as well as I.

Just. Yea, my Lord, I know it well, that Malice hath a longer Life, than either Love or Thankfulness hath, for as we always take more Care to put off Pain, than to enjoy Pleasure; because the one hath no Intermission, and with the other we are often satisfied; so it is in the Smart of Injury and the Memory of good Turns: Wrongs are written in Marble: Benefits are, sometimes, acknowledged, rarely requited. But my Lord, we shall do the King great Wrong, to judge him by common Rules, or ordinary Examples, for seeing his Majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his Service, no Man needs to doubt of his Goodness, towards

those that shall perform any Thing worthy Reward. Nay, the not Taking Knowledge of those of his own Vassals, that have done him Wrong, is more to be lamented, than the Relinquishing of those, that do him Right, is to be suspected. I am therefore, my good Lord, held to my Resolution, by these two, besides the former: The *First*, that God would never have blessed him with so many Years, and in so many Actions, yea, in all his Actions, had he paid his honest Servants with Evil for Good. The *Second*, where your Lordship tells me, that I will be sorry for not following your Advice, I pray your Lordship to believe, that I am no Way subject to the common Sorrowing of worldly Men, this Maxim of *Plato* being true: *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur*. But, for my Body, my Mind values it at nothing.

Courf. What is it then you hope for, or seek?

Just. Neither Riches, nor Honour, or Thanks, but I only seek to satisfy his Majesty (which I would have been glad to have done in Matters of more Importance) that I have lived, and will die an honest Man.

The Author's Epitaph, made by himself.

EVEN such is Time, which takes in Trust
Our Youth, and Joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with Age and Dust;
Which in the dark and silent Grave,

When we have wander'd all our Ways,
Shuts up the Story of our Days:
And from which Earth, and Grave, and Dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

The Method of passing Bills in Parliament. Written by *Henry Elfsinge*, Cler. Parl. Now printed from the original Manuscript, under these Heads, *viz.* 1. Proceedings upon Bills. 2. The Commitment of Bills. 3. Manner how Committees are named. 4. Who may not be of a Committee, and who ought to be. 5. Council heard at the Committee. 6. A Bill recommitted. 7. The third Reading. 8. *Nova Billa*. 9. Amendments and Additions, or Proviso's added afterwards, how lawful. 10. Amendments of Amendments how lawful. 11. A Proviso added after a third Reading, not usual.

usual. 12. A Proviso added by the one House, and desired to be taken by the other House, whether lawful. *London*, printed by *F. L. for Matt. Gilliflower*, at the *Spread-Eagle* and *Crown* in *Westminster-hall*, 1685. *Twelves*, containing thirty-six Pages.

Proceedings upon Bills.

The first Reading.

THE Clerk reads the Bill, standing at the Table, and then delivers the same, kneeling unto the Lord Chancellor, together with a Brief of the Bill.

The Lord Chancellor reads the Title of the Bill, and then reports the Effect of the same out of the Brief, and concludes, This is the first Time of the Reading of this Bill.

At the first Reading, the Bill is seldom now spoken against.

There are Precedents to the contrary, *prout A. 1 H. VIII. 11 de Parliamenti Billa de actionibus*, brought from the Commons, *lecta 1 vice & Domini disputando censuerunt reformandum; quod regia Majestas haberet 3 vel 4 annos, pars vero contra partem, nisi unum annum.*

And a Bill hath been received at the first Reading, *prout.*

Anno 3 E. VI. 14 Nov. Billa pro Jurisdictione Episcoporum rejected, and a Committee appointed to draw a new Bill.

The Subsidy Bill, and the King's general Pardon, were used to be read but once, and so were expedited at the first Reading.

Yet if a Proviso be added to the Subsidy Bill, that hath been read three Times, *prout.*

So if a Proviso be added to the general Pardon, that is to be read three Times, *V. 3. E. VI. 1 Febr.*

Anno 35 H. VIII. 4 die Martii 1 Vice lecta est Billa, concerning the Kings Majesty's Award, between the Lord *Dacres*, and the Heirs general of Sir *James Strangwish* the Younger, *cui quidem Bille Proceres assenserunt.*

Bills also have been committed at the first Reading.

Anno 6 Hen. VIII. 14 Febr. recepta est Billa in papyro concernens apparatus, & lecta est jam primo, & deliberata Magistro Pigott reformanda.

Anno 1 E. VI. 21 Nov. allata est a communi Domo Billa, for Benefices, common Preachers, and Residence. *Qua 1 vice lecta est, & commissa est Archiepiscopo Cant. Episcopis Elien. Dunelm. Roffen. & Lincoln. Marchioni Northampton. Domino St. John Comiti Arundel Domino Admiral, & Domino Wentworth.*

Anno 5 E. VI. 16 Febr. Hodie 1 vice lecta est Billa, to avoid Regrating, Forestalling &c. *& commissa Magistro Hales, Magistro Molineux, Magistro Saunders, & Sollicitatori Regis.*

And there are very many Precedents, that Bills have been committed at the first Reading, in the Times of *Henry the Eighth*, and *Edward the Sixth*, as may appear by the Committees of those Times.

The like Precedents I find in most of the Journals of *Queen Elisabeth*, *prout, &c.*

Anno 8 Elis. 3 Oct. Billa, for the better Executing of certain Statutes, &c.

Eodem Anno 5 Oct. touching Fines and Recoveries, &c.

Anno 13 Elis. 20 April. against fraudulent Conveyances, &c.

Anno 14 Elis. 12 May. for Preservation of Wood, &c.

Eodem Anno & Die, for the Punishment of Vagabonds, &c.

And so in many other Parliaments of *Elis. &c.*

The second Reading.

In the same Manner, the Clerk reads the Bill the second Time, and delivers the same without a Brief to the Lord Chancellor.

His Lordship recites the Title thereof only, and saith, This is the second Reading.

Then if no Man speaks against the Bill, it is ordered to be engrossed, if begun with the Lords; or to have a third Reading, if brought from the Commons.

The Commitment of Bills.

AT the second Reading, if the Bill be required to be committed, the Lord Chancellor demands of the Lords, how many of each Bench shall be of the Committee.

Which being agreed on to three, five, or six, &c. the Earls are first named, then the Bishops, then the Barons.

The like Order is observed in the Naming of Committees for any other Business.

And if there be five Earls, then five Bishops, and ten Barons; the Reason whereof I know not. *Neque fuit sic a principio.*

Anno 3 E. VI. 14 Nov. the Committees, to frame a Bill for the Jurisdiction of Bishops, were the Marquis of *Dorset*, four Bishops, and two Barons.

Eodem Anno 2 Januarii, the Committee, sent to the Duke of *Somerset*, were, one Earl, five Bishops, and two Barons.

Anno 27 Elis. 4 Decemb. the Bill for the Clothiers of *Boxsted*, &c. was committed unto three Earls, one Viscount, one Bishop, and three Barons.

Eodem Anno 3 Dec. the Bill for the Landing of Merchandise, &c. was committed unto eight Earls, two Bishops, and four Barons.

Eodem Anno 27 Elis. the first Bill, for Increase of Mariners, was committed unto two Earls, and six Barons, and no Bishops.

Eodem Anno 8 Die, the Bill, for the Sabbath-Day, is committed unto six Earls, one

If any Doubt be conceived, which is often *pro forma tantum*, the Bill is committed.

V. inter ordines, &c. An. 18 Jacobi.

Bills are commonly let pass at the first Reading, and committed at the second.

Yet it appears by many Precedents of *Henry the Eighth*, and *Edward the Sixth*, and *Queen Elisabeth*, that if the Lords did apprehend any Dislike or Doubt in the Bill at the first Reading, it was then committed immediately, *prout antea*.

Viscount, five Bishops, and seven Barons.

The Precedents hereof are infinite, that no such Order was observed to name a set Number of each Bench, or to double the Number of Barons until in the latter Parliaments of our late King *James*: Neither was this constantly observed, until the Parliament of *12 Jacobi Regis*, and afterwards. For in the fourth Session of the Parliament, *Anno 1 Jacobi Regis*, sometimes the Number of each is equal, and sometimes the Barons are the greater Number. But they seldom double the Number of the other Bench, unless in the Committees of a small Number.

But here may be a Question (*viz.*) Whether a Bill may be committed by the Orders of the House, if no Lord move any Doubt, or Imperfection in the same?

And I am of Opinion that it may not, neither is it necessary.

My Reason is, for that I find many Bills to pass without Commitment, and some at the second Reading in the Times of *Henry the Eighth*, *Edward the Sixth*, and *Queen Elisabeth*.

But now the constant Order is to read every Bill, save the Pardon, three Times.

And the general Voice, to commit the Bill at the second Reading, shews that the Lords do conceive some Doubt thereof, though none move any.

The Manner how Committees are named.

THE Number of each Bench being agreed, they are named, *promiscue*, by any of the Lords, but the Clerk is to be careful to set down those whom he hears first named; which

is done in this Manner:

First, the Earls are named, and those that sit on that Bench.

The Clerk, having written them, stands up and reads their Names.

Then the Bishops, and then the Barons, in like Manner.

And, if the Clerk happen to set down more than the Number agreed on, it is in the Liberty of the House to take out the latter, and so to leave the just Number, or to admit them.

Then, the House names the Attendants, which are of the Judges, the King's learned Council, and the Masters of the Chancery.

The Clerk reads their Names also.

The last is the Time and Place, where to meet; which being agreed on, and set down, the Clerk reads that also.

Who may not be Committees, and who ought to be.

IF any Lord speak against the Body of the Bill, he is not to be named of the Committee of the same Bill.

No absent Lord is to be of any Committee, unless Officers of State, when the Bill or Business concerns their Office. And, then, they are to be named, and to have Notice sent them thereof.

V. Anno 1 Jac. 14 Junii, Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage.

That Lord, which moveth any Doubt, concerning the Bill, ought also to be named, and to be of the Committee, if he be present.

This is also a received Opinion, and often in Practice; and the Clerk ought to be attentive, and hearken after the Names of such Lords.

The Number of the Committees being agreed on, named, and read; the Clerk delivers the Bill, with a Note of the Committee affixed, unto the first of the Committee then present.

The Committees being met, though not all, yet if the better Half, they may proceed.

Anno 18 & 19 Jac. 30 Nov. It is ordered that, if ten or upwards of any Committee do meet, though not the one Half of their Number, they may proceed notwithstanding.

At the Committee, the Judges and other Attendants do neither sit, nor are covered, unless it be out of Favour; and then they sit behind, but are never covered.

One of the Attendants reads the Bill, and writes the Amendments, if any, in Paper, with Directions to the Places to be amended.

And, if any Addition or Proviso be conceived, he writes the same in Paper also, with Directions, where they are to be placed.

Any other Member of the House may be present at this Committee; but they may not vote: And must give Place to all of the Committee, and sit below them.

If the Business be not dispatched, at the first Meeting, the Committees themselves may appoint another Day.

V. An. 4 Jac. 26 Febr.

But this must be done, before their Departure.

Council heard at the Committee.

AT this Committee, if it be a private Bill, they will not only call both Parties before them, but hear their Council.

Wherein this Order is observed, that the Council, who speaks against the Bill, is heard first, for it is already understood, what the Bill desires.

And either Part may desire to have their Council heard in the House; which, being

reported by the Committee, is so ordered.

There also the Council, against the Bill, speaks first.

And, for publick Bills, Council is also heard, if any oppose it.

And, if a publick Bill concern any Officer, Corporation, or particular Person, or any Artificers, they are usually sent for to attend the Committee.

The Bill reported by a Committee to the House.

THE Committee, or greater Part, being agreed, what Report to make to the House.

The first of the Committees, that was present, makes Report thereof standing, and uncovered, with the Bill in his Hand.

And all the rest of that Committee, then present, stand up, and are uncovered; where-by, they signify their Assent unto the said Report.

The Report being ended, he delivers the Bill and the Amendments, Addition and Proviso, if any, unto the Clerk, who goes from his Seat, and receives the same from his Lordship.

If the Report be for the Bill to sleep, it is so ordered and entered by the Clerk in the Journal Book, and endorsed on the Bill also.

If Amendments, Additions, or Proviso's be reported, when the House orders the same to be read, they are read on this Manner, by the Clerk, *viz.* The Amendments of the Bill, &c. reciting the Title thereof, or the Additions or Proviso's to be added to the Bill, &c. And so reads the same, as they are in the Paper delivered by the Committee.

Then, the Clerk delivers the same, kneeling, unto the Lord Chancellor, having first endorsed on the Amendments, &c. 1 *Vice lecta.*

His Lordship first reads the Title of the Bill. Then that the same is returned by the Committees amended thus, *viz.* In such a Line between such a Word and such a Word insert these Words, &c.

Or, in such a Line, put out this Word, &c. and saith further, before it was thus, and now it is thus.

If Additions and Proviso's are only reported,

and no Amendments, then, his Lordship first recites the Title of the Bill; then, that it was committed and returned with such or such Additions, or Proviso's, and so repeats the Effect thereof briefly.

This being done, the Lord Chancellor demands, Whether their Lordships be pleased, that their Amendments, &c. shall receive a second Reading? And, if so agreed on,

The Clerk receives the Bill, with the Amendments, &c. of his Lordship, and reads the same again, and endorseth on the Amendments, &c. 2 *Vice lecta.*

And, kneeling, delivers the same unto the Lord Chancellor again.

His Lordship reads the same, thus:

First, recites the Title of the Bill, then, that it hath been committed and returned with Amendments, &c. the which Amendments have been twice read. And demands their Lordships Pleasure, if the Bill began above, Whether the Bill shall be engrossed with the said Amendments, &c. or no? And, if Answer be made affirmatively, and no Lord speak against it: Then it is so ordered to be done; and the Clerk receives the Bill again, and endorseth on the said Amendments to be engrossed; if the Bill be sent from the Commons, then the Lord Chancellor demands their Lordships Pleasure, Whether the said Bill, and Amendments, &c. shall be read the third Time or no?

At the second Reading, any of the Committee may speak against the Body of the Bill, or against the Amendments, &c. before they be engrossed. *V. An. 39. Elis. 24 Jan.* This was debated, but not then determined. But *An. 43 Elis. 12 Nov.* it was resolved by the House.

RECOMMITTED.

THE Bill being thus reported by the Committee: If any Doubt be moved, and the House think good then, before the Amendments be ordered to be engrossed, or ordered to have a third Reading, the same may be recommitted, either to the former Committees only, or to the same and others.

If the Committee find the Bill so imperfect that it can hardly be amended,

Then they may, without further Order from the House, frame a new Bill.

Which is most commonly done, by one of the Attendants.

This new Bill being agreed on and returned with the old Bill to the House, and the Cause thereof reported by the Committee, the old Bill sleeps.

And the Lord Chancellor demands of the Lords, Whether they be pleased, that the new Bill shall be read or no? Which is done accordingly.

If any Doubt be conceived of the new Bill, the same may also be committed, as the former was recommitted.

Or, after the second Reading, the House may order a third Bill to be framed. *V. An. 1 Jacobi 4 Junii*, Recusants: But, after the third Reading, this is not now done.

The third Reading.

The Clerk first reads the Title, and then reads the Bill, and delivers the same to the Lord Chancellor, in Manner, as before, having first endorsed *3 An. V. lecta*.

His Lordship repeats the Title only, and says, This is the third Reading of this Bill.

If no Lord speak against it, then his Lordship demands, Whether he shall put it to the Question? Which being agreed on, or not denied,

The Question is thus:

Such of your Lordships, as are of Opinion, that this Bill is fit to pass, or shall pass, say, Content.

They, which are of another Opinion, say, Not content.

Then, the lowest Baron begins, and saith, Content, or Not content, without any more Words. And so they proceed in Order to

the first Baron.

Then the Bishops.

Then the Viscounts, and Earls, and those, that sit on the Earl's Bench, in like Manner.

The Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, if he be a Baron, Earl, or Bishop, removes to the first Place, on the Earl's Bench, and giveth his Voice, Content, or Not content.

The Prince, if present, speaks last; if any Doubt be of the most Voices, then, one Lord who said Content, and another Lord, who said, Not content, are appointed to number them by the Poll, which they do in this Manner:

They go together to the Barons Bench, and every Lord, who said, Content, stands up. Then the Bishops and Earls Bench, in like Manner.

Then, they return again to the Barons Bench; and every Lord, who said, Not content, standeth up; and so of the Bishops and Earls.

And, according to the Relation, it is agreed, whether Content, or Not content, had the more Voices.

And the Bill doth pass, or is rejected accordingly.

This Order is observed in all Questions.

Upon Examining of the Votes, the Proxies of the absent Lords may be demanded, and such Lords as gave their own Vote, with the Question, may give his Proxies, against it, *Prout*.

Nova Billa.

IF the Bill, began below, be committed, and a new Bill brought in by the Committee,

When the same is past, by the Lords, it is to be returned to the Commons, together with the old.

Hereof are many Precedents, *temporibus H. 8. E. 6. Elis.* And one *4 Jac. 27 May. pro Comite Darby*.

So likewise the Commons are to do, if they make a new Bill.

But, if the Commons send up a new Bill, and the Lords read the same, and reject it, the Commons cannot send up another Bill of the same Argument, in the same Session; *V. An. 3 Jacobi 27 May.* Purveyors.

If the Lords pass a Bill, and send it to the

Commons, and they reject the same, without Conference with the Lords, they cannot send up a new Bill of the same Argument, in the same Session; *V. An. 29 Eliz. 22 Martii, Handford's Bill*. But note this new Bill was sent up without the old, otherwise, I conceive, it had been according to Order.

And I suppose the Reason to be, for that the Lords will not proceed in a new Bill, before they understand what is become of the old, which they formerly passed: Nor unless they may also have by them the former Bill.

And therefore, either a Conference, or the old Bill to be returned, is necessary.

The same Order is observed, if the Commons send up a Bill to the Lords.

Amendments, and Additions, or Proviso's added afterwards, how lawful.

V. *An. 27 Elis. Decembris 17.* The Commons sent up a Bill, for the *Sabbath-Day*, to the Lords, who passed the same with Amendments, and so returned it to the Commons: They sent it back to the Lords, with new Amendments, who rejected the same as against Order.

It seems the Commons had some Conference with the Lords concerning the same; for afterwards, in the same Parliament, the Third of *March*, it is thus entered, *viz.*

Memorandum, That this Day were chosen for Committees, to examine the Record touching Passing Amendments of Amendments, moved to the same by the Lower House, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Suffex*, the Viscount *Mountague*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Attorney, about the Bill for the better Observing of the *Sabbath-day*.

The Precedents they named were the Bills for Treasons, and Bringing in of Bills, Acts passed in *Anno 13. of the Queen*.

But these Precedents appear not in the Journal of the Upper House.

It should seem, that the Lords were then satisfied, and signified the same unto the Commons; for afterwards, 6 *Martii*, the Commons returned the same again with Amendments of Amendments, which the Lords publicly read three Times, and passed the same.

Vide the Journal of the Lower House, 22 *Febr. Fol. 97 & 99.* That the Commons desired the Lords, that Search might be made in the Upper House, for Precedents touched by them of the Lower House, and reported by the Committee. That, upon Search of Precedents, their House might add to the Lords former Additions to a Bill *pro Billa Sabbath-day*. *Vide tamen Anno 39 Elis. 14 Jan.* The Lords having returned to the Commons their Bill for Houses of Correction with Amendments and Proviso's, the Commons prayed a Conference touching the said Amendments and Proviso's.

The Lords yielded to the Conference thus far, to satisfy the Commons what moved their Lordships to make those Amendments, with

this Caution, that nothing can now be altered by the Order of this House.

Amendments upon Amendments were very usual in the Times of *H. VIII.* and *Queen Mary*, *prout An. 32 H. VIII. 2 Jul. & 5, 12, 19, 21, 22, & 24 Jul. Billa annexorum honori de Petworth.*

An. 32 H. VIII. 1 Martii & 4, 5, 6. 19, & 18. Martii Billa concerning the First Articles.

An. 35 H. VIII. 4 Martii, &c. Billa for the Lords Decrees.

An. 37 H. VIII. 27 Nov. &c.

Billa pro Custode Rotulorum, &c.

An. 6 H. VIII. 15 Martii, & usq; 3 April. Billa Ducis Suff.

An. 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. 18 Febr. &c. Billa for Musters.

Anno 31 H. VIII. 10 Junii. The Bill for the First Articles is sent to the Commons, 14 *Junii*; it is returned with a Proviso, and expedited, 16 *Junii*: And, 24 *Junii*, the Lords and Commons agree to some Amendments. Afterwards the 27 *Junii*, the Lords agree to another Proviso, and send it with the Proviso to the Commons, 28 *Junii*, who returned the Bill expedited the same Day in the Afternoon.

Anno 37 H. VIII. The Bill for the *Custos Rotulorum*, returned from the Commons with a Proviso, rejected by the Lords, and sent back to the Commons, and returned by them expedited, without the Proviso, 16 & 18 *Decembris*.

Anno 4 Jac. 29 Junii. The Lords having returned to the Commons their Bill of Hostile Laws, with Amendments, and a Proviso, the Commons prayed a Conference for Consideration thereof.

At the Conference they moved, that they may clear their Doubt of the said Amendments and Proviso, either by Amendment, or by another Proviso; of which Kind of Proceeding, they affirmed they had good Precedents of former Times in like Case.

And, accordingly, they did amend the same: And the Lords passed the Bill after the third Reading thereof. *Vid. ib. Junii & in pomeridianis.*

Amendment of the Amendments, how lawful.

THE Amendments of a Bill coming from the Commons, as hath been said, are to be written in Paper, and to be inserted into the Bill by the Commons, at the Return thereof unto them. And, if the Commons do think fit, that those Amendments be amended, they are to signify so much to the Lords, and to move their Lordships to amend their own Amendments, before the same be inserted in the Bill. *Vide* the Journal of the Lower House, *Anno 27 Eliz. 10 Martii, Fol. 132.*

Divers Lords were of Opinion the last Parliament, *Anno 18 & 19 Jac.* That a Bill might be amended after the third Reading.

But, in the same Parliament, *27 Novembris*, in the Bill for Suits, and *1 Decembris*, in the

Bill for Monopolies, it was agreed, *per plures*; but the Question for it was denied, that it was against the Orders of the House to recommit a Bill after the third Reading.

Yet it was agreed, that a Bill might have a small Amendment after the third Reading, with which agreeth that *Anno 27 Eliz. 13 Martii*. In the Bill for Provision to be made for the Queen's Royal Person, &c. which was thus amended after the third Reading, and before it was put to the Question, *viz.* in the 24th Line, after this Word (left) put out (so as) and in Place thereof put in (foreseeing that). And such small Amendments are usual after the third Reading. *E. IV.*

A Proviso added, after the third Reading, not usual now.

ANNO 35 Eliz. 9 April. A Saving of the Queen's Right, and all Men's Right, added to the Bill for repealing of certain Uses, and concerning the Lands of *Anthony Coke, Esq;* was added to the Bill after the third Reading and Question.

This Bill was sent up by the Commons, *28 Martii, & 6 April.* it was read the third Time, and expedited. The Saving was added, the 9th of *April*, with this Caution, that the Lords, upon weighty Considerations, have ordered, that this shall not hereafter be drawn to make any Precedent. Then the Bill was returned to the Commons, who sent it up the same Day expedited.

According to this Order of *Anno 35 Eliz.* the House hath forborne to add any Thing to the Bill after the third Reading *prout. Anno 3. Jac. 13. Martii 3 Vice lecta est Billa*, for the Establishing of the Possessions of *Edmund*, late Lord *Chandois* of *Sudley*. And ordered, that the Lady *Chandois* shall give Security for the Payment of seven-thousand Pounds to her Daughter *Catharine*, before the Bill be sent to the Commons; for that the same is not sufficiently provided for by the Bill.

15 Martii, this is referred to Mr. Justice *Tanfield*, and Mr. Justice *Crook*, and they to acquaint the Lord Committees that were named on the Bill with the Cause by them advised on: That the Lords might proceed for the Security, as they should find Cause.

27 Martii. This Bill, with others, is sent down to the Commons, with a Recommendation from their Lordships, to be had by them touching Assurance to be given for the said Portion, which was not remembered to their Lordships until the Bill was passed this House.

But this Order was not thus nicely observed, *tempore H. VIII. Anno 6. H. VIII. 1 Martii Billa concernens debita Regia lecta est 3.*

3 Martii lecta est 4, & Domini deliberabunt.

15 Martii lecta est 5.

16 Martii lecta est.

20 Martii lecta est, & Domini deputaverunt principalem Justiciorum & ad confiniendum quendam effectum pro securitate regia pro debitis suis obtinendis.

Here it appears, that, at the third Reading, the Lords not being agreed, the Bill was read again the fourth Time, yea, and the sixth and seventh Times, and at last the Lords appointed a new Bill to be drawn.

There are many Precedents that Bills have been read oftener than thrice in that King's Time, and of *E. VI*; by which it appears, that Bills might then be recommitted after the third Reading. *Vide* my Collection of those Times, which I will not here relate; for that it is now constantly observed to read Bills but thrice.

A Proviso added by the one House, and desired to be taken away by the other House, whether lawful.

THIS was usual in former Times, yet in the Parliament 21 Jac. 21 May. the Lords having returned unto the Commons their Bill for Ease of Pleading of License of Alienations, &c. with a Proviso, the Commons misliking of the Proviso desired a Conference, and moved to have the Proviso taken away; and, some doubting and others affirming that this could not be done by the Orders of the House, the Commons framed a new Bill to that Purpose, without a Proviso, and sent it up to the Lords the next Morning, and with it returned the old Bill, and the Lords passed this new Bill.

Anno 3 H. VIII. 24 die Parliamenti Billa concernens Coriarios lecta est primo, &c. sent to the Commons, & 29 die Parliamentum assentitum est, dempta additione.

Anno 6 H. VIII. 31 die Martii Billa Ducis Suff. remissa est in domum communem, & duæ provisiones eidem prius per Communes annexæ abstrahuntur, & eodem die recepta est, ablatis provisionibus prius annexis.

Anno 1 & 2 Ph. & Mar. The Bill for the Supremacy of Rome, 4 Jan. a Proviso added by the Commons misliked, a new Bill made, and the old taken away by the Commons, at the Lords Request.

Anno 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. The Bill of Musters, returned from the Commons with two Proviso's, and sent back to have them taken away, and returned again, with certain Corrections mentioned in a Schedule, expedited 4 & 6 Martii & prout M. 6 May.

Robert Earl of Essex's Ghost; sent from Elysium, to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England.

Virtutum Comes Invidia.

Printed in *Paradise*, 1624. Quarto, containing thirty-four Pages.

Nobles, Gentlemen, and Commons.

ALTHOUGH, in this most holy and glorious Assembly of Angels and Saints, in the most high Star-chamber Court of Heaven, where Almighty God, and his Son Christ Jesus, are King and Prince, we, the Saints, do neither participate, nor sympathise, of the good or evil Conditions of you Mortals on Earth; yet, seeing it is a Part of that Glory, that God affordeth us in Heaven, to have a Measure of Knowledge of your Condition on Earth; and I, particularly, taking Knowledge of the miserable and distracted present State of the formerly flourishing Realm of England, in the Days of my then

dread Sovereign, now Fellow-faint, Queen *Elizabeth*, of blessed and immortal Memory on Earth, and in Heaven; could do no less, than give you this my sacred Declaration, and Admonishment, which I send you, by this my blessed Genius, written with a Pen, made of an Angel's Pinion, and agreeing with my Apology, which I left behind me on Earth, in mine own Defence, and for the Good of my Country, after my Decease.

The lawful Succession of your now King, when I was amongst you on Earth, I never questioned, but maintained, and was ever ready to maintain, with Dint of my Sword, if Need had been, his Title, against whom-

soever offered to question the same, as was, and is well known to his Majesty. That he was a prudent, learned, and religious educated Prince, I also never doubted; but that such a prudent, learned, and religious Prince should be so far misled, by some false-hearted Counsellors at Home, and fawning foreign Ambassadors, from the Enemies of God and his Gospel, professed in *England*, to the Detriment of the Kingdom; that, I say, makes me not a little to marvel, and mourn I should, for my native Country, but that here, in Heaven, we are not subject to Passion.

Upon my certain Knowledge, notwithstanding all the fair Shew of League and Amity, betwixt *James*, King of *Scots*, and *Philip*, King of *Spain*, the Crown of *Scotland* was no longer safe on King *James's* Head, than whilst my sovereign Lady, and Mistress, Queen *Elizabeth*, by her valiant Men of Action, curbed King *Philip*, and kept him in Awe; for, had his ambitious, wicked, and devilish Design, of *England's* Invasion, in 1588, taken Effect, Is there any so childish, to think, that his Invasion would have had any Period at *Barwick*? Sure I am, King *James* had Wisdom enough, to know that his Crown and Kingdom lay then at the Stake, in the second Place, next unto *England*. For King *James*, then of *Scotland*, made a sweet Sonnet, as a Monument, and Commemoration, of his and our Deliverance, from that foreign and godless Fleet, as he then termed it; which Sonnet, as I then received it, I here present unto your View and Consideration:

The Nations banded 'gainst the Lord of Might,
Prepar'd a Force, and set them to the Way:
Mars dress'd himself in sick and awful Plight,
The like whereof was never seen, they say:
They forwards came, in monstrous Array,
Both Sea and Land, beset us every where;
Braggs threaten'd us a ruinous Decay,
What came of that? The Issue did declare:
The Winds began to toss them here and there,
The Seas began, in foaming Waves, to swell;
The Number, that escap'd it, fell them fair,
The rest were swallowed up in Gulfs of Hell.

But how were all these Things miraculous done?

God looks at them, out of his heavenly Throne.

[The same Sonnet is extant in *Latin*, by *Metellanus*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*.]

Matters so standing, the Marvel is, That, upon the mature Shutting in of the Evening of your long Summer's Day, of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, King *James* lawfully and peaceably succeeding to the Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, he so suddenly concludes, as it were, an inviolable League with that ambitious King *Philip* of *Spain*, that never made League with any King, Prince, or State, but for his own End and Advantage.

If I were on Earth, I know some of you would answer me, King *James* was a peaceable Prince, and so loved to be at Peace and in Amity with other Christian Princes: Yea, and it seems, your King himself is much affected with the very Name of Peace, alledging, That he hath been a peaceable King from his Cradle; that *Beati Pacifici* is his happy destined Motto; and, with such like self-pleasing Songs, hath, a long Time, sung a *Requiem* to himself, &c. I must confess, it is a happy Thing for Christian and Religious Kings, Princes, and States, to be at Peace, in Unity, and Amity, one with another. But, on the other Side, it is an unhappy and dangerous Thing to have League or Amity with *Roman* Catholick Kings, and Princes, who are, I say, sworn and professed Enemies to God, and his Gospel, as was, and is this great Catholick King, *Philip*, and his *Austrian-Castilian* Family.

When I was a Servant to my Prince and Country on Earth, my Affection, in Nature, was indifferent, *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*; and I was more inflamed with the Love of Knowledge, than the Love of Fame; which some of your * Men of State, and great Place, yet living, that know my Heart, can bear me Witness.

But my noble and religious Father †, *Walter*, Earl of *Essex*, upon his Death-bed,

* Henry, Earl of Southampton, &c. † He died Earl Marshal of *Ireland*, An. 1576.

gave me, in Precept, three main and weighty Matters, *viz.* *First*, To serve God, according to his Ordinance in his Word. *Secondly*, To obey my Prince. *Thirdly*, To love and serve my Country; unto which he added, To beware of, and to hate all Popish Superstition and Idolatry. All which he religiously enlarged, and pressed unto me; the more, in regard of my tender, youthful, and unripe Years. Which Swan-like Song of my dear Parent took so deep an Impression in me, that I, being called by my Sovereign, the Queen, and, being but a Youth, she was pleased to call me her Boy, to serve her Majesty, and my Country, did the willinger yield, and obey my Prince's Command, and entered into Action.

First, In the Year of our Lord, 1585, and the Nineteenth of my pupil Age, I went, with the Earl of *Leicester*, my Father-in-Law, into the *Netherlands*, where I had the honourable Charge of General of the Horse, in a fair Army; where I ventured my Life, and subjected myself to many Kinds of Wants, disagreeing with my Education and Years, &c. which I did, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Secondly, In the Year 1589, I enterprised my Voyage into *Portugal*, with a poor, distressed, and exiled King, Don *Antonio*, whom I, many Times, with Pity, heard repeat, with Tears, the Story of his Oppressions, by *Philip* King of *Spain*; who, by Force and Tyranny, had usurped his Crown of *Portugal*; also, considering the Enemy against whom I went, an insolent, cruel, and usurping Prince, that disturbed the Common-peace, was a general Enemy to the Liberty of all *Christendom*, and, in particular, aspired the Conquest of my Country; and the Cause I went for, was to deliver the Oppressed out of the Hands of the Oppressor, and, by giving the *Castilian* his Handful at Home, to free both mine own Country, and our Confederates, from the Fear and Danger of his Attempts: And, *lastly*, a Time in which I went, when my Eyes, full of Disdain, had so lately seen his, falsely called, *Invincible Armada* sail by our Shore; when all the brave Hearts, in *England*, boiled, till they saw that insolent Enemy taught, both to know himself, and value us. And, had the *Portuguese* risen, and assisted me, I should have gone

nigh to have plucked *Portugal's* Crown off the Usurper's Head, and placed it on the lawful King's Head; but they, for Fear of *Philip*, were faithless to *Antonio*: Yet, in that my Voyage, what I attempted, to aid the wronged and banished King, and for Honour of my Prince and Country, if you know it not, let your Chronicles resolve you.

Thirdly, In the Year 1591, I conducted, and was General, of her Majesty, my Sovereign's Succours, to *Henry* the *French* King; a Prince, who, for his admirable Valour, and often Fighting with his own Hands, against his Enemies, was not only the most famous, but the most renowned and redoubted Captain of *Christendom*: And the End of that my Service, was, to free the maritime Parts of *Normandy* from the Hands of the League and Power of the *Spaniard*, that, thereby, he, our Enemy, should find less Succour, or Favour, in those Seas, &c. This, also, was done, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Fourthly, In the Year 1596, I undertook my *Spanish* Voyage to *Cadix*, where, not only I soon seized on, sacked, and burnt the Town, and enriched my Followers and Soldiers, but we burnt his best Shipping, and brought away his Ordnance, and some Ships, destroying his Sea Provisions; yea, put him to such Charge and Loss, as he, shortly after, played Bankrupt with all his Creditors, &c. And this, likewise, I did, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Fifthly, In the Year 1597, my *Spanish* Voyage towards the *Tercera's* was intended, with her Majesty's Leave, and, by her Command, for *Fayal*, to assail the *Adelantado* there, and thither I shaped my Course; and, had it been prosperous and fortunate, I had made my Sovereign such an absolute Queen of the Ocean, and disarmed, and disabled the Enemy at Sea, as that she might either have forced him to any Conditions of Peace, or made War on him, to her infinite Advantage, and his utter Ruin.

But that my Design was fatally frustrated, by violent and long Tempests, which took us in the Height of forty-six Degrees, which scattered our Fleet, disabled, and almost drowned most of our principal Ships; and, when we could no longer bear it up against the Wind, drove us back, upon our own Coast, and,

and, to what a desperate Case my own Ship was brought, there Witneffes were enough ; my Attempts and Endeavours were never the less, my Danger, and Endurance of Hardness the more, &c. and all for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

When *Philip*, King of *Spain*, that mortal Enemy of my Prince and Country, who had made many Attempts and Assaults upon us, failed, and was frustrated in all ; then he begged, of the Pope, my Sovereign's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and sent his Bastard Brother, Don *John d' Aquila*, to take Possession of it.

But this Messenger, a Viceroy in his Conceit, was soon sent back, with an *English* Flea in his *Spanish* Ear, that made such a Buzzing in his Head, that, either with that, or else by a *Spanish* Fig, the good Don, discontentedly, departed this Life, in short Time after his Return into *Spain*.

At length, and it was my last Voyage, by Command of my Sovereign, I was made, and sent Lord-General into *Ireland* of all her Majesty's Forces ; and there, when I had begun to subjugate those head-strong Rebels, and brought their Ring-leader, that notable Rebel *Tyrone*, upon his Knees : I was forced, abruptly, to return back into *England*, and my Commission was conferred upon another Nobleman *, my Inferior, who was sent over, to wade against those Rebels, after I had broken the Ice beforehand ; and he had the Honour, happily, to perform, what I had carefully, and painfully, projected and intended. In the Interim, the fatal Thread of my mortal Life was almost spun, and my Glass nigh run through ; my Enemies laying many heinous Crimes to my Charge, and therewith abusing my Sovereign's Ears, and incensing her sacred Majesty against me.

But, beloved Mortals, it is not my Meaning, neither would I have you expect it, to touch the Injury of the Times, in that my latter Time, nor the State-Faction of Men in Place, my then Enemies : I forbear to touch also, how, by the Machinations of Men, my gracious Sovereign was forced to sign the Hastening of my Death : For, before my Head was severed from my Shoulders (with which Stroke my immortal Soul was separated from my mortal Body) I forgave them all, and left my Cause to God, to whom Vengeance is

due ; and certainly, my God hath been thoroughly avenged of them all, my Enemies, to their Dishonour and Disgrace upon Earth ; yea, before Men and Angels. And all was but like an impetuous Storm, to hasten my Arriving in the Harbour of Heaven : Here, where there is no Room for Revenge, nor aught else but holy Love ; which hath moved me to send you, of my *quondam* Country, this my Declaration or Discourse, call it what you will ; wherein, I list not neither to meddle with the *Arcana imperii*, of your King and State, further than shall beseem a zealous Patriot, that tendereth still, and wisheth the Welfare and flourishing State of his once dear and native Country.

And now, well-beloved *Englishmen*, in the Premises I have given you a brief Account of my Life, and, as it were, an Epitome of my Time-spending on Earth : In which Employments, I impaired my hereditary Estate, lost my dear and only † Brother, the half Arch of my House, and buried also many of my nearest and dearest Friends ; subjected myself to the Rage of the Sea's Violence, general Plagues, Famine, and all Kind of Wants ; Discontentments of undisciplined and unruly Multitudes, and Reception of all Events ; and all, for the Honour and Renown of my gracious Prince, and dear Country, keeping in Mind my Father's Charge : *Sic tota Britannia Testis*.

Now, beloved Mortals, let me come more nearly to counsel and advise with you : First, That the *Spanish* King's revengeful Humour was insatiable, appeared, when, in my Time *Anno 1597*, when he came newly out of a Trance, which was thought would have been his last Swoon, he asked (the first Word that he spoke) whether the *Adelantado* were gone for *England* ; and, if Remorse of Conscience would have quenched his Thirst of Revenge, he would not, a little before his Death, in his Devotions, being all Mads, have vowed to be revenged on *England*, though he sold all those Candlesticks upon the Altar before him.

Secondly, That all Treaties with *Spain* (an idolatrous and irreligious Nation) were both unsafe and dangerous, I proved by unanswerable Arguments in my *Apology*, Pages 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. And, how injurious the zealous Peace-makers of those Times were to the State, I proved, Pages

* Charles, Lord Mountjoy.

† Mr. Walter Devereux, slain at the Siege of Rouen, 1591.

35, 36. *How necessary, gainful, and honourable it was, for the State of England, to have Wars with Spain, I proved Pages 36, 37, and so to the End of my Apology.* But some of you haply will now say, That, now, the Times are changed; and, with the Times, the *Spaniard's* Mind is altered. Indeed, I remember the old Poet said,

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

But that is quite contrary in the *Spaniard*: For, although old King *Philip* be dead, yet there is a young (jesuited) *Philip* sprung from his Loins. It is an old and homely Proverb, *That, which is bred in the Bone, will never out of the Flesh*; but it is a true and observable Saying, and in that House above all others. For, as I told you in my * *Apology*: 'When-
'ever old King *Philip* should die, his Son's
'Blood would be as hot, and hotter than his
'Father's, and his Humour of Ambition was like
'to be greater, as having been bred in *Domo*
'*regnatrix*, and his Mind swollen, *vetere & in-*
'*sita Austriacæ familiæ suberbia.*' So as, in the
Spaniard's seeming peaceable Proffers, there is no Hope, &c.

Nay, if it chance there be Infancy, or Idiotism, found in any Heir or Offspring of that Race, the State of *Spain* are politick enough, as being sworn thereunto (though by never so dishonourable and degenerate Machinations) to promote the Enlargement of his Western Monarchy. And certainly, he having of late Years, since the Death of my Sovereign Lady *Elizabeth*, gotten such a Footing in *Christendom*, by dispossessing of and incroaching upon some Princes and States, their ancient and lawful Inheritance, Princedoms, and Territories, by which Means he hath, as it were, begirt *France* with his Garions: Is, I say, his Ambition thereby lessened? Surely, no; but, as his Conquests are enlarged, so his Ambition and Malice are abundantly increased towards other Christian Princes and States: Witness his late cruel and bloody Attempts, and perpetual Designs to his universal Monarchy; and the Progress of his Conquests, with the Help of his Confederates of the (terrestrial) omnipotent *Austrian* House; in *Italy*, the *Grisons* Country, *Switzerland*, *Bohemia*, *Germany*, and I say, the Frontiers of flourishing *France*, since

the Death of *Henry the Fourth*, the *French* King, of famous Memory. And, in all these Places, he and the Emperor, his Confederate and Cousin, do labour to extirpate the Gospel, and persecute the Professors thereof, even unto the Death.

It would be known, what King *James* saith to all this; who is Defender of the Faith, and Head of all the united Kings and Princes of that Religion in *Christendom*.

There is here, in Heaven, secret Intelligence, that he, not contenting himself with making that League with *Spain*, hath also entertained a Treaty of Marriage for the Prince his only Son, with the Daughter of *Spain*: And certainly, the very Angels have blushed at this News, that your King, who is of so profound Judgment, Learning, and Knowledge in divine Matters, should ever assent to treat of matching his only Son, with a Wife of a contrary Religion; especially, with an Impsprung from such an incestuous Generation, as is that of *Austria* and *Spain*, or *Spain* and *Austria*, chuse you whether, which is unanswerably proved by one of your most acute and ingenious † Writers. Without Doubt, King *James* cannot but know in his Conscience, that it is directly against the revealed Will of God in Holy Writ, for Christian Princes and People that profess the Gospel, to match with *Roman* Catholics; which made himself match with *Denmark's* Daughter, a Protestant Princess, and afterwards he matched his only Daughter with the Count *Palatine*, a Protestant Prince; witness also his Majesty's own Pen, in *Basilicon Doron*.

How comes it then to pass, that he is so misled, as not only to entertain this Treaty with *Spain*, but suffer himself to be so baffled and abused, as that, about the said Treaty, he hath wasted the Treasure of his Kingdom, in a far greater Measure than his royal Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, my gracious Sovereign, did to maintain Wars against *Spain*, and all his Adherents. I fear, I fear, you of his Nobility and Council (unto whom it belongs) are not so faithful, true-hearted, and stout, as religiously to advise, and counsel your King, as you ought, not to suffer himself to be so abused, his Kingdom to be well-nigh ruined, and his Subjects impoverished.

Oh! the flourishing State of your Fairy-Land, in the Days of Yore, whilst I lived on

* *Apol.* Page 19.

† *Sandys's* Relation of the West Parts, Pages 26, 27.

Earth, under the Government of that glorious Queen, of eternal Memory: The Christian World did admire her Government, and your flourishing State; nay, the very *Mahometan* * Monarchs did admire and acknowledge the same.

But, now, the Case is altered, and I can hardly forbear to weep, to see what a piteous Petition that glorious Queen, my now fellow Saint *Elizabeth*, lately received from you the Commons of *England*: But thereof I say no more, considering she, according to her Commission from the highest Power, answered that your Petition.

Let me now admonish you all, of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty: First, seriously and yet submissively, to exhort and dissuade your King, to leave off, and absolutely dissolve all Treaties of Matches, or whatsoever else, with that perfidious and dangerous *Spanish* Nation; and, in Lieu of the *Spanish* Match, to promote the *English* Match. What, though his Majesty's Treasure be drawn deep into, the poor Countryman by these late hard Years be impoverished, the Merchandise and Trading of your Kingdom much decayed, &c. Yet, if your sumptuous Buildings, your surfeiting Diets, your Prodigality in Garments, your infinite Plate, and costly Furniture in your Houses, and the Pride of your Wives, especially, be considered, *England* cannot be thought so poor. Can you exceed all Nations in *Christendom* in wasteful Vanities? And, Can you not arm yourselves against one Nation, which you have ever beaten, for your necessary Defence? Was *Rome* so brave a State, as that the very Ladies, to supply the common Treasure, and to maintain the Wars, despoiled themselves of their costly Jewels and rich Ornaments? And, Is *England* become so base a State, as that the People therein will not bestow some Part of their superfluous Expences, to keep themselves from Conquest and Slavery? (The only End of all *Spain's* Treaties: Witness their Treaty of Peace in 88, when, even at that Instant, their mighty Navy came to invade us.) Did the godly Kings, and religious People, which you may read of in the Old Testament, to maintain the Wars against the Enemies of God, sell the Ornaments of the Temple, and Things consecrated to holy Uses? And, Will ye, that have as holy

and as warrantable a Cause of War, spare those Things that you have dedicated to your idle and sensual Pleasures? Could your Nation in those former Ages, when the Country was far poorer than now it is, levy Armies, maintain Wars, achieve great Conquests in *France*, and make their powerful Arms known as far as the *Holy Land*? And is this so degenerate an Age, as you will not be able to defend your own Land? No, no, I hope there is yet left some Seed of that ancient Virtue: Remember with what Spirit and Alacrity the Gentlemen of *England* did contribute, and put themselves voluntarily into Action, in my Time on Earth. And, doubtless, there will ever be found some *Valerii*, who, so the State may stand and flourish, will not care, though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves; though othersome bury their Money, not caring in what Estate they leave the State.

You had a Queen, in my Time on Earth, who was ever open-handed to Men of Desert, yet never wasteful in her private Expences; but maintained Armies and Garisons, not a few, a well-rigged Navy, assisted and lent Money to her neighbouring States. And, Why will ye doubt but with your seasonable Counsel, in a Parliamentary Course, the ancient and laudable Course of *England*, your King will rather sell his Plate, and Jewels in the *Tower*, which in my Time were of inestimable Value, if yet they be not sold, nor given away, rather than his People shall be undefended? And, ye his People, I hope will turn your gold and silver Coats, into Coats of Mail, or iron Jacks; and your silver Plate, into iron Corsets of Plate; rather than your Sovereign and Country shall be unserved. But, What need all this? A free and chearful Contribution to the Wars, according to your Abilities will serve the Turn. And so, oh noble Prince, and valiant People, agree to go on, the one to send forth, the other to lead on God's Armies, to fight his Battles, against his and your Enemies; lest they suddenly surprise you unawares, by some new Invasion; and remember, that the Almighty, as he is a God of Peace, in the Conscience of his Elect; so is he a Man of War to his Enemies, even so his Majesty hath expressed himself in holy Writ.

Again, in any wise beware of disuniting yourselves from the united States of the Ne-

therlands; for it will be to your infinite Dis- advantage so to do: But rather, assist, cherish, and hearten them? They are the best Confederates you have. Remember, in what Stead they stood you, in that memorable Year 88. And they, being firmly knit unto you, are of more Use unto you, than all the Friends you have, or can have in *Christendom*. In my Time on Earth, they were able, upon my certain Knowledge, to find sixty or eighty-thousand fighting Soldiers, three-hundred Ships of War, besides an infinite Number of transporting Vessels, and commodious Ports, that are but a Days Sailing from the very Heart of *England*: Since my Time on Earth, they are increased in Men, in Ammunition, in Shipping, and in Wealth; and which should make the Knot of Unity more strong and fast with you, they were, and are of the same true Religion, which you profess: And moreover, now, which should not be of least Consideration, with your King and you: They are, of late Years, Harbourners of the exiled Princes, his Majesty's Children, who are beaten out of their lawful Inheritance by *Spain* and *Austria*.

And, verily, were it not that my Condition here, I say, were free from all Passions, my very Heart would bleed to think of the deplorable State of *Christendom*; how drunk those two Houses of *Spain* and *Austria* have made themselves, in the Blood of Christians, Professors of Christ's Gospel; and the very Angels do wonder to see how they are suffered to go on in their inveterate Malice, and furious Rage, against God's Church, and that other Christian Princes do not stop the Current of their Fury: Especially, that our King, who is a Professor of the Gospel, and Faith's great De-

fender on Earth, is so backward in the Business.

Which considered, it is your Parts, especially that are of his Majesty's Council and Nobility, with faithful Hearts to persuade, and stir him up, not to let the Lion, in his princely Breast, any longer to sleep and slumber, but to awake and rouse up himself, and to go forth against the *Romish* Wolves, and *Spanish* Foxes, who have devoured so many of Christ's Sheep, and laid his Vineyard so waste: Yea, the Blood of the Saints doth continually cry at Heaven's Gates for Vengeance.

To draw to an End, I will not cease to intercede to the Almighty my ever glorious God, that he never denounce the Curse against your King, or you his Nobles, which he once in his Word denounced against *Meroz*, &c.

My Conclusion still is, and shall be: *Justissimum iis Bellum quibus necessarium, et pia Arma quibus nullum nisi in armis spes est*. And for an *ultimum Vale*, as in my *Apology*, I advised to remember, how *Bernardine Mendoza*, the then Ambassador of *Spain*, spent his Time here in *England*: So, I now advise you, remember how your late *Spanish* Ambassadors have spent their Times, and behaved themselves here in *England*, &c.

The Peace of God, which passeth all (earthly) Understanding be with you, and dwell in your Hearts.

My Declaration's ended, I must no longer stay, Because Heav'n's Cornets summon me away: The blessed Choir of Heaven I do hear, Tuning their Voices to th' Almighty's Ear.

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah.

A Postscript, or a Second Part of Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost.

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England.

THREE beloved Mortals, I being still studious of your Welfares; and having obtained Leave of the Almighty, I am now to give unto you, and commend unto your Consideration, a Catalogue, and Commemoration, of such cruel Plots, as were practised, in my Time, on Earth, by the King and State of *Spain*, against the Queen

and State of *England*: Wherein, I will not meddle with Practices and Cruelties to other Nations; and, therefore, I omit to tell you, how far their Cruelties extended to the poor naked *Indians* in *America*; though, I remember, whilst I was on Earth, I have seen a Book, as well in *English*, as in *Spanish* and *Latin*, intitled, 'The Cruelties and Tyrannies

'nies of the *Spanish* Colony, perpetrated in
'the *West-Indies*, commonly called the *New-
found World*, written in the *Castilian*
'Tongue, by the Reverend *Bartholomew de*
'*las Casas*, a Friar of the Order of *St. Do-
minick*, and Bishop of the Royal Town,
'called *Chiapa*; serving as a Warning to the
'twelve United-Provinces of the *Low-Coun-
tries*: Translated into *English*, and printed,
'as I take it, in the twenty-fifth Year of the
'happy Reign of that virgin Empress, Queen
'*Elisabeth*, my gracious Sovereign.' The la-
mentable Relation whereof, if you would par-
ticularly know, I wish you would have Re-
course to the said Book. And, of their Cru-
elties and Tyrannies, exercised by their arch-
tyrannous General, Duke d' *Alva*, towards
the *Netherlanders*, if you know them not,
look but into their Chronicles: And, for
their Plots and Practices towards *England*,
before my Time, look but into your own
Chronicles.

But, before I come to my Catalogue, I
must commend unto your Consideration, when
I was but an Infant, there came a certain
Bull from *Pius Quintus*, that impious Pope of
Rome, against Queen *Elisabeth*; the Copy of
which Bull is, also, to be seen in your Chro-
nicles; but the Copy of her sacred Majesty's
Answer unto the said Bull, because you have
not else-where seen it, as most worthy your
Reading, and Observation, I here insert
it:

The Lord that reigns on high, in Heaven's
Throne,

Doth Kingdoms rule below; 'tis he alone
That Earth doth govern, with high thundering
Might,

And moderates the Staff of Kingdoms Right:

'Tis he that guides, with his Almighty Name,

The Wheel of all the universal Frame:

'Tis he, that Kings anointed, and elect,

And sacred Captains strongly will protect.

Why should this bull-head Bishop, therefore,

Of Rage, against me roar, with brazen Bull,

To pluck me from my sacred Seat and Throne,

T' out-root the Plant, which Christ himself

hath sown?

Why doth this *Pius* seek, with impious Guilt,

To pull down that, which God himself hath

built?

Christ me anointed, and, anoint, I hope,
Will keep me from the Jaws of this proud
Pope;

His powerful Hand hath kept me yet from
Harm,

Nor will the Lord make short his out-stretch'd
Arm.

If God be on my Side, Why doth this Popish
Wonder

Seek to affright me with his beastly Thunder?

Why doth this new-born Giant seek to ride

Above the Clouds, with his prodigious Pride?

'Gainst Heaven, why doth this *Nimrod* make

new Wars,

And, with *Jehovah*, breed these impious Jars?

Pius, this Anchor of thy *Peter's* Boat

Is broke, thy Hope and Faith do float.

Ye, in whose Hands, the Almighty God or-
dains,

To put the People's, and the Kingdom's
Reins,

Do not yourselves, and People, bring,

Under the Yoke of this vile barbarous King.

Away with him, that doth for Scepter fight,

And Royal Crown, that is not Bishop's Right:

What, must the Pope so many States devour?

'Tis not Priest's Part, to use the Carnal

Power;

To make these madding Bulls, fits not their
Names,

And set on Fire these hot rebellious Flames.

Their Sword the Word should be, the Word's
Interpretation

Their Key should be; this is the Foundation,

Whereon Christ's Saints do fight, such Men

Christ's Sword do wear,

Such do his holy Keys and Standard bear.

Oh! Kings, the Father's blessed Son, then,
kifs,

The King of Kings, the Head of Heads, he
is;

Who serves not him, not reigns; a Shadow
vain

And Cypher is; learn this all by my Reign:

He'll never fail you, whom a Woman bore;

Away with Popes, to them set ope the Door;

Set wide the Gate, shut forth these new-made
Kings,

Let in the Lord, which, with him, Justice
brings.

Dear *England*, my own Bowels, Daughter,

Mother,

Fear not this bulling *Pius*, or such other.

What

What have I done, that thou shouldst angry
be ?

Oh ! *England*, 'cause thou'rt happy, hat'st
thou me ?

'Cause God, by me, so many Gifts hath
given,

And I, these Gifts, on Earth, God loath'd in
Heaven ?

Why do my *English* love the *Egyptian* Pot ?

Why looks on *Sodom* back the Wife of *Lot* ?

Whilst that my Sister was at *Romish* Call,

There was a Stage and Scene most tragical ;

Religion was corrupted, all your Rites

Divine were stain'd, Faith wrapp'd in Error's
Night ;

Home-jars, and strange, my Muse now shall
not shew,

Even I, myself, drank Cups of Gall with
you.

Now Manna rains from Heaven, heavenly
Food,

Now floweth Peace and Joy, and every Good ;

He, that feeds Ravens, makes my Lillies
flourish,

Hairs of my Head, and Diadem doth nourish :

Judah's strong Lion keeps our Lion's Nest,

The *Romish* *Leo's* but a fearful Breast ;

Fear ye the Ensigns of a mitred Priest ?

Can we, with Sword, Keys, Club, be e'er
oppress'd ?

Rather thank Christ, pray him, that he all
Evil

Would resist, all Ambushes of the Devil ;

Double your Prayers to Christ, that he would
deign,

T' assure your Good, and let no *Rhombus*
reign ;

Double your Prayers for Church, and purest
Faith,

Pour forth your Prayers for Queen *Elisabeth*.

I have inserted this Answer of Queen *Elisabeth*, not only for the Worth of it (though I hold it worthy to be written in Letters of Gold ;) nor will I say, that *Philip*, King of *Spain*, was an Instigator of *Pius*, Pope of *Rome*, to send that cursed Bull : But it was plain, and more than probable, that that Bull was the Ground, which set on Fire the Hearts of her Popish *Romish* Subjects to rise in Rebellion against her : And, sure I am, that *Spain* soon backed them, and suborned them in their Rebellion, and cruel Practices, against

her sacred Person, and flourishing State ; witness the Bead-roll of their cruel Practices here following :

In the Year of our blessed Saviour 1583, and Twenty-fifth of Queen *Elisabeth's* Reign, *Francis Throckmorton*, being solicited by *Bernardine Mendoza*, the then *Spanish* Ambassador Ledger, lying in *London*, undertook a most dangerous Design, against his dread Sovereign and native Country ; which was to bring in a foreign, *Spanish*, Army, and to alter Religion, with Alienation of the Crown and State. And, for the Charges of which Attempt, the said *Mendoza* promised, that the King, his Master, would bear Half the Charge of the Enterprize.

In the next Year, viz. 1584, *William Parry*, as he named himself, being instigated by *Benedicto Palmio*, and *Christoforo de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholick King *Philip*, undertook to murder her sacred Majesty, and one *Hannibal Codreto*, a *Spanish* Priest, approved the same diabolical Design.

In the Year 1586, *Babington* and *Ballard*, and their Fellows, conspired with the aforesaid *Mendoza*, to betray the Land to a *Spanish* Invasion : Which being discovered, they enter into a new Resolution, to kill the Queen ; whereof they were prevented.

But, *Philip* of *Spain* seeing that all former Attempts failed, in the Year 1588, he set forwards his long premeditated Invasion of *England*, sending a mighty Armada, which he termed the *Invincible Navy*, meaning then, as it were, to devour *England* at a Bit ; but he found so many Bones in the Bit, that, in Attempting to swallow it, they stuck so fast in his Throat, that he was the worse for it, every Day of his Life after.

This great, noble, and invincible Army, as Pope *Sixtus* termed it, and Terror of *Europe*, as the Papals both term it, and took it to be, consisting of One-hundred and thirty-four Sail of lofty towering Ships, besides Gallies, Galleasses, and Galleons ; threatening, as it were, the Heavens, and, spreading in the Wind their Flags, Streamers, and Ensigns, seemed to darken even the Sun ; and were furnished with this Provision following :

Bullets, for great Shot, twenty-two Thousand ; Powder, Forty-thousand two-hundred Quintals,

Quintals, every Quintal an Hundred Weight ; Lead, for Bullets, one-thousand Quintals ; Match, Ten-thousand two-hundred Quintals ; Musquets, and Calievers, Seven-thousand ; Partizans, and Halberts, One-thousand ; besides murdering Pieces, double Cannon, and Field-pieces for Camp, and Store of Mules, Horses, and Asses ; so as they were sufficiently provided by Sea. And, for Land, Bread and Bisquet was baked, and Wine laid Aboard, for six Months Provision ; Bacon, Sixty-thousand five-hundred Quintals ; Cheefe, Three-thousand ; besides other Flesh, Rice, Beans, Pease, Oil, and Vinegar ; with twelve-thousand Pipes of fresh Water : Store they had of Torches, Lanthorns, and Lamps ; Canvas, Hides, and Lead, to stop Leaks ; butcherly Knives, iron Fetters, Shackles, Wire-whips, Whips, with Spur-rowels, and other torturing Instruments ; intended to torment us, old and young, all such, I mean, as would not suddenly submit to the *Spanish* Yoke.

This mighty Navy, thus prepared as you have heard, loosed Anchor from *Lisbon*, the Nineteenth of *May*, 1588, and made to the *Groynes* in *Galicia*, it being the nearest Haven to *England* ; whence, I say, hoisting Sails, with great Hope, and no less Pride, they bent their Course hitherward ; but suddenly the Heavens, hating such hostile Actions, poured down Revenge, by a fore and unexpected Tempest, which drove the Duke of *Medina*, the chief General, back again into the *Groyne* ; and divers others were dispersed and driven upon the Coast of *Bayonne* in *France*, and there perished. Not long after, their Navy, nevertheless, appeared in the narrow Seas, betwixt *England* and *France*, in Manner of a Half-moon (the Arch-enemy of Christ's Ensign) where our *English* Fleet gave them such an Encounter, the God of the main Ocean fighting for us in the narrow Seas, that we soon defeated and dispersed that invincible Navy, and made it vincible.

Now, because the Subject I am upon is a Catalogue of *Spanish* Cruelties, I would fain know, whether there was ever invented a greater Cruelty towards and against a famous and flourishing State and Kingdom : Surely, in my Judgment, which did concur with the Judgment of the Christian World, there was never such and so great a Cruelty hatched under Heaven, as that *Spanish* Invasion in

1588, our Deliverance from which hath made the Year ever since famous and memorable : Upon my Knowledge, when I was on Earth, there was a Day set a-part, and commanded by my Sovereign to be kept holy, for that our great and miraculous Deliverance from the Jaws of the *Spaniards* ; and I wish, that your Unthankfulness, in the Neglect of celebrating that Day holy, be not required at some of your Hands ; and, certainly, those reverend Divines, that do never cease, in their publick Prayers, to give God Thanks for that your great Deliverance, do shew their Zeal not a little, and deserve double Commendation ; yea, and let my Posterity no longer live and prosper, than they have thankful Hearts to God for that general Deliverance ; and let the Posterity of all religious People say, *Amen*.

For all Men and Women, that would not have bowed the Knee to *Spanish* Baal, had then, doubtless, been put to the Sword ; their Children, now, haply, living Men and Women, had been tossed at the Pikes Ends, or else their Brains dashed out by some ill-faced Dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that Time of *England's* Deliverance ; and, amongst others, I remember, reverend and religious *Theodore Beza*, of pious Memory, wrote a sweet and pathetical Poem gratulatory of the aforesaid Tragico-comedy in *Latin*, inscribed to the Queen my Sovereign, and sent unto me to deliver unto her royal Hands ; the which is thus excellently rendered into *English* :

Spain's King with Navies huge the Seas bestrew'd,
T'augment, with *English* Crown, his *Spanish* Sway ;
Ask you, What caus'd this proud Attempt ?
'Twas lewd Ambition drove, and Avarice led the Way.
It's well ; Ambition's windy Puff lies drown'd
By Winds, and swelling Hearts, by swelling Waves.
It's well ; the *Spaniards*, who the World's vast Round
Devour'd, devouring Sea most justly craves.
But thou, O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas, do war,
O thou, sole Glory of the World's wide Mass,
So reign to God still from Ambition far,
So still, with bounteous Aids, the Good embrace ;

That thou *England* long, long may *England* thee enjoy,
Thou Terror of all bad, thou good Men's Joy.

O let the Remembrance of that Time have an eternal Being in the Minds and Mouths of Men.

I have been somewhat long in the Commemoration of this Part of my Catalogue of Cruelties, I now proceed to the Residue, as followeth :

In the Year 1594, *Roderick Lopez*, Doctor of Physick, a *Portuguese* by Birth, and entertained Physician in ordinary to Queen *Elizabeth*, being instigated by *Christofero de Moro*, a special Counsellor of King *Philip's*, covenanted to take away the Life of her sacred Majesty, by a poisoned Potion ; for the Performance of which Deed of Darknes, the said *de Moro* promised him fifty-thousand Crowns, and he had Earnest given him, a Jewel of Gold, with a Diamond and Ruby of rich Value ; but that Plot was detected by God's Providence, and *Lopez* received condign Punishment.

In the Year 1595, *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, being set on Work by one *Stefano Ibarra*, King *Philip's* Secretary at *Brussels*, who promised them the Reward of four-thousand Crowns, undertook to kill the Queen by some Means or other ; but that also was detected by the vigilant Eye of the *English* State, and they received the Reward of their De-ferts.

When King *Philip* saw all his Practices still frustrated, he, as audacious as ambitious, began to tamper with myself, and, by his Instruments, fought out me as a fit Man to betray both my sacred Sovereign, and dear Country. I forbear to trouble your Ears with the Latitudo of his large bombasted Promises of Reward unto me to effect the same ; but, in Lieu

of accepting his cursed Proposition and Offer, I vowed a further Revenge of him ; and, with my Sovereign's Leave, and God's Assistance, I had performed what I vowed and intended, &c.

The last publick Attempter in my Time, which in no wise I must forget, was one *Edward Squire*, who, being taken Prisoner in *Spain*, was set on Work by *Walpole* the Jesuit, and other Officers of King *Philip*, to murder her sacred Majesty and myself ; which he undertook, and brought over a new-invented *Castilian* Confection, first, to poison the Pommel of her Majesty's Saddle, and then the Pommels of a Chair, wherein I usually sat at Sea ; both which he failed not to attempt ; but, by God's Goodness, his cruel and treasonable Attempts proved also successless, and this proper *Squire* had the Reward of his devilish Practices.

Of all these cruel *Spanish* Practices I was more than an ordinary Witness ; and, these Premises considered, What Treason was ever attempted against her Majesty's sacred Person, or flourishing State, but the *Spaniard* was at one End or other of it ? Nay, since my Time on Earth, and the Death of her Majesty, that horrid Gunpowder-plot, hatched in Hell, Was it not consulted on, and approved of, in the *Spanish* King's Court ? Look well to the Confessions of the Traitors. And did not King *Philip* promise an hundred-thousand Crowns towards the Expedition of that damnable Deed of Darknes ? Look into your own Chronicles.

Now, all the Premises well weighed and considered, certainly, the *Turk* ought not to be more hated and abhorred by *Christendom*, than the *Spaniard* deserveth to be detested by *England*, &c. *Discite, ô Mortales.*

Iterum in Christo valete.

A true Copy of a Letter, from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Mulgrave*, to Dr. *Tillotson*, Dean of *Canterbury*. Folio, containing four Pages.

S I R,

NOTHING in this World is, or ought to be so dear to any Man, as his Reputation; and consequently the Defence of it is the greatest Obligation that one Man can lay on another: There are also some Circumstances, that render this Obligation yet more acceptable and valuable; as when it is conferred generously, without any Self-Interest, or the least Desire or Invitation from the Person so defended. All this happens to be my Case at this Time; and therefore, I hope, you will not be surpris'd to find I am not the most ungrateful and insensible Man living; which certainly I should be, if I did not acknowledge all your industrious Concern for me, about the Business of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which now makes so much Noise in the World. You have, as I am told, so cordially pleaded my Cause, that it is almost become your own; and therefore, as unwilling as I am to speak of myself, especially in a Business which I cannot wholly excuse; yet I think myself now a little obliged to shew my Part in this Matter; though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of so just and so considerable an Advocate.

The less a Man says of himself, the better; and it is so well known already, how I was kept out of all the secret Councils, that I need not justify myself, or trouble you, as to those Matters; only I appeal to the unquestionable Testimony of the *Spanish* Ambassador, if I did not zealously and constantly take all Occasions to oppose the *French* Interest; because I knew it directly opposite both to the King and Kingdom's Good, which are indeed Things inseparable, and ought to be so accounted, as a fundamental Maxim in all Councils of Princes.

This, I hope, will prepare the Way a little for what I have to say concerning my being one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; of which Error I am now as sensible, as I was at first ignorant, being so unhappily conversant in the Midst of a perpetual Court-Flattery, as never to have heard the least Word of any Illegality in that Commission, before I was unfortunately engaged in it.

For, though my Lord of *Canterbury* had very prudently refused to be of it, yet it was talk'd at Court, it proceeded only from his

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Unwillingness to act at that Time, and not from any Illegality he suspected in the Commission; having excus'd himself from it the most respectful Way, by the Infirmities he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the Laws, and in such a Station at Court, I need not desire a Man of your Judgment and Candour, to consider the Hardness of my Case, when I was commanded to serve in a Commission with a Lord Chancellor, a Lord Chief Justice, and two Bishops, who had all of them already acted some Time there, without shewing the least Diffidence of their Power, or Hesitation in the Execution of it. And, perhaps, a Man, of more Discretion than I can pretend to, might have been easily persuad'd to act in such a Conjunction, and to think he might do it safely, both in Law and Conscience. But I need not say much to shew my Desire to have avoided, if possible, a troublesome Employment, that had not the least Temptation of Honour or Profit to recommend it; and which therefore I continued in upon no Account in the World, but to serve both King and Clergy with the little Ability I had, in moderating those Councils, which I thought might grow higher, if I left my Place to be fill'd by any of those who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill Designs.

And I may expect the more Credit in this, when it is consider'd that the two important Affairs which pass'd in that Ecclesiastical Court, being the Bishop of *London's* Suspension, and the Incapacitating the Members of *Magdalen* College; the first was done some Months before I was a Commissioner, and I oppos'd the last, both in Voting and Speaking, and with all the Interest I was able to make Use of, which indeed was but little after that Opposition; in which being out-voted, I seldom came, and never acted in that Court after, except to restore the Bishop of *London*, though sent for continually, by reason of my Lodging so near it.

And, since I have been forced to mention my Good-will at least, if not my Service, to such learned Men of the Clergy who I thought deserv'd it, it may be allow'd me to give this one Instance more of it; that, although in preferring Men to all other Places of the Household, I ever us'd to ask Permission first, and, accordingly, was often refused, for the Sake of *Roman* Catholics, and others, who

Hh

were

were recommended by Persons more in Favour than myself; yet I was so careful of keeping that considerable Part of the Family unmixed with mean or unworthy Chaplains, whom others, I feared, would have imposed on his Majesty, that I constantly filled up those Vacancies, without giving him the least Notice or Trouble about it, and supplied them with the ablest approved Divines I could possibly find, most commonly recommended to me by the Bishops who were not of the Court: Which I conceived the most proper Course, in a Matter concerning Clergymen, with a King of a different Persuasion from theirs, and intended for his real Service, believing it had been better for him, as well as the Kingdom, if the greater Ecclesiastical Dignities had been disposed of by others with as much Caution.

And thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to confirm you in your favourable Opinion of me, which must be acknowledged by every Body an Approbation of such Weight, that, as I hope it may be an Example of Authority to many, so it is sufficient of itself to balance the Cenforiousness of others. I am,

S I R,

White-Hall,
March 27, 1689.

Your obliged

humble Servant,

MULGRAVE.

The last Memorial of the *Spanish Ambassador*. Faithfully Translated into *English*. London, Printed for *Francis Smith*, at the *Elephant and Castle*, near the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1681. Folio, containing two Pages.

S I R,

DON Pedro Ronquillo, Ambassador of Spain, saith, That by a Memorial, which he presented to your Majesty, the Fifteenth of December, he did set forth the Infractions which the most Christian King hath made since the Peace of *Nimeguen*, from the Month of *September*, after the Difference was agreed about the Title of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was alledged for a Pretence to suspend the Conference at *Courtray*, according to the fifteenth Article of that Treaty; in Order, to the Adjusting in an amicable Way all the Limits, Pretensions, and Differences of the two Crowns, which should result from that Treaty: And your Majesty was pleased by your Royal Order of the Fifteenth of December, to order your Envoy Extraordinary, at *Paris*, to put in Execution what was contained in the said Memorial. By the last Post, the said Ambassador received Letters of the First Instant, from the Marquis de la Fuente, who is Ambassador at *Paris*, in which,

he gives him an Account of the Complaints he had made to the Christian King, about the Excesses and Infractions, which are committed against the Inhabitants of *Fontarabia*, and in the *Low-Countries*, and particularly about a Message, which the Governor of *Tournay* sent to the Prince of *Parma*, pretending, that not one Pallisado should be laid at *Bovignies*, which incontestably hath been a separated State, and comprehended in the Country of *Namur*. After many violent Contestations, the Answer of the most Christian King was, That he did not doubt, but that the Catholick King would give Order to his Commissioner at *Fontarabia*, to proceed in the Treaty, leaving each Party in the Possession, which at present, they hold; as if a violent Usurpation, under the Surety of the good Faith of the Conference, could, in one Day, be concluded to be an actual Possession; that, for what relates to the *Low-Countries*, he cannot abstain from Taking Possession of that, which, he supposes, doth appertain to him, according to what he

he shall declare, at the Conference of *Courtray*.

To this violent, as well as undecent Answer, the Marquis *de la Fuente*, with the Strength of the undoubted Justice and Reason, which the King my Master hath, concluding he did not receive the same, not knowing how to impart it to his Catholick Majesty, and that he beseeched him to resolve what was just; to which Reply it was answered: That he would consider it. And, at the same Time, his most Christian Majesty hath ordered his Forces to enter in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, to hinder the Fortifying of *Bovignies*.

This Proceeding doth exceed all Limits, and cannot be reasonably endured; for the most Christian King will, by Force of Arms, be Arbitrator, and command in the Dominions of the Catholick King, thereby hindering him, from Fortifying a Place, which is his own; when, by the Article of *Nimeguen*, it is allowed to be done, by both Parties. And when the *French King* himself hath made Use of the same Article, in Order to have the Course of the Waters stopped, that they may not hinder the Fortifying his Towns; as it was more particularly done at *Mennin*, causing the River *Lisse* to be lowered, that they might, with more Facility, fortify that Town, a Place, which was wholly open, and which, the *French King* is fortifying and enlarging in Extent, much more than it was before: So that now, Sir, these are not Infractions, but a declared War: The Designs of the *French* being publick, that, they intend to besiege *Luxemburg*, and that, from thence, they will go to *Namur*, when the Act of hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies*, which is upon the *Mose*, almost over-against *Dinant*, makes it clear and past Doubt; especially, the most Christian King having possessed himself of all the Towns, that are upon the River *Mose*, from *Charlemont*, and of the most Part of the Territory between that River, and the *Sambre*, in such a Manner, that they have gotten almost all the County of *Namur*, as well as that of *Luxemburg*; and, thereby, those two Provinces are left without Communication.

By these Infractions, and clear Beginnings of War, the under-written Ambassador doth apply himself to your Majesty as a Mediator, that you would cause what was agreed, by the Peace of *Nimeguen*, to be observed; and as an Ally, that you would defend it, and resist the

Violence of *France*; your Majesty being obliged to the one, and to the other, by the Treaties; in which Consideration, he cannot omit Saying, That although the Frontiers of *Spain* by *Cantabria* and *Catalonia* are infested, and by the Treaty of *Cassal*, between the *French King* and the Duke of *Mantua*, the Dominions of *Italy* are in apparent Danger, and no less the *Indies*, where Count *d'Estre* is with a Squadron of Ships, all which are the Countries, that do compose the greatest Power of the *Spanish Monarchy*; notwithstanding this, his Catholick Majesty has postponed these his greatest Concerns, to the Defence of that little, which remains to him, in the *Low-Countries*; although it be lessened of a great Part of Territory, which the *French* have violently possessed themselves of, since the Peace of *Nimeguen*, which hath been the only Cause, that we have not been able to keep that Country in a better Posture; for each unjust Usurpation, of the *French*, had broken the Measures which were taken, and reduced us to seek others; and, therefore, his Majesty hath already sent considerable Supplies to *Flanders*, and appointed the Prince of *Parma*, Governor thereof, as an experienced Soldier, and one who hath been Viceroy of several Kingdoms, thereby to encourage those Subjects, with these Endeavours; and that, they may be governed by a Grandson, and of the same Name of *Alexander Farnese*, whom, with so much Love, they reverence.

All this, Sir, hath been done, in Hopes that the Union and Interest of *England*, with *Spain*, will produce mutual Effects of Conveniences to both Crowns; for no good *Englishman* can doubt, that, if there be no Opposition made to the present great Power of *France*, it is impossible, but that, in a few Days, they should possess themselves of the *Low-Countries*; and that the *States-General* should subject themselves, by Reason of the Impossibility of resisting the Powerful. And afterwards, your Majesty and *England* shall be the first in perceiving this Mischief; to remedy which, it will be then impossible; and at present, Nothing is capable to suppress these Evils, but the Power of *England*, at this Time, the only in *Europe*, that can restrain the Torrent of *France*. The Differences, which are at present in *England*, do occasion these bold Attempts of the *French King*, and encourage him in the Continuation of his vast Designs; upon the Whole so apparent

rent already, that there is no clear-sighted Understanding, but will apprehend them. All the Princes and Powers of *Europe*, as also, his most Christian Majesty, are in Expectation of the Success of this Parliament, and of the Agreement of *England*; the first, to take Measures, in Order to shake off the Yoke, which they are like to be made subject to: And the most Christian King hath also for a Time restrained his Ambition, and at present Nothing doth encourage him to deliver himself up to it, but the Differences, which he sees, breaking out here, giving it out as well within as without this Kingdom, That he is assured, they will not be reconciled; and that, in the mean While, he may make up the Conquest of the *Low-Countries*, which is the Master-Key of the universal Monarchy. And the first Door, which he will open with it, shall be that of *England*, without further Trouble, than that of maintaining the Differences, with great Promises, and with a small Charge; and whatsoever, he shall find most for his Advantage, will be first invaded by him.

That this Disunion is the chief Encouragement of the Design and Enterprises of the most Christian King, in the *Low-Countries*, is apparent; and there are so great Proofs of this Truth, that it is Blindness not to see them: And the Ambassador will only acquaint your Majesty, with one late Instance, which doth manifest the same, which is, That his most Christian Majesty sees the Emperor is making considerable Levies; as also, the Elector of *Saxony*, and other Princes of the Empire; that the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Brandenburgh*, have declared, That they will not suffer his Proceedings against the Empire, and the Princes of the same, and that they will oppose it with all their Power.

His most Christian Majesty, after so many violent Answers, which he himself had made, and also his Ministers, to all the Princes of *Germany*, hath now answered the Emperor's Envoy Extraordinary, That he doth agree, in Appointing a Conference, in one of the Imperial Cities, to decide and explain the ambiguous Points of the Articles of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, concerning the Possessions taken in *Alsatia*; and that, as soon as the Commissioners are met, the Chamber of *Metz*, shall cease its Proceedings, and all Manner of Novelty, and that they will hear such a Person, as shall treat for the Duke of *Lorraine*. And,

although it is evident, that this is intended to lay a-sleep the Minds, as well of the Emperor, as of the other Princes concerned, and that they may cool the Vigour of their Preparations, which they are making for their Defence, it is also known, that this is in Order to work with more Safety, against the *Low-Countries*; for, at the same Time, that he offers to suspend the Attempts in the Empire, he continues in Possessing himself of all the *Spanish* open Country, executing Acts of open War, by hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies*; which is the same Thing, as Blocking up of *Luxemburg* and *Namur*; so that it is made evident, that, if he saw the Differences of *England* appeased, and united to its own Defence (for such ought to be reputed that of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and, in particular, that of the *Low-Countries*) it is infallible and certain, that he would moderate his Designs, and limit his Resolutions, as it appears he doth in *Germany*; seeing that the Emperor, and all the Body of the Empire, do unite for its Defence.

The Ambassador doth very well know, that the Agitation of this Kingdom is great, and that the Pretensions seem to be distant; but he is sorry, and it makes his Heart bleed to see, that there is no Way opened to an Union; and, as there is Nothing impossible in human Things, his Pain doth increase, seeing there is no Step made to quench these Heats: If *England* was not so much threatened with Ruin, by the Exaltation of the *French*, as the *Low-Countries* are, the Pretensions and Rights might be followed to the uttermost Point; but running the same Fortune with the Monarchy of *Spain*, because *Flanders* is a Battery to *England* and *Spain*, and the *Indies* the Treasure of its Riches, and the chief Strength of its Commerce, beyond all Places, where this Nation doth trade; and, therefore, it doth not allow that their Interest should be considered as a Foreigner, nor that the Distractions, in which all are now involved, should be calmed by the same Methods, which could be done in a secured Tranquillity; so that the Ambassador doth promise himself, that, considering these Reasons, and that *France* being at this Time a Gangrene, which doth penetrate to the very Heart of *England*, all Grounds of Differences shall cease, and that it will not, with its own Ruin, involve the rest of *Christendom* in the same Fate:

Therefore,

Therefore, the Ambassador doth pray your Majesty, that, as a Mediator, or as an Ally, you would effectually apply yourself to prevent the Loss of the *Low-Countries*, and consequently of all the rest, hoping from your

Majesty's great Prudence, that you will make Choice of the most efficacious Means to that End, and to the Establishing the Quiet of *Europe*.

An Answer to the Propositions made by the *English* Ambassadors, as they stile themselves, the Nineteenth of *March*, in the great Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States-General* of the United Provinces. As also, to their Memorials of the Sixteenth of *April*, and the Ninth of *May*, 1651, respectively. And likewise, to the thirty-six Articles of the desired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir *William Macdowal*, Knight, Resident for his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, after his Return to *Holland*, in the said Great Assembly. *June* the Seventeenth, 1651.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.

For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them?

PROV. xxiv. 21, 22.

Printed at the *Hague*, by *Samuel Brown*, *English* Bookseller. 1651. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages.

THE said pretended Ambassadors have offered, and withal required a strict Confederacy, and Holy League, as they term it, betwixt the Commonwealth of *England*, and the *United Provinces*, alledging to that End,

- I. The ancient and successive Contracts, and mutual Friendship betwixt both.
- II. The Advancement of Trade and Traffick.
- III. A Conformity in the Reformation of Religion.
- IV. The like Success and Blessings upon both.

V. An answerable Change in the Condition of both States; as likewise, in the restored Liberty of the People. *Hinc inde.*

Which specious Motives, and Inducements, viewed aright, and laid in a just Balance, will appear, by their Favours, to have no warrantable Ground: For the Clearing of which, the High and Mighty States are desired to look back, and consider:

I. That, formerly, all Contracts have been made, betwixt the successive Kings of *England*, their lawful Heirs, and the High and Mighty States-General, and not with *England*, as is alledged:

alleged: Not to look further back, the Sovereignty of these Countries was offered to Queen *Elisabeth*, of happy Memory, in the Year 1585, which she in Wisdom thought fit to decline; but, withal, assisted the States, with five-thousand Foot, and one-thousand Horse; as likewise advanced to their Lordships, before the Year 1596, in the Space of eleven Years, Eleven-hundred thousand Pounds, *Sterling*, according to the Calculation of her Majesty's Counsellors and High Treasurer for the Time.

Her Royal Successors, *James* and *Charles*, of immortal Memory, in the Years 1608, 1614, 1635, respectively, have not only assisted these States, in their great Straits, in a very considerable Way, but also engaged with their Lordships, *offensive* and *defensive*; and that without any the least Communication had with the People of *England* concerning it. And, if a Ratification of such an Alliance should be concluded with a factious Commonalty here, and that they might at Pleasure disturb the Republick, and turn Matters upside down: What an Anarchy and woful Confusion would ensue, as now, alas! we see too plainly follows in *England*? Truly, if that People had been so inclined, and governed, as they now are, by those, who *Regni causa*, have violated the Rights; and to make Purchase of the Lord's Vineyard, have murdered him, and oppose, with their utmost Power and Malice, the Inthronement of his lawful Heir, their undoubted Sovereign, the *Low-Countries* should not have obtained such real Friendship and Advantage from them.

Besides that, the now prevailing Party is not the hundredth Part of the People in *England*, in Comparison of those, both of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, who cordially adhere to the King's just Interest, and passionately groan to be delivered from the continued Oppressions of those cruel Taskmasters, whose little Finger lies heavier upon them, than all their King's whole Loins.

And an eminent Member of the late House of Commons, formerly a Sufferer, in his *Memento* affirms, that there are in the three Kingdoms Ten-thousand to one, who firmly and affectionately cleave to his Majesty.

In Kingdoms and Republicks, as Politicians speak, it is the very same People now, as those that lived an hundred Years ago; as

likewise, that it is the same Ship, although all the Planks be renewed; but if the Keel be destroyed, and the Form of Government and fundamental Laws be utterly abolished, *non idem populus, nec eadem navis*; it is not the same People, nor the same Ship.

Moreover, by all Proofs it is sufficiently known, that the Predecessors of the now prevailing Party in *England* were then so mean and inconsiderable among the People, that they were thought utterly incapable of having the least Hand in the former Favours, shewn to these States.

II. Trade and Traffick, which they call the *common Interest of a State*, are *Juris Gentium*, common to all Nations; consequently, not to be carried on by *Monopolies*, and Damage of a third Party, especially the Eldest, and sometime the most considerable Ally of this Estate: *Amicitias*, saith *Polybius*, *ita institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia & societas violetur*.

It is remarked by most of the Authors of the *Netherland History*, that their Lordships Predecessors upon a Time, being more moved by the Impositions of the Duke of *Alva*, of the ten and one-hundred Penny respective, than for the Violence offered to Religion, and therefore compared to the *Gargafenes*, who preferred their Swine before their Saviour, were the more severely punished by God.

And shall the High and Mighty States now hazard their religious and high Esteem in the Favour of those, who, in Regard of Commerce, Enlarging of their Limits, and usurped Power, are big with such monstrous Mysteries? And of whom it was said long before their Troubles:

Gens tacitis prægnans arcanis ardua tentans.

Who derive their Power and Authority merely from themselves, as formerly hath been said, in the Dominion of the *Chaldeans*, over the *Jews*, and of *Cinna* and *Carbo*, amongst the *Romans*, who in the Time of *Sylla*, made themselves Consuls without any Court Election: *Violent imperia*, saith one to *Cæsar*, *sunt magis acerba quam diuturna*. The rather, because no Nation under the Sun is so subject to a Change as *England*, even while they lived under their lawful Sovereigns. The Earl of
War-

Warwick, called the *Titular King*, in eleven Days, *Edward the Fourth* in Twenty, *Henry the Seventh* in one Day, as a *Cæsar veni, vidi, vici*, brought the *English* successively to their Obedience.

Commerce and Traffick are plausible Pretences, but often accompanied with great Jealousies, especially betwixt neighbouring Republicks; the which like Twins, struggling for the Promogeniture, are in a continual Emulation, for Profit and Preheminence: And, therefore, compared to an *Alluvies*, where the Increase of one is the Decrease of the other. Infomuch, that grave and judicious Statesmen have judged it would be more safe and profitable to these States, that *England* continued a Monarchy, than to be tumbled into a Commonwealth, confirmed by a Prognostication of a Person of Credit with them, living at *London*, given out the Sixteenth of *October* last, alledging and applying with much Confidence, against the *United Provinces*, *Jerem. li. 13.*

III. Concerning the pretended Conformity in Religion, in the third Place, which, under the blessed and glorious Government of Kings, as a *Palladium* and Lamp, did out-shine all other Nations, it is, alas! now become a *Pandora*, out of which, *tantum ex equo Trojano*, do issue so many monstrous Sects, Heresies and Blasphemies, and is consequently so deformed, as being utterly destitute of Discipline, and differing in most Points of Doctrine, that it is nothing like the Religion here professed, nor indeed Religion itself.

A good Religion, as an upright and lively Faith, issues forth into good Works; infomuch that, in the primitive Church, the Christians were discerned from the Infidels only by their holy Life, according to the Proverb, *Christiani non sunt Cassii*; but alas! How many not only *Cassii*, but also *Albii*, and *Nigri*, are now-a-days to be seen? Witness, besides the Treatises intitled, *Defensio pro Carolo Rege, Vindicia pro Capite Regis Angliæ, Elenchus Motuum, Mr. Prynne's Memento, Theatrum Tragicum, Vox Veritatis*, and others, two Declarations also of the Eighteenth of *January*, 1648, long before that lamentable Catastrophe, by divers Preachers, and learned Divines, in and about *London*; subscribed by One-hundred and Twenty-six of them, mourning over, and complaining of horrible and scan-

dalous Abuses, as in the Church, so in the Civil, or rather Military Government, and strongly refusing their Flattering of themselves in their continued Success, which may next be considered of.

IV. For as *Solomon* saith, 'That there be just Men, to whom it happeneth, sometimes, according to the Work of the Wicked: So again, there be wicked Men, to whom it happeneth according to the Work of the Righteous.

Successes often are a Punishment, as sometimes given for a Blessing, where only those are to be valued, whose principal Aim appears to be the true Advancement of God's revealed Will in his Word; which, as it strictly commandeth Obedience to Kings, and those in Authority under them, so it doth severely punish Sedition and Rebellion against them, not sparing the Curse of Condemnation to those, who comply with, and adhere unto them. Neither hath the great *Turk* come far short of (that undoubted Blessing) good Success, the now prevailing Party justify their Cause, and measure its Righteousness by, though they may seem to disavow him.

Finally, the Resemblance made for the Manner of the recovered Liberty of both States, to use the Expression of a great Personage, is not more different than Milk and Ink, both in Regard of the ancient Condition of the People on both Sides, and the Way of attaining to it.

The *Low-Country* Men, especially the *Batavi*, have been reputed by all ancient Writers, for a free People, neither subject to the *Romans*, whom they did acknowledge only *Civilli*, as *Tacitus* saith, nor to any Directors, Counts and Governors, which were constituted by themselves.

The *English* have more than a thousand Years been governed by Kings, all sprung from the same Royal Stock, to whom they have successively sworn Obedience and Loyalty.

The King of *Spain*, after a War of almost eighty Years, hath in two solemn Treaties, the one before the twelve Years Truce, and the other in the late concluded Peace, acknowledged the *United Provinces* to be a free State, and that *privative*. Whereupon his Catholick Majesty, for himself and his Successors, hath disclaimed all Pretences of Sovereignty here.

Whereas

Whereas *Charles the First*, that blessed Martyr, whose innocent Blood, like that of *Abel's*, cries loud to the highest Heaven for Vengeance against those who now sit upon his Throne, not only was, but was ever by them acknowledged for their lawful Sovereign; instead of disclaiming his Royalty over them, as must be, if the Resemblance stand compleat, was both divested of his Power, deprived of his Life, and his Princely Successor, so far as in them lieth, kept back and disabled from the Exercise of his undeniable Power over them, whereof let them find an absolute Parallel from the Creation until now.

In *Israel* King *Abab* did tyrannise, and, as a Man sold unto Sin, above others provoked God's Wrath against him. In *Rome* there was *Nero*, more like a Monster than a Man. Amongst the Christians, *Christiernus* in *Denmark*, *Wenceslaus* in *Bobemia*, who was likewise Emperor, behaved themselves so wickedly, that it was said of them, that they had cast off human Nature. Nor much unlike to them was *Richard the Third*, called the Tyrant of *England*, yet none of all these was ever condemned to die by the Sentence of their Subjects: Inasmuch that it is observed, that the *Israelites*, after they had deserted their King *Rehoboam*, although an Oppressor, never enjoyed a happy Hour, but were infested with continual Wars, both civil and foreign, till at last they were utterly destroyed, and carried Captives into *Babylon*.

Of *Nero*, it was said, *Primum damnati Principis exemplum*; I add, *Postremum, non maculati tamen*, as in this Case. The Confederate Provinces were first forced in their Religion, their Persons and Goods seized, and one-hundred-thousand of them killed. The prevailing Party in *England*, after those insolent and high Affronts done to his Majesty, before his constrained Removal from his Court at *Whitehall*, took up Arms, gave out Commissions, levied Men, according to his Majesty's last true and undeniable Words, and seized upon the *Regalia*, before he once put himself into a Posture of Defence.

In the *Low Countries* their Liberty was, *More majorum*, fully restored to them, without Prejudice to any Man.

In *England*, Religion and Liberty are shamefully trampled under Foot, and the House of Commons so dismembered, and its Privileges

violated, that the eighth Part of ten, were beyond all Parallel cast out, as the Declaration and Protestation of the seclused Members, *Feb. 13. 1648*, doth testify.

The Proceedings of the High and Mighty States are approved and justified by all the World; on the contrary, those of the *English* condemned and abhorred, and by themselves confessed as irregular and unwarrantable; and a most pregnant Proof and *probatio probata*, of their Wrong, as is contained in the said Declaration of the Ministers.

The which Premises the High and Mighty States being pleased to take into serious Consideration, according to their accustomed Wisdom and Justice, and calling to Mind those divers Treaties betwixt the King's Royal Predecessors, and their Lordships, in his Majesty's Person yet firmly standing: And seeing likewise divers of their Lordships resolved for a punctual Observation of a Neutrality, since the Year 1642, between the late King, his Majesty's Father, of blessed Memory, and his Parliament, the which, by the partial Confederacy with the one Party, now laboured for, will, in all Appearance, be violated and infringed:

Therefore their Lordships are earnestly intreated not to hearken to the said Propositions, as being prejudicial to the King my gracious Master's Interests, and dangerous to this State; likewise, that the Acknowledging them for a free Republick, which possibly the Condition of the Times, and Benefit of Trade, hath occasioned, be not drawn into a farther Consequence, much less an Occasion given thereby, forgetting *Joseph's* Sufferings, that the Afflicted be yet more afflicted, their Liberty retarded, and their Calamity lengthened.

His Majesty's Affairs, God be praised, are yet in a very good and hopeful Condition, far better than some of his Royal Predecessors, who have, notwithstanding, run through all Difficulties, and became considerable to their Friends, as well as formidable to their Enemies.

King *Robert Bruce*, about three-hundred Years ago, being likewise by the Rebellion of his Subjects, and the Disloyalty of *Balliol* and *Cumming*, and their Adherents, fiercely assailed by King *Edward of England*, who, at once, was possessed of most of the Towns and Strengths in *Scotland*, kept a Parliament in *St. Andrew's*, took his Queen Prisoner, killed

four of his Brethren, amongst whom were those *duo fulmina belli*, defaced or removed all the Monuments and Registers of that Kingdom, was constrained, with one or two Servants, to hide himself among the Hills; yet, notwithstanding all this, in a short Time after, recovered his whole Kingdom, was crowned with Honour and Glory, and forced his insolent Enemy, in Confusion, to fly from *Sterling* to *Dumbar*, and thence in a Fisher-boat, *Xerxes* like, escaped narrowly with his Life. I say *Sterling*,

Invisum, & fatale Scotorum propugnaculum :

Of which it is said,

Hic Latium remorata est Scotia cursum.

His Majesty's Royal Grandfather, *Henry the Fourth*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, yet of fresh Memory, was in a lower Condition, and had less Power to resist those of the League and the powerful King of *Spain*; yet at last became victorious, in the Overthrow of his Enemies, to the great Advantage and very considerable Succour of the *Netherlands*.

The distressed Condition of the Predecessors of the High and Mighty States-General, whom, after so many Changes, the almighty God hath, to the Admiration of the whole World, brought into a safe Haven, however *Sirius*, a *Spanish* Writer, jesting with those of *Holland* and their Confederates, did say, *What can the Hollanders do against the King of Spain*? As now, some scoffingly ask, How can the *Scots* stand against the powerful *English*? Is an eminent and visible Example, that it is all one, with the Lord, to help with few or with many, and that, when all Strength and human Hopes do fail, he will arise gloriously, for the Deliverance of the Righteous, crowning them, in the End, with Honour and good Success.

I. Shall we then look upon the present Successes, and Prosperity of that Party, as alone unchangeable, for the which such strange Grounds are by them pretended, as are no where found, being so diametrically opposite, according to the Declaration of the said Divines in and about *London*. To

2. The Instinct of Nature.
3. Natural Reason.
4. The Laws of all Nations.
5. The Constitutions particularly of the Kingdom of *England*, who, above all other People, most obsequiously and affectionately regard and reverence their Kings, as in those Maxims of their Law : *Rex non moritur, Rex nulli facit injuriam*, &c.
6. The Judgment of all Casuists.
7. Their Oaths of Fealty, Supremacy, and Allegiance, repeated particularly at the Admission of every Member into the House of Commons; their Protestation, their Covenant, their solemn League and Covenant, and an hundred Declarations, besides the publick Faith of the Kingdom of *England*, solemnly given to the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, upon their Receiving his Majesty at *Newcastle*, in all which, they professed to the World, that they would maintain and preserve, with their Lives, and Estates, the King's Person, Honour, Rights, and Royal Posterity.

II. Or, Shall we rest satisfied in the Sophistry of those Sectaries, who, out of Christ's Answer to the subtle Questions of the *Herodians* and *Pharisees*, if it were lawful to give Tribute to *Cæsar*, answered, *Ostendite mihi numisma, cujus habet imaginem*? infer, that, *scilicet implicita*, the Party now in *England*, is to be acknowledged, without any further Enquiry or Examination, since our Saviour's Answer speaks nothing for their Advantage. But, on the contrary, his commanding Tribute to be given to *Cæsar*, whom the *Jews* formerly acknowledged to be their King, confirmeth and establisheth lawful Power, and consequently condemneth Sedition and Rebellion; else *David* should have submitted unto and acquiesced in the usurped Power of *Abshalom*, who was possessed of all the Land, even unto *Jordan*, and carried away all *Israel* after him; and *Solomon* in the Power of *Adonijah*, *Jehoiada* in *Athaliah's*, and the *Maccabees* in the Power of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the grand Enemy of the *Jews*; yea, the Estates of the United Provinces should have then obeyed the Force of the Duke of *Alva*, who, by the Emblem of his Statue formerly set up in *Antwerp*, did signify that he had invested himself with the absolute Power. It is well said, by one of the Ancients, *Omnis potestas est à Deo; sed acquisitio potestatis, furto rapina*,

rapina, incendio, aut perduellione, non est à Deo, sed ab hominum affectibus & Satanae machina.

III. Or, May we suffer ourselves to be abused by the Examples and Precedents, which the said Sectaries alledge of the Kings, *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*, who, by reason of their Incapacity, were forced to resign their Crowns, the one to his Son, the other to his Competitor King *Henry the Fourth*, but neither of them to an inconsiderable, small Remainder of an House of Commons, or the People? Only, in a full Parliament, both their Resignations were confirmed, and neither executed, but were always afterwards honourably entertained; yea, one *Roger Mortimer*, which is worth the Observing, the chief Author and Actor in deposing of *Edward the Second*, and crowning his Son *Edward the Third* in his Father's Place, according to which Precedent his Majesty, *Charles the Second*, ought by these to have been crowned, was by a Parliament four Years after, together with his Fellow-murderers, condemned as a Traitor and Enemy to the King and Kingdom, because he killed the said deposed King in *Berkely Castle*.

Besides, the now prevailing Party, by solemn Protestations, did publish and declare to

all the World, that they did not intend to follow those accursed Precedents, although they should suffer never so much by the King and his Party. *Exam. Collect. pag. 69.*

IV. Should we not rather deeply apprehend, and with Fear look upon those exemplary Punishments inflicted upon Perjury, and Covenant-breaking, in God's Holy Word, as may be seen, to omit others, in the Person of *Saul*, who, together with his Posterity, as also the whole Kingdom of *Israel*, was so severely punished, because he destroyed the *Gibeonites*, against the Covenant made with *Jehua*, above two-hundred Years before, notwithstanding they procured the same deceitfully? As likewise in the History of *England*, and other Kingdoms, many pregnant Examples to that Purpose might be alledged; particularly that of *William Thorpe*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in that Realm, who, for Taking a Bribe of eighty Pounds Sterling, was put to Death, and all his Goods confiscated to the King's Use, in regard that in so doing he violated the Oath of a Judge, as the Words run, *Quod Sacramentum Domini Regis, quod erga populum habuit custodiendum, fregit malitiose, falso, & rebelliter.* Parl. 23 Edw. III.

An Answer to their Memorials.

THE Memorials I pass over, as monstrous, and which, by inevitable Consequence, not only tend to cut off all Treaties and Alliances between the King's Majesty and this State, and all Commerce with his loyal and faithful Subjects, but likewise, in some Cases, to the not Suffering them to dwell or reside in these Parts.

A Demand which is against the Band of common Society amongst Men, the Sovereignty of the United Provinces, and Liberty

of the same, which have ever been a Sanctuary for honest Men, and a Receptacle of all Nations whatsoever: In a Word, such *Quale victor victo dare, non socius socium rogare solet.* The Cruelty of *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and others, hath, for the most Part, been confined within the Walls of *Rome*, or the Borders of *Italy*, without persecuting their Opposers, in a strange Land, as an *omnibus umbra locis adero.*

Concerning the thirty-six Articles of the Treaty.

The thirty-six Articles evidently tend,

I. TO hinder his Majesty's just Right, and Restitution of his hereditary Crown, and Kingdom of *England*.

II. To involve the High and Mighty States-

General in a Labyrinth and great Inconveniences, who, at present, have no Enemy.

III. To encourage and strengthen the King's irreconcilable Enemies, and Rebels, as the fourth, fifth, sixth, and thirty-first Articles do import.

IV. Against the forementioned Resolutions of the High and Mighty States, in the Year 1542, concerning the Keeping a Neutrality between his Majesty's Father, of blessed Memory, and his Parliament of England, namely, those of the First of November, and Thirtieth of December, 1642, and the Sixth of November, 1648.

V. Against a Declaration and Protestation of the Noble and Mighty States of Holland and West Friesland, dated the Sixth of November, 1649, to the same Purpose.

VI. Against all former Treaties and Alliances between his Majesty's Royal Predecessors and this State.

As, amongst others, that of the Fourteenth of February, 1593, likewise consisting of thirty-six Articles, between King Henry the Seventh of England, his Heirs and Successors, made in his Name, and by his Authority, as the Words of the said Treaty do bear, and Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy, which bind and oblige, to this very Day, divers of the United Provinces, and the chief Members and Towns thereof, to assist the said Henry the Seventh, and his Heirs, (which unquestionably pleadeth for my Master Charles the Second, he being the sixth from him in Descent, *in linea recta*) and to afford them all Favour and friendly Assistance, as well by Sea as by Land, and prohibiteth any Treaty and Alliance to be made with the Rebels, and the Enemies of one another.

Whose undoubted Right, according to God's Sacred Word, the Laws, and the fundamental Constitutions of the Kingdom of England, as, *Rex non moritur*, &c. is firmly radicated in his Majesty's Person, however he by Violence be kept from it:

— Non unquam perdidit ordo
Mutato sua Jura loco. —

Infomuch that the ancient Romans, by the Light of Nature, did refuse to enter into any Alliance with Nabis, the Usurper of Lacedæmon, but continued the same with the just and lawful King Pelopides. *Amicitia & societas nobis nulla tecum est*, saith Titus Quintius, in the

Behalf of the Roman Empire, *apud Livium*, Lib. 34. *Sed cum Pelopide Rege Lacedæmoniorum iusto & legitimo facta est*.

Finally, against the renewed Treaty in the Year 1550, December the Fifteenth, made at Bins in Henegow, called The Perpetual Treaty, between the Tutors of Mary Queen of Scotland, in her Minority, and Queen Mary of Hungary, Regent for Charles the Fifth in the Low Countries, renewed again in *solenni forma*, Word by Word, at Edinburgh, 1594, between King James the Sixth and the High and Mighty States, after the Baptism of the late Prince Henry, his Majesty's Son, celebrated at Sterling.

In the which it is promised and agreed upon, inviolably to maintain and preserve mutual Friendship one with another, for all Ages to come, and, as far in them lay, to prevent and hinder any Damage that may befall either of them; that they shall traffick in Safety and Security, and likewise, that they shall assist each other with Ships, and all Sort of Ammunition, as may be seen at length in the Treaty itself, inserted by Peter Borrr, in his thirtieth Book.

But how opposite this is to their fourth, fifth, and thirty-first Articles, propounded to your Lordships, appeareth clearly out of the Words there contained, where they not only deny to the King, and his Subjects, *privative*, all Favour, Friendship, and Provision of War, but likewise endeavour to oblige your Lordships, *De facto*, to infest and make War upon them, as having now no other Enemies, as they themselves give out, but Scotland.

But, expecting better Things of the High and Mighty States, and a religious Observation of all Treaties, Resolutions, Protestations, and Declarations, your Lordships are intreated not to give Ear to the said Propositions, and Memorials; as also, that the said thirty-six Articles, perishing in their Birth, may not be taken into any further Consideration.

The Lord will reward every one according to his Works; and, I wish, that he may ever bless the High and Mighty States with his fatherly Protection, and keep them from contracting any League and Alliance, which may be attended with Dishonour and Damage unto them.

The Orders, Proceedings, Punishments, and Privileges of the Commons House of Parliament in *England*. Printed *Anno Dom. 1641. Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

CH A P. I.

What Persons may be Burgesſes in Parliament, what not.

THE Son and Heir of an Earl may be ; and ſo was the Lord *Ruffel*, *Elif. 6.*

He that hath no Voice in the Higher Houſe ; ſo the Son and Heir apparent of a Baron ; and ſo was Mr. *Henry Brooke*.

A Prebendary may not be ; and therefore *Alexander Nowel* was reſuſed, becauſe he was Prebendary of *Weſtminſter* ; whereupon a Writ was iſſued to chuſe another for *Leo* in *Cornwall*.

Sir *Henry Piercy* was choſen Knight for two ſeveral Counties ; and thereupon it was adjudged by the Houſe, That he ſhould ſerve for that County which firſt choſe him, *13 Elif.*

If a Burgeſs be incurably ſick, another may be choſen in his Place, by Liſenſe of the Houſe ; but not if he be eaſily ſick, or ſent in his Maſtey's Service, unleſs the Houſe will allow of a new Election, *18 Martii, 23 Elif.*

And it was then ordered, That, during the Seſſion, no Writs ſhould iſſue to chuſe Knights or Burgeſſes, but by Warrant of the Houſe to the Clerk of the Crown, according to the ancient Uſage.

The Burgeſſes of *Sandwich* were kept out of the Houſe, until the perfect Return was known. *15 Edw. VI.*

One *Cavell* was returned for *Travayny* and *Ludders-hall* ; he appeared for *Ludders-hall* ; and therefore a Writ iſſued to chuſe another for *Travayny*, *11 Mar. 7 Edw. VI.*

William Greham and ——— were returned Knights for *Norfolk* ; and the Writ, returned by the Lord Chancellor, ſuppreſſed it by great Motion, and directed another Writ to chuſe others.

A Burgeſs, indicted of Felony, ſhall not be removed before Conviction, *8 Feb. 23 Elif.*

Walter Vaughan was received, notwithstanding an Outlawry, becauſe it appeared that it was for Debt, and that he had compounded for it.

A Burgeſs outlawed was denied the Privilege of the Houſe ; but, upon the Queſtion, and upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, he was allowed the Privilege againſt an Arreſt in *London*, *24 Feb. 5 Elif.*

CH A P. II.

The Choice of the Speaker, his Preſentment, Placing, and Speech.

HE, that ſhall be Speaker, muſt be a Knight or a Burgeſs returned, and cometh to the Houſe, and taketh the ordinary Oath, as others.

The fitteſt Seat for him is the loweſt Row, and the Miſt thereof ; for ſo he may be beſt heard, when he ſhall ſpeak.

One of his Maſtey's Council doth uſe to propound, That it is his Maſtey's Pleaſure, that they ſhall freely chuſe a Speaker for them ;

and yet commendeth, in his Opinion, ſome Perſon by Name.

Then he, which is ſo recommended, ſtandeth up, and prayeth to be heard, before they proceed to the Choice of him, and, withal, diſableth himſelf (giving them Thanks for their good Opinion of him) as being not equally learned in the Laws with others, that have had the Place.

Not being eloquent by Nature, or Art ; nor experienced

experienced in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, or in the Orders of the House, being of mean Countenance, Wealth, or Credit.

Being careful for their Credit, more than his own, and therefore bound to shew and discover his Wants, which otherwise might be covered by their good Opinion.

If they press him, he is to yield, and so is brought to the Chair; and then they usually give two or three Days Respite, before he be presented to the King.

Upon the Day of his Presentment to the King, he cometh to the Bar of the Higher House, or other appointed Place, where his Majesty shall assign; and, after their solemn Courtesies, sheweth how he is elected, reneweth the Reasons of his Disability, desireth to be discharged, and that they of the Commons House may have License to proceed to a new Election of another.

Then the Lord Chancellor, receiving his Majesty's Pleasure, enableth him.

Hereupon, the Speaker gives Thanks for

that Opinion conceived of him; promiseth to do his dutiful Endeavour; and desireth, that his ready Good-will may be accepted in Place of all.

And so, with a low Courtesy, beginneth his Oration, which commonly standeth upon these Parts, viz.

1. Entrance aptly taken from the Time or Person.

2. The Praise of his Majesty's Government, or Laws of his Time.

3. Thanksgiving for Summoning the Parliament, whereby the Sores of the Commonwealth may be prevented and remedied.

4. Promise of all Diligence and Fidelity in them of the Lower House.

5. Assurance of his own Duty, as Power will permit.

6. The Petitions that be ordinary, &c.

First, For Injoining the Privilege of the House; then for themselves, their Goodness and Servants.

CHAP. III.

The first Reading of any Bill.

UPON the first Reading of a Bill, the Speaker, taking the Bill in one Hand, and his Cap in the other Hand, may say: 'You have heard the Bill, the Contents whereof are these, &c.' And, after the Rehearsal thereof, may read another, without suffering any Man, if he may stay him, to speak unto it, but rather to advise thereof until the next Reading; which is a Means not only to hear effectual Speech, but also to save a great

Deal of Time.

A Bill may not be committed upon the first Reading, and yet, 27 Jan. 23 *Eliz.* the Proviso for the Clerk of the Market was, upon the first Reading thereof, committed with the Bill.

See afterwards, that the Subsidy of the Clergy passeth at the first Reading; and so the Pardon.

CHAP. IV.

The second Reading of a Bill.

AT the second Reading of a Bill, it ought to be either ingrossed, committed, or rejected; and, if any shall offer to speak thereto, after that three have spoken all on one Side, the Speaker may say, That the Bill is sufficiently spoken unto; What is your Pleasure? Will you have it ingrossed, or committed?

And, if the more Voices will have it in-

grossed, it must be done accordingly.

And, if the more Voices will have it committed, then the Speaker intreats them to appoint the Committees; and, that done, their Names, and the Time and Place of Meeting, and the Day of their Report shall be indorsed upon it.

If the more Voices be not apparently discerned, then the Speaker may put the Question again

again still : ‘ As many, as will have this Bill ingrossed, say, Ay.’ And, after that Voice, ‘ So many, as will not have it ingrossed, say, ‘ No.’

Again, if the Sides seem equal, the Speaker may pray all those that be on the Affirmative, to go down with the Bill, and the rest to sit in their Places ; and the Sides shall be numbered

by Tellers to be appointed by the Speaker, and the greater Number shall prevail, and the less Number shall go, and fetch them up, in Token of Consent ; and the Speaker shall report the Yea, or No, according to the stronger Side.

One Bill may be twice read in one Day.

A Bill may be committed after the Ingrossing.

C H A P. V.

Orders to be observed by such as shall speak.

IF two Persons shall arise to speak, the Speaker must appoint him to speak first, that first arose, and offered to speak.

One Man may not speak twice to one Bill in one Day, although he will change his Opinion, except it be only for the Moving of some Order.

Every Man, that will speak, must direct his Speech to the Speaker, and not to any other, but only by Circumlocution, as by Saying, ‘ He which spoke with the Bill, or he which ‘ made this, or that Reason.’

If any touch another by nipping, or unrev-
erent Speech, the Speaker may admonish him.

If any shall speak dishonourably of the King, or his Council, he is not only to be interrupted, but may be also sent by the House unto the Tower. As for Example,

Withers, a Burgeſs for London, *Elisabeth*, uttered certain Speeches, whereby it seemed, that he noted the Lord *William Howard*, then

Lord-Chamberlain and sometimes Lord-Admiral, with Corruption, but named him not ; and therefore it was thought, he should not be punished, nor put to answer for it.

If any speak too long, and speak within the Matter, he may not be cut off ; but if he be long, and out of the Matter, then may the Speaker gently admonish him of the Shortness of the Time, or the Business of the House, and pray him to make as short as he may.

But if he range in evil Words, then to interrupt him, saying : ‘ I pray you to spare these ‘ Words, they become not this Place of State ‘ and Council.

‘ It hath not been the Order here so to do, I ‘ pray you take Care of us all, considering what ‘ Danger the Report hereof may breed unto us.’

No Speech ought to be made but only in Matter in Bill, and therefore all other Motions ought to be represented, and the Movers, if the Matter be good, to put their Desire into a Bill.

C H A P. VI.

License from the King to proceed.

A BILL exhibited by Clothiers of *Devonshire*, for remitting the Act of Relief, for making of Cloths, redelivered unto them, with Promise, that they should receive an Answer thereof, at the Return of the Knights of the Shire the Sixth of November, 1 *Edward the Sixth*; and afterwards Suit was made by the Speaker, the Privy-Council, and twelve others, to know his Majesty’s Pleasure, whether they might treat thereof.

And three Days after it was answered, they might treat thereof, having in Regard the Cause of the granting of that Relief.

The Speaker shewed, that it was the Queen’s Pleasure, that the House should proceed no further with the Bill, for the Revenues of the Queen, because it extended to divers which had accounted 5 *Mart.* & 4 & 5 *Phil.* & *Ma.*

Three of the Privy-Council, whereof Sir Edward Rogers, then Comptroller was one, delivered to the House her Majesty's exprefs Commandment, that they should proceed no further with their Suit, which was in a Sort moved to be reiterated by a Speech of this Writer, *W. L.* But, that they should satisfy themselves with her Promise.

And then Peter Wentworth, and James Dalton, moved, whether this did not restrain the Liberty of the House; upon which, after many Arguments, they resolved to cease till the

next Day, 9 Nov. 8 *Elif.* And afterwards 23.

Now the Queen revoked her said Commandment, and gave them Liberty to proceed; but, upon Consultation, amongst themselves, they spared to proceed any further.

It was ordered, That Mr. Warner should receive, of the Speaker, a Bill, exhibited by Hubbard, and his Wife, against Sir Nicholas Hare, and that certain of the House should hear, and, if they could, determine the Cause; the Protector's Grace, to make an End thereof. 11 Feb. 1 *Ed.* VI.

CHAPTER VII.

Calling of the House, and the Pain of their Absence.

IT is a common Policy, to say upon the Reading, that the House shall be called on Saturday; to say it shall be called on Wednesday; and so from Day to Day, by Fear thereof, to keep the Company together.

It was ordered, That no Knight, or Burgesses, should depart without License of the House, or of the Speaker, to be entered with the Clerk of the Crown, that he make no Writ, to levy such Fees or Wages, 18 *Mart.* 23 *Elif.* and upon the first Day of the Parliament, there was moreover laid upon each Knight, which had not appeared, twenty Pounds; and upon every Burgess, ten Pounds.

See the Statute *Ed. V. Fol. 2. Statute-Cap.*

4. whereupon this double Punishment, for Absence, is grounded.

After that the Committees have made their Report and Opinion of any Bill, referred to their Consideration, it shall be thrice read, and it may be spoken unto at every Reading.

It was ordered, That the Committees of the Lower House, upon a Conference with the Lords, might urge any Reasons, tending to the Maintenance of any Thing that had passed the House; but, not of any new Thing to be propounded, until the House were first made privy thereto.

CHAPTER VIII.

The third Reading of a Bill.

WHEN a Bill is ingrossed, and hath received the third Reading, it must either pass, or be rejected by the more Voices; if it pass, then it must be indorsed, *Soit-baillé aux Seigneurs*; and if it be rejected, it must not come any more in the House.

At one Day, after a Bill is passed, and not sent away, the Speaker may discover any Mistaking of Words therein, which may be amended, and thrice read, and passed by. Question, 30 *Januarii*, 23 *Elif.*

If the Lords agree to any Bill sent unto them from the Lower House, it must be indorsed, *Les Seigneurs ont assentis*, and then it shall be remanded to the Lower House.

And, if the Lords first pass a Bill, and send it to the Lower House, which also agree thereto, it must be indorsed, *Les Commons ont assentis*.

But, if there be any Difference for Alteration of a Bill, between the Lords and Commons, then it is requisite that some special Persons of each House meet, and confer, that the one House may understand the Meaning of the other.

A Bill signed by the King, and sent to the Lower House, may not be altered in any Part thereof, without his Majesty's License.

But if a Bill come from the Lords, and not signed by him, it may be altered by noting, what

what should be taken from it, or added unto it.

A Bill that came from the Lords was amended, and a Scroll of Addition in Parchment, put unto it, and sent to the Lords, without any Indorsement, *Soit baillé aux Seigneurs*; and for Want thereof they would not proceed, but remanded it to pass the Bill, and withdraw that Addition, or else to indorse it, and thereupon it was indorsed, 8 Mart. 23 *Elif.*

A Bill from the Lords is wont to be sent by some of the King's learned Council, who are to make three Courtesies upon the Delivery thereof.

The Speaker is to receive it with his Cap in his Hand, and to say the House will have Consideration of it.

Then must he shew unto the House the Intituling of them, and after two or three Days, according to the Exigency of the Cause, he may read and pass them as before.

A Bill, which passed from the Lower House,

was remanded by the Lords with an Addition, and *Puckering* the Speaker, foreseeing the Inclination of the House to overthrow the Bill, demanded the Question only, touching a small Addition, which was denied, and so the Bill indirectly dashed, but the Body thereof saved and untouched.

If a Bill pass by the Question, yet any Addition may be made, thrice read, and agreed, *Sedente Curia*, and so any Addition to a Bill itself.

The Bill of Navigation was but half read, and, by Reason of a long Argument, was respite the next Day, but some doubted of that Order.

The Bill of counterfeiting Instruments, or Seals of Office, was, at the third Reading, long argued, and referred for further Argument till the next Day, and then also committed to the first Committees, and others, 9 Feb. 29 *Elif.*

CHAP. IX.

Respite from Sitting.

IF the Sitting be respited for a Day, or more, by Order, yet then the Speaker, accompanied with some, ought in that Respite, to

read a Bill *Pro forma, exceptis diebus non Juridicis.*

CHAP. X.

Evidences given by the Lords in the Lower House.

UPON the Attainder of Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral, it was ordered in the Lower House, that the Speaker and Privy-Council should desire of the Queen, *That the*

Lords, which gave Evidence in the Higher House, might also give the same in the Lower House. 2 Mart. 10 E. vi.

CHAP. XI.

Fees for the Speaker and Serjeant.

THE Speaker is wont to have one-hundred Pounds of the Prince for the Parliament.

Of the Subject, for every private Bill for Assurance, five Pounds before he deliver it out of his Hand.

For every Name in any Bill for Denizens, five Pounds, unless he do agree for less.

The Serjeant hath two Shillings of every Burgess, and four Shillings of every Knight, for each Session of Parliament.

C H A P. XII.

Punishment of Offences.

UPON Complaint of Sir *Robert Brandling*, Burges of *Newcastle*, that *Witherington*, and others, had made an Assault upon him :

It was ordered, That the Lord Chancellor should award an Attachment to the Lord President in the North, against *Witherington*; and the House desired the Lords of the Council to receive the Bill of Sir *Robert* against *Witherington*, and to take Order therein, according to their ancient Custom.

And, when the Bill was read to *Witherington*, he confessed the Assault; and after, one *Ellaker*, Servant to the Duke of *Suffolk*, was, for the same Cause, sent in by his Master; and it was ordered, That he should remain in the Ward of the Serjeant of the House, till he found Surety to appear in the *King's-Bench*, when he should be appointed, and to be bound to the Peace: And, after that he was bound to the Peace, Sir *Robert* sued for his Discharge,

and four of the House were appointed to desire the Duke's Favour for him, 15 Feb. 6 *Elif.* & 5 April 7.

Monington was sent to the Tower for Striking *Johnson*, a Burges; and yet he excused himself, that he knew him not to be a Burges; and, after two Days, he was fetched by the Serjeant, and discharged by the House; and, for that *Johnson* prayed that he might go safe, that was committed to two of the House, 24 April, 1 Mar.

John Savage wounded *Ceder Menioll*, Servant to *Brooke*, a Knight of the Parliament; and it was established, that Proclamation shall be where the Fact was done, That *Savage* should render his Body in the *King's-Bench* within a Quarter of a Year.

Moreover, it is accorded, that likewise it be done in Time to come, in like Case. *Statute* 5 *Fel.* 2 *Cap.* 6. and the same is confirmed 11 *Hen.* vi. *Cap.* 11.

C H A P. XIII.

Punishment of Offences committed by them of the House.

THE Chancellor of the Duchy, Sir *Ambrose Cane*, complained of Sir *Thomas White*, Alderman of *London*, for calling him to witness of Misliking the Book of *Common-Prayer*.

Sir *Thomas* answered, That he said, that Mr. Chancellor wished that the Book might be well considered; and he asked the Chancellor Forgiveness, and had it, 6 *Mart.* 1 *Elif.*

Upon the Bill of Confirmation of Letters Patents, *Thomas Copely* said, That he feared that by this the Queen might give away the Crown from the right Inheritors, and therefore he was committed to the Custody of the Serjeant; but, soasmuch as he excused himself by his Youth, the House moved the Queen to pardon him, who would not presently grant, but said, That she would not be unkind of their Request. 5 *Martii* 4 & 5 *Phil.* et *Mariae*.

Thrower was committed, for Saying, If a Bill came in for Women's Wives, they would dispute it, and put it to the Question, 7 April,

1 *Elif.*

Upon *Story's* Submission, being in the Tower, it was ordered, That the Privy-Council of the House should declare unto the House, That their Resolution was, to have him discharged, and to pray the King to pardon his Offences.

Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was sent out of his House to the Tower, for an Offence done before the Summons of the Parliament; and Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary, said, That the Queen was then assured by her Justices, that she might commit any of the House during the Parliament, for any Offence against her Crown and Dignity, and that they shewed divers Precedents thereof.

The Servants of Sir *Henry Jones*, a Knight of the House, did hurt a Servant of one *Gardiner*, a Burges; the Master was awarded to the Sheriff of *London* to bring them into the Court, and their Master gave Sureties, that they should appear the next Term, and answer both the Queen and the Party, and so they were

were delivered by the Privilege, to wait upon their Matters; and so, by Conference of this Case with Sir *Edward Warner's*, it seemeth, a Man shall not have the Privilege of the House for a Criminal Offence, that immediately toucheth the Queen, but where it toucheth her indirectly, as by Trespas against another.

Pearne was committed to the *Marshalsea* for Pickery, without any Notice given to the House.

If any of the House be to answer any Contempt, or Offence, he must go to the Bar, and not keep his Place.

Arthur Hall, Burgefs, for *Grantham* in *Lincolnshire*, submitted himself at the Bar, for Writing and Imprinting a Book, wherein he defaced the Authority of the Lower House, or their Estate of Parliament; and he was put out of the Doors, and these Points, touching him, were resolved, *viz.*

‘ That he be committed to the *Tower*, which
‘ is the Prison for this House, for a certain
‘ Time, and pay a Fine to the Queen, and be
‘ severed from being a Member of the House;
‘ make a Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown,
‘ to direct a Brief to the Sheriff of *Lincolnshire*,
‘ for the Borough of *Grantham*, to choose and
‘ return a new Burgefs; that it be published by
‘ Order of the House, that his Book is false,
‘ and seditious; and that himself be brought
‘ into the House, to have this Judgment pro-
‘ nounced against him by the Speaker, in the
‘ Name of all the House; that the Serjeant be
‘ commanded to convey him to the *Tower*, by
‘ Warrant from the House, signed by the
‘ Speaker, and that all the Proceeding be
‘ written, read, and entered, as other Causes
‘ of the House are.’ 14 Feb. 23 *Elif.*

Dr. Story was reprehended, for being of the Lower House; he came of Council with the Bishop of *Winchester*, before the Lords in the Higher House, touching a Parliament Cause, and acknowledged his Offence. 23 Mart. 1 *Elif.*

The House had agreed, 23 *Elif.* to have a common Fast, whereof the Queen misliked not for the Matter, but for the Innovation of Order without her Privy, and without Ecclesiastical Authority, for which the Commons submitted themselves, and she gave them their Pardon.

Amongst many Questions resolved upon in that Parliament, 21 *Fol.* 2, this was one: After the Assembly of the Parliament, and after the chief Matters being propounded by the King, for which he called the Parliament:

The Lords and Commons might treat of other Matters first, and forbear to handle those, until the Matters, propounded by them, were discussed, notwithstanding that they were also enjoined to the Contrary by the King.

It was answered, That they might not so treat, and that, if they did, they were to be punished as Traytors; but 1 *Hen.* IV. this Parliament and those Resolutions of 21 *Fol.* 2 were repealed, and sundry of the Judges that joined in that Resolution were hanged; so before.

Note, That the King, 15 and 10 of the Parliament, may as well dissolve, as he did, summon it, if he like not their Proceeding, and therefore this Resolution was needless.

Mr. Cope, *Lukenor*, *Hurleston*, *Braynbridge*, and others, were committed to the *Tower* by the Queen, for that, before the Parliament, they had sundry Conventions for the preferring in Parliament a Book touching the Rates of the Church, and a Form of an Act for the establishing the same.

Which also they did print, prefer, and urge in Parliament: But it seemed, that if they had treated thereof only in Time of Parliament, being Burgefses, they should not have been impeached, *Februarii* 28 *Elif.*

That the *Gate-house* is sometimes used for a Prison to this House.

C H A P. XIV.

Privileges for them of the House.

SEE the Statute, 8 *Hen.* VI *Cap.* 1, where it is said, That the Clergy, called to the Convocation, shall enjoy such Liberties, or Defence, in coming, tarrying, and going,

as the Lords and Commonalty of *England* called to the Parliament.

It is the Order, that, if any Burgefs require Privilege for himself, and his Servant, he shall have

have a Warrant signed by the Speaker, to obtain the Writ of Privilege; and, for that *William Ward*, Burgefs for *Lanc*, got fuch a Writ, without fuch a Warrant, it was committed to divers to be examined. 22 *Februarii*, 6 *Ed. VI*.

Certain of the Houfe went, by Order, to the *Common-Pleas*. to excufe the Appearance of *Mr. Palmer*, a Burgefs, in Attaint. 4 *Nov*. 3 *Edw. VI*. *Hugh Lloyd*.

It is ordered, That *Hugh Lloyd*, by *Procedendo*, fhould be put from the Privilege, and be delivered to the Sheriff of *London*, in whole Ward he was before; but he efaped, and was taken, and fent to the *Gate-houfe* for the Time, and the next Day fent to *London*, in fuch Cafe as he was before the Privilege granted; and to abide the Order of the Houfe, whilft it fhould fit, though he agreed with his Creditor, called *Gordon*, or, after the Seflion, to abide the Order of the Privy-council for his Mifdemeanour, 28 *Mar*. 6. *Edw. VI*. And, afterwards, 15 *April*, it was ordered, That, when he had fatisfied his Creditors, he fhould be delivered from the *Compter* to the Serjeant of the Houfe, and difcharged of Imprifonment there, notwithstanding any Aétion laid upon him in *London*, after his firft Imprifonment.

There was alfo one *Criktoft* then committed to the *Gate-houfe*, and difcharged, paying his Fees.

Beaumont, of the Lower Houfe, ferved a *Subpœna* upon the Earl of *Huntington*, of the Higher Houfe; whereupon the Lords fent Complaint thereof to the Houfe, which certi-

fied, That it was no Breach of the Privilege, 17 *April*. 1 *Mar*. becaufe it requireth no Appearance, as I think, and refraineth not the Perfon.

William Allen, Burgefs for *Cain* in *Wiltfhire*, had the Privilege againft an Attachment upon a Procefs out of the *Exchequer*, 21 *April*. 1 *Mar*. to confider, whether the Procefs were for the Queen, or for a common Perfon.

Pledall, Burgefs, was bound by Recognition to appear in the *Star-chamber* within twelve Days after the End of the Parliament; and, upon Complaint thereof, it was answered, by Conference of the Lords with the Juftices and learned Council, That it was no Breach of the Privilege, 6 *Decemb*. 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar*.

Stroode, Burgefs, intending to exhibit Bills in Parliament, for Abufes in the Court of *Stannaries*, was there, by Means of one *Turfe*, an Under-fteward, prefented and taken, for certain Sums that were laid upon him; and thereupon this Aét, 4 *H. VIII. cap. 8*, was made, *viz*.

‘ All Suits, Accufations, Condemnations, Executions, Fines, Amercements, Punifhments, Correétions, Charges, and Impositions, put or had, or hereafter to be put or had unto, to, or upon the faid *Richard Stroode*, and to every other of the Perfons, that now be of this prefent Parliament, or that of any Parliament hereafter fhall be, for any Bill, Speaking, Reafoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters concerning the Parliament to be commanded, or treated of, fhall be utterly void, and of none Effect.’

C H A P. XV.

The Bill of Subfidy.

THE Manner is, when a Subfidy is granted, to carry it alone, and the Pardon to the King, leaving the reft of the Bills in the Chamber; and this is done to prepare the Royal Affent to the reft, and to prefent the Subfidy.

The Bill of Subfidy is offered by the Commons only; for the Lords, befides the common Ufage for other Bills, do fend it to the Houfe again, after that they have thrice read it, and there it remaineth to be carried by the Speaker, when he fhall prefent it, 18 *Mar*. 25 *Elif*.

After Motion made for a Subfidy, the De-vice and Dealing therein is committed to divers, who agree upon Articles, which they do bring in to be ordered by the Houfe: That *Mr. Attorney-General* fhall draw it into Form of an Aét; which done, it hath three Readings, and fo paffeth all other Bills; only the Confiderations in the Preamble are penned by fome Committees, whereof fome are always of the Privy-council.

C H A P. XVI.

Subsidies of the Clergy.

THE Confirmation of the Subsidy, granted upon the first Reading thereof, 4 Mart. 23
by the Clergy, passed to the Question *Elisabeth.*

C H A P. XVII.

The general Pardon.

IT is sent to the House, signed with the and so passeth to the Question, 18 Mart. 25
King's Hand, and being once read, it is *Elisabeth.*
demanded, if they be contented to accept it,

C H A P. XVIII.

The Presence of the King.

IF he come not the first Day of the Parlia- If he come in the End of the Parliament,
ment, then must there be an Adjournment then it may be prorogued by his Word only ut-
until another Day, by Letters Patents, for tered by the Lord Keeper, or Chancellor.

C H A P. XIX.

The Royal Assent to Bills passed both the Houses.

THE Royal Assent is commonly in Per-
son yielded by the Words of the King
uttered by the Clerk of the Crown, in *French*,
thus, *viz.*

To all Bills generally to be enacted, *Le
Roy le veut.*

To private Bills, *Soit fait come c'est desirè.*

To those that shall not pass, *Le Roy se ad-
visera.*

To the Grants of Subsidy, *Le Roy rendra
grand mercies*; and according to the Variety
they are indorsed also.

But the Royal Assent may be by Letters Pa-
tents in his Absence.

C H A P. XX.

The Attendance of the Warden of the Fleet.

IT was ordered, That the Speaker, in the
Name of the House, should command the
Warden of the *Fleet*, which is a Minister of
this House, that two of his Servants should at-

tend at the Stair-head, by the Door of the
Lower House, to repress, and apprehend Lac-
quies, and Servants, and to bring them to the
House, 2 *Februarii*, 23 *Elif.*

The Protector's Declaration against the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, and the true Worship of the Church of *England*. Printed and published by his Highness's special Commandment. *London*, printed by *Henry Hills* and *John Field*, Printers to his Highness. From a *Folio* Page.

HIS Highness the Lord Protector, upon Advice with his Council, finding it necessary, for the Reasons and upon the Grounds expressed in his late Declaration, to use all good Means to secure the Peace of the Nation, and prevent future Troubles within the same, hath thought fit to publish and declare, and by and with the Consent of his Council, doth publish, order, and declare, That no Person or Persons whatsoever, in *England* or *Wales*, whose Estates have been sequestered for Delinquency, or who were actually in Arms for the late King against the then Parliament, or for *Charles Stuart* his Son, or have adhered to, abetted, or assisted the Forces raised against the said Parliament, do, from and after the First Day of *December*, 1655, buy, use, or keep in his or their House, or Houses, or elsewhere, any Arms offensive, or defensive, upon Pain, that every Person and Persons, so offending, shall forfeit and lose such Arms, and be otherwise proceeded against, according to the Orders of his Highness and the Council, for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth. And his Highness, by the Advice of his Council, doth also publish, declare, and order, That no Person or Persons aforesaid do, from and after the First Day of *January*, 1655, keep in their Houses and Families, as Chaplains or Schoolmasters, for the Education of their Children, any sequestered or ejected Minister, Fellow of any College, or Schoolmaster, nor permit any of their Children to be taught by such, upon Pain of being proceeded against in such Sort, as the said Orders do direct in such

Cases. And that no Person, who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any Benefice, College, or School for Delinquency or Scandal, shall, from and after the First Day of *January*, keep any School, either publick or private, nor any Person, who after that Time shall be ejected for the Causes aforesaid.

And that no Person, who, for Delinquency or Scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall, from and after the First Day of *January* aforesaid, preach in any publick Place, or at any private Meeting of any other Persons than those of his own Family, nor shall administer Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any Persons, or use the Book of Common-Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained, upon Pain, that every Person, so offending in any of the Premises, shall be proceeded against, as, by the said Orders, is provided and directed. And to the End all Persons concerned may take Notice hereof, and avoid the Danger of any of the said Penalties, his Highness doth charge and command all Sheriffs within their respective Counties, Cities, and Towns, to cause this Declaration to be proclaimed and published. Nevertheless, his Highness doth declare, that, towards such of the said Persons as have, since their Ejection or Sequestration, given, or shall hereafter give, a real Testimony of their Godliness and good Affection to the present Government, so much Tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the Safety and Good of this Nation.

Given at Whitehall, this Fourth Day of October, 1655.

An honourable and worthy Speech, spoken in the High Court of Parliament, by Mr. *Smith* of the *Middle-Temple*, October 28, 1641, concerning the Regulating of the King's Majesty's Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subjects. With a Motion for the speedy Redress of all Grievances, under which the Church and State do lie. *London*, printed by *Bernard Alsop*. 1641, Quarto, containing eight Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

THE last Time we assembled, we sat like a College of Physicians, upon the Life and Death of three great Patients; whose bleeding Hearts lay prostrate before us, and were arrived at that critical Minute, either to receive Relief, or eternal Destruction. The three fortunate Nations were presented to us, in all their Distractions, and grown to such a Superlative in their Miseries, that like nursing Mothers bereaved of their tender Infants, they were careless of what might happen to them, *Quia perdiderunt libertates*. These three Kingdoms, whose Peace and Amity filled the remaining World with Envy and Emulation, and were, like that happy Trinity of Faith, Hope, and Charity, in a perfect Union, had but now their Swords edged to each others Confusion. *O scelus hominum!* Height of Impiety! *Kai Su Teknon!* said *Cæsar* in the Senate; it was not his Death that grieved him, but that his Son should advance his Hand to his Slaughter. How many Sons and *Neroes* had we, whose earnest Endeavours were to rip up their Mother's Womb, and like Vipers eat through her Bowels, and to lay desolate their Father's House:

——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a lachrymis? ———

And yet all this had been but a Prologue to our Tragedy, had not God Almighty pleased to interpose his Hand, and to have been a Pillar of Fire betwixt us and our Captivity, and to have wrought our Deliverance,

by his great Instrument, the Parliament; whose constant Labour it hath been, for this Year past, to create a true Understanding and firm Peace between the Nations; which I hope is so accomplished, that it is not in the Power of the Devil, or all his Works, ever to dissolve it. This, I say, was the Work of our last Sitting. Give me Leave, Sir, I beseech you, to deliver what I conceive convenient to be of this: 'To give God his Due, to establish Rights between King and People, and to compose Things amongst ourselves.' That we may give God his Due, we must advance his Worship, and compel Obedience to his Commands, wherein he hath been so much neglected. Honour and Riches have been set up for Gods, in Competition with him; Idolatry and Superstition have been introduced, even into his House, the Church, and he expelled; his Name hath been blasphemed, and his Day prophaned, by the Authority of that unlawful Book of Sports; and those, who would not tremble thus to dishonour God, would not scruple to do it to their Parents, or injure their Neighbours, either by Murder of themselves, or Names, or by Adultery, *David's* great Crimes: They have not only robbed God of his Honour, but Men of their Estates, and of Part of themselves; Members and Ears have been set to Sale, even to the Deforming of that Creature, whom God had honoured with his own Image; that they might colour this their Wickedness, Perjury and false Testimony have been more frequent with them, than their Prayers; and all this proceeded out of an inordinate Desire of

of that which was their Neighbours; and thus God in all his Commandments hath been abused. Can we then wonder at his Judgments, or think he could do less to right himself upon such a rebellious People than he hath?

I beseech you, Sir, let us do something to seat him in his Throne, and worship all with one Mind, and not that every one should go to God a Way by himself; this Uncertainty staggers the unresolved Soul, and leads it into such a Labyrinth, that not knowing where to fix, for Fear of erring, sticks to no Way; so dies before it performs that, for which it was made to live; Uniformity in his Worship is that which pleaseth him, and if we will thus serve him, we may expect Protection from him.

The next Thing that I conceive fit to be considered, is, to cause the Rights, both of the King and People, truly to be understood; and in this, to give that Authority to the Prerogative which legally it hath, and to uphold the Subjects Liberty from being minced into Servitude.

That the King should have a Prerogative, is necessary for his Honour; it differences him from his People; but, if it swells too high, and makes an Inundation upon his Subjects Liberty, it is no longer then to be stiled by that Name: The Privilege of the Subject is likewise for his Majesty's high Honour. King *David* gloried in the Number of his People; and Queen *Elizabeth* delivered in a Speech in Parliament, that the Greatness of a Prince consisted in the Riches of his Subjects; intimating, that then they stood like lofty Cedars about him to defend him from the Storms of the World, and there were ample Demonstrations of that, in that renowned Queen's Reign; but what Encouragement can they have, either to increase their Numbers, or Estates, unless they may have Protection both for themselves, and Estates? Therefore, the Privilege and Greatness of the Subjects are relatively for the Honour of the Prince.

Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this Kingdom; and like the Sun and Moon, give a Lustre to this benighted Nation, so long as they walk at their equal Distances;

but when one of them shall venture into the other's Orb, like those Planets in Conjunction, they then cause a deeper Eclipse. What shall be the Compass then, by which these two must steer? Why, nothing but the same by which they are, the Law; which if it might run in the free Current of its Purity, without being poisoned by the venomous Spirits of ill-affected Dispositions, would so fix the King to his Crown, that it would make him stand like a Star in the Firmament, for the Neighbour-world to behold and tremble at.

That they may be the better acted, I shall humbly desire, that after so many Times, that great Charter, the Light of the Law, may be reviewed, the Liberty of the Subject explained, and be once more confirmed; and Penalties imposed on the Breakers, and let him die unto the Bargain, that dares attempt the Act.

The last Thing, that falls into Consideration, is, to set Things right amongst ourselves, the Subjects of *England*; And in this, so to provide, that the *Mæcenasses* of the Times may not, like great Jacks in a Pool, devour their Inferiors, and make Poverty a Pavement for themselves to trample on. This hath been a Burthen we have long groaned under; for if a great one did but say the Word, it was sufficient to evict my Right, even from my own Inheritance. They had both Law and Justice so in a String, that they could command them with a Nod; and thus People have been disinherited of their common Right; the Law which is as due to them, as the Air they breathe in.

On the other Side, we must take Care, that the common People may not carve themselves out Justice, by their Multitudes. Of this we have too frequent Experience, by their breaking down Inclosures, and by raising other Tumults, to as ill Purposes: Which if they be not suddenly suppressed, to how desperate an Issue, this may grow, I will leave to your better Judgments. My humble Motion therefore is, that an Intimation may go forth, unto the Country, to wish those that are injured to resort to Courts of Law. And, if there they fail of Justice, in Parliament they may be confident to receive it.

A compendious History of the Taxes of *France*, and of the oppressive Methods of raising them. *London*, Printed by *J. M. and B. B. for Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms*, in *Warwick-lane*, 1694. Quarto, containing forty Pages.

To the Right Honourable *Thomas Earl of Stamford*, Lord *Gray of Grooby*, &c.

My Lord,

THE Design of this Treatise being only to inspire the English Nation with a greater Love of their Liberties, by representing, in its true Colours, the miserable Slavery to which France is reduced, it could not properly be addressed to any other, than to a publick Assertor of the publick Liberty. But, amongst the several Competitors for that glorious Title, I think, I may with Justice say, no Person has so good a Claim to it, as your Lordship: Your being committed to the Tower, and a Scaffold erected for your Tryal, are Demonstrations, that they, who then conspired the Ruin of England, looked upon your Lordship as a principal Bulwark that obstructed their Design; and, therefore, did their utmost to remove you, in order to their farther Progress. Your Lordship's sufferings, for the Nation's Safety, intitled you to the general Thanks of the Kingdom; though, I must not say, your Lordship was the only Nobleman that was struck at by the Persecution (not to say Tyranny) of those Times.

But whosoever recalls to Mind the Transactions of 1688, must, wilhal, remember the important Services wherewith you signalised yourself, for the Rescue of this Nation. You, my Lord, amongst the illustrious Undertakers, durst shew a good Example, by appearing the first in Arms, and displaying, in open Field, the Colours of Liberty, thereby giving Life to that famous, but languishing, Association, when it had been almost cast away in a Storm at Sea.

This is a glorious Circumstance, and, must be allowed, peculiar to your Lordship.

There are some Persons in the World, who appear very zealous for their Country, and for their Princes; and yet have been so unhappy, as not to escape the Prejudices of having their Zeal been thought to have chiefly centered on their private Interests: What your Lordship has done, leaves no Room for any such Suspicion; for Nothing can be found more disinterested.

You have vigorously asserted the Right of your Country and as vigorously expressed your Zeal to their Majesties, in contributing so much to the Placing the Crown on their Heads, and afterwards, your Fidelity, in that great Share which it is well known your Lordship had in its further Settlement, by the Recognition Bill.

You have done all to an eminent Degree, and all this too at your own Expence: For, hitherto, your great and noble Services have only been their own Reward.

What

What I have as yet mentioned, concerning your Lordship, has been only with Relation to publick Affairs, and the Service of their present Majesties; but what could I not say of those shining Qualities and Virtues which are conspicuous in your Lordship, and render you eminently valuable to all those who have the Honour of being personally acquainted with you?

These are Particulars I could easily enlarge upon, without fearing any other Censure than that of your own Modesty, which I am unwilling to offend; but Justice obliges me, at least, to say, That what your Lordship has performed for the Publick, deserveth the Gratitude that distinguished the first Age of the Roman Commonwealth; and will be admired, so long as People retain any Sense of, and Love for Liberty.

These, my Lord, must needs be the Sentiments of all true Englishmen; since, even Natives of other Countries are charmed with so extraordinary a Merit, for which I cannot but express the greatest Veneration, though I was born and bred up in a Country wholly infected with Servitude. Wherefore, upon so just an Occasion, I thought it my Duty, as it is my Ambition, to profess myself, with all imaginable Respect and Sincerity,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble

and most obedient Servant.

HOW very great the Tyranny is, that the *French* King exercises over his Subjects, I hope this *English* Nation, in general, are not to learn now, because so many Learned Pens have, in their various excellent Ways of Writing, endeavoured to acquaint all the World with it. This, I must confess; but yet, at the same Time, I cannot forbear to say, that, in my Opinion, none of those admirable Authors have hit upon the true Turn of it: For though it is plain and manifest, that the *French* King could never have built so many beautiful and costly Palaces, never have bought so many Towns, corrupted and bribed into his Interests so many Men in all the Courts of *Europe*, and kept such numerous Armies as he has in Pay, without vast Sums of Money; and that that Money could be no other than the Blood and Sweat of his People: Yet, in my Judgment, such a Consequence, how natural and plain soever it be in itself, is not fitted for all Capacities. This very Consideration alone has obliged me to take another Method; and, that I may the better convince all Men of the excessive Tyranny of *Lewis XIV.*, I will not make Use of the pathological Figures of Rhetorick, but only set before the Eyes of this Nation a compendious History of the Taxes, which the *French* King's Subjects are forced to pay to their insulting Ma-

V OL. I.

ster; and, if I am not extremely mistaken, these will give us a true and impartial Idea of the Gentleness of the *French* Government, which is so much talked of, and so much admired by the Enemies of the Felicity of *England*.

Though the Execution of my Design may seem at first pretty easy; yet, when it is narrowly and thoroughly examined into, it will be found attended with innumerable Difficulties; and, I dare say, that the Matter I design to handle now, is not only an Original, but also a very dark Mystery, almost impenetrable to Strangers, and much unknown to the greatest Part of *Frenchmen* themselves. It is not then to be expected, that I should be nicely exact in every Particular; that is what I dare not promise: But what I engage myself to do, is, to advance nothing in these Papers, but what shall be most certainly true, and which I have set down, as they have occurred to my Mind, without having any Regard to the Antiquity of the Taxes I speak of. Another Difficulty which has been insuperable to me, is a genuine Translation of the Names which the *French* have given to those Impositions: For, as *England* has always vigorously preserved her Liberties, the very Words, which express the Servitude and Slavery of other Nations, are wanting in her Language. O fortunate Island! Mayest thou for ever continue in that happy Ignorance.

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of

ARTICLE I.

Of the TAILLE.

THE *Taille* is a Tax or Subsidy, which was formerly granted to the Kings of *France*, by the three Estates of the Kingdom, upon some extraordinary and emergent Occasions: But, in Process of Time, it became a Tax *Jure Divino*, and was continued in Succession by arbitrary Power. *Lewis the Eleventh*, who was the first that openly invaded the Liberties of his Subjects, was also the first that raised this Tax without the Consent of the three Estates, and who made it successive likewise. The *Taille* is threefold; *viz.* Real, Personal, and Mixed. Real is, when it is only imposed upon Lands, as in some Parts of the Province of *Guienne*, where a Man must pay a certain Sum to the King for every Acre of Land he is possessed of. Personal is, when it is assessed upon any personal Estate; that is, among the *French*, the Money that a Man is supposed to have in his own Hands, or to be worth in Lands, and Houses, in his Industry, Art, or Ability, to get Money. Lastly, The Mixed is so denominated, because in some Parts of that Kingdom the Lands are not only assessed so much *per Acre*, but the Proprietor besides is taxed for his Money, Art, and Ability. This Explanation I thought necessary for the better Understanding of my Subject.

The Real *Taille*, though very burthensome, yet, however, it is the least heavy upon the People: For, if a Man has but forty Acres of Land, he cannot be assessed for fifty; whereas, in all Provinces of *France*, except *Guienne*, the *Taille* being every where Personal, or Mixed, a Man is assessed for what he has, and for what he has not, that being at the Discretion of the Intendants of the Provinces, or some other Officer, called *Eleus*, who are not only appointed for those Things. Hence it comes to pass Abundance of People are assessed much more than what their yearly Rent is really worth; and a Coblér, or other poor Fellow, that hath nothing in the World to live on but the Benefit of his Arms, shall yet, notwithstanding, be taxed four or five Crowns a Year. Were it not beyond my Design, I could easily

give you many Instances of the extreme Heaviness of this Tax; but, for Brevity-sake, I shall content myself with this: That a Baker, of *Gonesse* near *Paris*, was assessed for his personal Estate, tho' he had not an Inch of Land, twelve-hundred *French* Crowns a Year; that is, two-hundred seventy Pounds Sterling. This is a Pattern by which we may readily judge of the whole Piece.

To say positively what the whole Sum amounts to, that is imposed upon the Kingdom for this *Taille*, it is in a Manner impossible; for the *French* King does increase or diminish it, according as he himself pleaseth; that is to say, according to the Expences he sees himself obliged to be at. *Anno* 1684, when I was in *France*, the said Sum amounted to forty Millions of *French* Livres, that is, above three Millions Sterling: But, if we consider, that, at that Time the *French* King had Peace with all the World, we may easily believe that this Tax exceeds now fifty Millions and above. How this Tax is imposed and levied, all inquisitive Persons, I hope, will be glad to know; and therefore, for their Satisfaction, I will relate it as plainly as the Darkeness of the Matter will permit.

The King resolveth first in his Council what Sum of Money is to be levied on his Subjects; then Commissions are issued forth to the general Treasurers of the Generalities of the Kingdom, to give them Power to levy the Sum agreed upon. These Commissions being received, the Treasurers make a Division of the Sum to be levied, proportionable to the Extent of the several Elections under them; which Division, or Repartition, is sent to the King, who thereupon sends a Commission to the Officers of each Election, by which they are ordered and enabled to raise such a Sum in their respective Districts. These Officers meet, and make the Registers of Taxes, wherein each Town, Borough, Hamlet, or Parish, is assessed. Each Parish has one of those Registers sent to it, whereupon the Inhabitants make Choice of one or more of them to raise the

the Sum assessed by the Officers of the Elections. These are called Collectors, and they tax each Inhabitant according to his Estate: But, though they are forbidden to do it out of any Ill-will or Malice, yet they will ease their Friends, though they crush others: And this is the Cause of a great many Mischiefs, and of divers Families being absolutely ruined by these unjust Stewards.

The Kingdom of *France* being so very great, it is not forty nor fifty Millions that would ruin its Inhabitants, were that Sum but equally shared; but, as I have already observed, some being eased, when others are over-charged, and this Misfortune coming upon every Man in his Turn, the Collectors being changed so every Year, it happens that at last all become poor and miserable. Well; we have now seen how that Tax is imposed; let us, in the next Place, see how it is levied. Should, I say, that the Manner of collecting the *Taille*, is very near as grievous as the *Taille* itself, I should say nothing but what is very true, though at first it seems almost incredible. To clear therefore this Point, I shall observe to you only, that, the People being grown very poor, they cannot exactly pay all that they are assessed; and upon Failure thereof, which must be Quarterly, the General Receiver or Treasurer of each Election immediately sends an Officer, called *Porteur de Contrainte*, or Commissary, to quarter upon the Collectors or Inhabitants of such a Parish, which is so in Arrear, with two or three Men, whose Pay amounts to thirteen or fourteen Shillings a Day, where they remain till they have other Orders from the Receiver, which he never grants but upon full Payment. And, though this Way of Levying is rude and severe, yet it is very gentle, if compared with what they do in some Provinces of *France*, where the Receivers, instead of Commissaries, make Use of Soldiers, whom they quarter at Discretion upon those who make the least Default in Payment. And this is nothing less than Dragooning. It is also worth our Remark to observe, that when an Inhabitant is become so poor, as he is utterly unable to pay his Tax, or suppose that the Collector should prove a Rogue, and play away the King's Money, the other Inhabitants are bound to answer for each of these Disasters.

There are some Provinces in *France* that are not liable to the *Taille*; for those of *Bur-*

gundy, *Britanny*, and *Languedoc* are free from it, at least as to the Name: For truly, at the Bottom, they pay too as well as the rest; but with this only Difference, that, instead of *Taille*, their Subsidy is called *Don Gratuit*, a Free Gift of the Estates of those Provinces. What those of *Burgundy* give, I cannot tell at present; but the Free Gifts of *Britanny* and *Languedoc* amount every Year to above Six-hundred-thousand Pounds of our *English* Money. Those, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the State of *France*, will likely fall into a great Mistake at the first Reading of this, and fancy to themselves, that the States of those Provinces are like the Parliament of *England*; but, lest I should give any Occasion for so great an Error, I think it necessary to explain myself. The Truth is, that the States of *Languedoc* and *Britanny* were formerly like those of *England*, but now they are only a Shadow of what they have been. They meet every Year, and, upon their Meeting, the Governor of the Provinces, or some other great Lord, demands from them, in the Name of the King, three or four Millions of Livres, more or less, as the King pleaseth. His Speech, for the Formality-sake, is indeed taken into Consideration; but the Sum must be granted, with this only Shadow or Remain of Authority, that they grant somewhat less, perhaps, by fifty Crowns, than the King hath demanded. This is all; for they have no Power to meddle with any other Affairs. After such a Digression, which I have thought necessary for my Reader's Information, give me Leave to resume the Thread of my Discourse.

Some Towns also are free from the *Taille*; but instead of that they pay some other Duties, more than an Equivalent with that horrid Tax: Those Duties are called Entries; but they deserve to be considered a-part by themselves in another Article, which will be no less curious, or useful to be known. Where the *Taille* is Personal, the Noblemen and Chief Magistrates, as Counsellors in Parliament, are also free from it, at least as to their personal Estate; but their Lands are assessed, as well as those of other Men, except seven or eight Acres, and provided they plough them themselves, that, as the King is resolved to lose nothing, it happens that their Farmers are a great deal more taxed than other Men; and I

remember thereupon, that a Farmer of a Manor at *Villeneuve St. George*, called *Les Bergeres*, about four Leagues from *Paris*, was assessed every Year * Nine-hundred Livres, though he paid but Five-hundred to his Landlord, Monsieur de *Commartin*, Counsellor of State.

These are the Observations I have thought fit to make upon the *Taille*, which, I hope, will give a pretty clear Idea of it: I will now proceed to consider the Consequences of it: For it is not of this Monster, like that of the Naturals, that those die without any Issue, but this has a numerous Posterity. The first is the *Taillon*, which is an additional Tax, and that was raised at first by *Henry the Second*, Anno 1549, towards the Increase of the Pay of his *Gens d'Armes*, who then lay billeted in Villages, and to enable them to pay their Hosts whatever they had from them. The poor Countrymen thought then to have got a little Ease; but soon after they became as much oppressed by their unruly Guests as ever: So that whatever had been pretended to them, for their Ease, proved only a Trick to drain their Purfes the more. Now every body knows, that the Custom of Billetting the *Gens d'Armes*, in Villages, has been laid aside; but, for all that, the *Taillon* is still continued, and so the People are bound to pay it, which amounts to above the third Part of the *Taille*.

The other Children of that Monster are the Contributions which the *French King* raises upon his Subjects, and a Subsidy for the Winter Quarters of his Soldiers. To explain this, it must be observed, that, in Time of War, the *French King* is obliged to quarter his Troops upon the Frontiers, as also, or at least

the greatest Part of them, in Time of Peace, because of the numerous Garisons he is forced to have: Now, to keep them in Pay, there is a general Assessment laid upon most of the Towns of the Kingdom, whereby they are forced to pay the Subsidy called the Winter Quarters, at the Rate of Five-pence a Day for each private Centinel; and because the Country People are bound to contribute Oats and Hay for the Maintenance of the Horse that are garisoned in the Towns, when the Troops are in *Flanders*, or in other Frontiers, they are likewise forced to convert those Oats and Hay into Money; and this is called Contribution, which brings to the King a great Sum of Money; those Commodities being valued at the Discretion of those Officers who are appointed for that Purpose. Now, what Sum that Subsidy or Contributions produce, it is impossible to determine; but it cannot but be very great, considering the vast Number of Soldiers that the *French King* has in Pay, and the Numbers of the Towns he has in *France*.

And yet, how chargeable soever that Subsidy is, the *French Soldiers* are such insulking and fawcy Guests, that the People would pay twice as much more, if they could but free themselves from those troublesome Visits: And this Insolence is countenanced by the Government so much the more, because of the great Advantage the King receiveth by it, many Towns paying more to be free from their Winter Quarters, than they do for the *Taille*; which they should not do, were these Soldiers kept under as severe a Discipline as they are in *England*, and only quartered in Publick Houses.

ARTICLE II.

Of the GABELLE.

THIS is not so much a Tax laid by the *French King* upon his People, as it is the Engrossing of a Trade to himself, whereby his Subjects are forced to buy the Salt from him at his Granaries, and at his own Price. How great a Profit he maketh of that Commodity, few People know; and, I am afraid, that few will believe what I am going to say upon

that Subject: For, though we are used to hear of the great and advantageous Returns, that our Merchants receive from the *East* and *West Indies*, yet they are not to be compared to what the *French King* gets upon his Subjects by this *Gabelle*.

How common Salt is in *France*, those that have travelled in the *Pays d'Aunis*, or *Xain-*

* Sixty-nine Pounds four Shillings and Six-pence Sterling.

sange, cannot be ignorant of ; but, for those who have not seen the Salt-Marshes of that Country, I hope, it will be sufficient to let them know, That a certain Measure, called *Muyds de Bosse*, weighing five-thousand two-hundred Pounds, is bought there, at some Times, for three Shillings and six Pence, and never dearer than four Shillings and six Pence of *English Money*. It is there that the *French King* buys that Commodity, to sell it again to his Subjects, in all the Provinces of his Kingdom, except *Poitou, Xaintonge, Guienne, and Britanny*, where the *Gabelle* is not as yet imposed. There may be also some other Tracts of Land free from that Tax, but they are very inconsiderable.

Now, to understand what Profit he maketh upon that Merchandise, it ought to be observed, That the *Muyds de Bosse* contains fifty-two other Measures, called *Minots*, that is, one-hundred Pounds Weight ; and that each *Minot* is sold, at this Time, in *Paris*, at the King's Granaries, for sixty-four *Livres* : So that, there being fifty-two *Minots* in each *Muyds de Bosse*, as I have said, it follows, That the same Quantity of Salt that the *French King* buys for four Shillings and six Pence, at utmost, is sold to his Subjects, at his Granaries in *Paris*, for three-thousand three-hundred and twenty-eight *Livres* ; that is, two-hundred and fifty-six Pounds Sterling. It is true, it is not sold at that Rate in all the Provinces where the *Gabelle* is imposed ; but there is a very inconsiderable Difference ; and now every where near *Paris*, as in *Normandy*, &c. it bears the same Price.

I do not question, but that, at the first Sight of so extravagant a Price, many People will be apt to think, that I impose upon their Credulity ; but there are so many considerable Witnesses of what I say, in this Kingdom, it is very easy for any Man to enquire into the Truth of this Matter : I must only give you this Caution, That, in Time of Peace, the *Minot*, which is now sold for sixty-four *Livres*, was then bought for forty-four Pounds, but, with this Difference alone, the whole Account is but pure Matter of Fact.

How necessary soever the Commodity of Salt be, that high Price would discourage many People from making Use of it ; but, to prevent that, there are such good Orders made, that it is impossible to avoid it. First, The Importing of foreign Salt is forbidden, upon Pain of Death : So that, let the Salt of the

King's Granaries be never so dear, yet, because it is absolutely necessary, the *French* are forced to buy it. Secondly, Salt is imposed upon the People there, as the *Taille* ; so that each Family must take every Year a certain Quantity of it, proportioned to the Number of their Family and Estate ; and so, let them be never so willing to eat their Bread and Meat without Salt, yet the King will lose nothing by it.

This is the Reason that some Provinces are said to be liable to the Salt of Granaries, and others to the Salt of Imposition. To understand this Distinction, it must be observed, That in *Paris*, and some other Cities and Countries, Salt is not imposed upon the Inhabitants as the *Taille* ; and that, if they buy any, it is out of Necessity, and not from any other Violence : But, in *Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Anjou*, and other Places, there are Officers appointed to examine each Family, and to assess them a *Minot* more or less, according to their Number and Estate. Let People say what they will, as, That they are so poor, as that they are unable to pay it, they must take the Quantity assessed ; and, if they do not pay it within six Months after, they must expect a Military Execution ; and God knows how severe that is.

A Man so compelled to buy a Commodity, which is a great deal too dear for his Purse, would gladly sell it again, could he find a favourable Opportunity. And there is nothing in this, but what is very natural ; but there are such Penalties, both for the Buyer and Seller, that it is very dangerous for either of them to drive on such a Trade. The first Offence is punished with a Fine ; but, in Case the Offender be unable to pay it, he is condemned to the Penalty of the second Offence, which is Corporal ; viz. To be branded with a red Flower-de-Lis upon the Cheek, or the Shoulder. And so hard a Punishment ought, one would think, to deter any Man from offending twice : Yet there are some who offend a third Time ; and those, upon Conviction, are sent Slaves to the Gallies, were it only for a Pound of Salt, given, sold, lent, or bartered. The same Punishment is inflicted upon the *Faux Sauniers* ; that is, a Sort of People, who, invited by the high Price of Salt, convey it secretly from *Poitou* and *Britanny*, into the Provinces liable to the *Gabelle*.

The Fishermen, and other Inhabitants of the Sea-coasts, would have a very officious Neigh-

Neighbour, were they but suffered to make Use of Salt-water : But, to hinder it, there are Watches appointed ; and, were a Man once convicted for having made Use of it, he would be no less severely punished than a *Faux Saunier*.

How heavy that cursed Gabelle is upon the *French* Nation, will appear, I hope, by what I have already said : But yet, were it fairly managed, it would not however be intolerable : For it is certain, that the Cheats and Knave-ries, committed on that Account, are more to be feared than the Imposition itself. This Tax robs a Man but of his Money ; but the Managers of it can deprive him both of his Reputation, Life, and Estate : For the Tools of Slavery and Arbitrary Power being always, and every where alike, I mean covetous, base, unmerciful, and treacherous, it happens, many Times, that, under Colour of searching a Man's House upon Pretence of forbidden Salt, they will hide some themselves in a Corner, where they are sure to find it again upon a second Visit ; and this is sufficient to fine a Man, perhaps, more than he is worth in the World. But, if a Man should have an Enemy, who is so base as to bribe the Officers of the Salt into his Interests, and oblige them to serve that Trick thrice upon him, which he can do for a little Sum of Money, that Man shall be sent a Slave to the Gallies, which is a Punishment worse a thousand Times than Death itself. This Observation is not grounded only upon a bare Peradventure, but there are many Examples of it ; and, were it not for Fear of bringing a Disgrace upon some Families that are now in *England*, I could produce very good Authorities.

I have said, that the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Britanny*, and *Guienne*, are free from the Gabelle ; and, perhaps, some will wonder at it ; and, should I omit to say what I know upon that Point, likely enough I should be blamed. That Distinction, in my Opinion, is grounded upon three Reasons :

First, *Britanny* being united to the Crown of *France* but since *Charles the Eighth*, who married the Heiress of that fine Duchy, it is no Wonder that the Inhabitants of that Province have greater Privileges than others. And so I may say the same Thing as to *Poitou* and *Guienne*, those Countries being formerly sub-

jected to the Crown of *England*. But as for *Xaintonge*, or *Pays d'Aunis*, truly there is another particular Reason : For,

First, Would it not be too severe, nay, and inconsistent too with the *French* King's Interests, to impose the Gabelle in that very Place where the Salt is made ?

Secondly, If we consider how common and general the Insurrections were in *Britanny* and *Guienne*, in 1674, when the *French* King attempted to put that burthensome Excise upon them, perhaps we shall find a reasonable Cause to conclude, That, if the Gabelle be not introduced in those Provinces, it is purely because the Inhabitants are no Ways disposed to suffer it. Their Insurrection was so great, that they were forced to give over that Design ; and, had the Confederates but made Use of that favourable Opportunity, it might have proved of fatal Consequence to the Grandeur of that Prince.

Thirdly, Though these Reasons seem very probable, and it is possible that they have in a Measure contributed to the Ease of those Provinces ; yet I take the *French* King to be so great an Enemy to every Thing that has but the Shadow of Liberty, and so jealous of his arbitrary Power, that, I do verily believe, he would have crushed the pretended Privileges of those Provinces, and imposed upon them the Gabelle, had he not been kept from it by other Considerations : What they were, I cannot tell, except those great Sums of Money which those Counties have, *finance*, from Time to Time, presented to the King ; at least, I know this, That they were given for that End, that so they might be free from that terrible Tax : And I see no Cause why I may not conclude, That this is the principal Reason, why they have not yet undergone a Fate that is common to all the other Provinces of *France*.

Now an Excise that is so heavy and burthensome, would bring into the King's Coffers a World of Money, were he not forced to be at such vast Expences ; *first*, in transporting of Salt from the Place where it is made, into other Provinces ; and, *secondly*, in maintaining above Twenty-thousand Men, that are employed about raising the Gabelle, or for Watching over the *Faux Sauniers*, and others, who would cheat the King otherwise, in all Probability.

ARTICLE III.

Des AIDES. Of AID S.

LES Aides are an Excise upon Wine, which is very considerable ; but, for the better Understanding of it, I must, in the first Place, tell you something of the Measures that are used in *Paris*. We had so great a Trade at *Bordeaux* for Wine, that, I believe, very few are ignorant of what the Measure is the *French* call there a *Tonneau* ; but in *Paris*, and the Environs of that City, they speak only of *Muyds*, which is the third Part of a *Tonneau*, and contains about Two-hundred and eighty Pints, *Paris* Measure, which is about as many *London* Quarts. And now, after this Explanation, I will proceed.

When the Proprietors of the Vineyards about *Paris* have sold their Wine, they are obliged to declare it at a certain Office, which is appointed for that Purpose, in a convenient Place, and to tell the Officers, or Clerks, at what Price they sold it *per Muyd*, and to pay one Penny *per* * *Livre*, besides an additional Duty of six Pence half Penny *per Muyd*. The Wine-Coopers, or whoever have bought that Wine to be carried into *Paris*, are forced to make a like Declaration at the Gates of the City, and to pay the like Sum, *viz.* one Penny *per Livre*, and sixteen Pence half Penny *per Muyd* for the additional Duty. But here we must take Notice, That this second Office has a greater Power than the first ; for, by their own Authority, they may arbitrarily put what Price they please upon the Wine, which very much increases the Duties upon it ; and, God knows, they seldom, if ever, fail of this. But, over and above all these Impositions, they pay for the Duty of Entry twenty-two *Livres per Muyd* to the King, besides some other Duties to the Town-House. Wine being thus brought into their Cellars, they then must pay yearly to the King eight *Livres* one Sous, or Penny half Penny, for having the Liberty to sell it again : And, when they sell it, they must make again the like Declaration as before, and pay the like Sums. As these Duties and Declarations were too frequent, the Wine-Coopers used formerly to conceal the true Price of Wine ;

but now they dare not do it, for Fear of being caught : For the Excisemen knowing the general Price of Wine, as well as the Wine-Coopers themselves, and having Power to take it, paying to the Coopers the Price he has put upon it in his Declaration, they would run the Risk of suffering great Loss and Damage.

We have hitherto seen what the Duties are that the Wine-Merchants pay ; let us see now what those are that are imposed upon the Vintners, I mean, those who sell Wine by Retail. It is not free for any Man in *Paris* to set up a Sign and sell Wine, as it is in *London* ; I mean, after he has served an Apprenticeship, the Time appointed by the Customs : This Liberty must be obtained from the *French* King ; and, for it, a Man must pay yearly eight *Livres* one Sous, or Penny half Penny ; this is called *The Duty of Sign*. Besides, they were formerly obliged to give the eighth Part of the Money they received for the Sale of their Wine ; but, because this was too troublesome, as well to the King's Officers, as to the Vintners themselves, they made an Agreement to pay eight *Livres* one Sous half Penny, for every *Muyd* of Wine they sell, let it be good or bad. This is what the *French* call *Le Huitieme*, and in what Duties that great Excise upon Wine doth consist, call *Les Aides*, I think now not improper to re-capitulate, all those Duties, that we may see, in one View, what they amount to.

And, the better to illustrate the Matter, I must put a Price upon the *Muyd* of Wine, and see what Money comes to the King by the Sale of that *Muyd*, that is somewhat like our Hogshead, but a little larger, containing about two-hundred and eighty Quarts. The common Price, about *Paris*, was, in Time of Peace, eighteen or twenty *Livres per Muyd*, but now it is four Times as dear again : Supposing, however, for our Purpose, that a *Muyd* of Wine be sold in the Vineyards for eighteen *Livres*, that is, near twenty-seven Shillings of our Money, the Proprietor must pay, in the first Place, two Shillings and Ten-

* The *French Livre* is Eighteen-pence Sterling.

pence Half penny, for the first Duty of the Declaration; the like Sum must be paid by the Wine Merchant at the Gates of the City, supposing the Officers to be honest (but, if they will put a higher Price upon it, for it absolutely depends on their Roguery, or Capricchio, I cannot say Nothing to that) and twenty-two Livres, besides, for the Duty of Entry; so that it is manifest, a Hogthead of Wine, which was sold for twenty-seven Shillings Sterling, pays to the King, besides some Duties to the *Town-House*, thirty-eight Shillings and Nine-pence.

These are the Duties of the first Sale: Now let us suppose, that the same Muid be sold to a Vintner: As the Wine Merchant must get Something to live, he cannot sell it for less than sixty Livres, having laid out forty-three already, besides the Expences of the Carriage; upon which, he must pay again, for the Declaration, one Penny *per Livre*; and the additional Duty, which comes to five Shillings and Ten pence Half-penny; and the Vintner, besides, being obliged to pay eight Livres, one Penny Half-penny; it followeth, that the King receiveth, from this second Sale, twelve Livres and Seven-pence, that is, nineteen Shillings and Six-pence one Farthing, of our *English* Money, which, being joined to thirty-nine Shillings and Nine-pence of the first Sale, it appears, that a Muid of Wine, sold at first for twenty-seven Shillings, pays to the King, two Pounds, nineteen Shillings, and Three-pence Farthing.

Now, it is not only in *Paris* that these *Aides* are imposed, but all the Provinces of this Kingdom, except *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, *Limosin* and *Britanny*, are liable to this Excise. Indeed, the Entries are not so considerable in the other Towns, as they are in *Paris*; but they pay every where the *Huitieme*, that is, the eighth Part of the Price for their Wine. And as to the Countries, because there can be no Duty of Entry laid on them, they buy therefore, in Lieu of it, another, which, in my Opinion, is much worse. As soon as ever the Vintage is over, the *Rats de Cave*, *Cellar Rats* (so the People call the Officers for the *Aides*) go into every Man's Cellar, be he of what Sort soever, and take an exact Account of the Wine they hve in them: And, three Months after, they make a second Search, to see what is become of that Wine; and, if any has been sold, they must straight produce the Acquittances of the

Office, which is appointed for the Declaration of the Price, and of the additional Duty, which I have already explained. And as for Wine which has been drank in the Family, they pay another Duty, called *Le trop bu*, that is to say, *Too much drunk*; and this Tax amounts to eight Livres, or twelve Shillings Sterling. Now, this Visit, coming Quarterly, must needs be very troublesome: But is not this an undeniable Proof of the fatherly Care the *French* King takes of his People? Perhaps, they would otherwise make an immoderate Use of the Creature; but this Duty indoctrinates them to be sober, in Pity to their Purfes.

I had forgot, the Province of *Normandy* must also be excepted; though others pay only the eighth Part, but this pays the Fourth of all the Liquors that are sold in Publick Houses, as Wine, Beer, Cyder, Aquavite, and the like; so that, if a Quart of Wine should be sold for two Shillings, the King must have Six-pence out of it, besides all other Duties of Entry, &c. which I have before mentioned. These Duties of Entry are different one from the other, almost in every Town; but at *Rouen*, the Capital City of the Province, they amount to fifteen-Livres *per Muid*, that is, twenty-two Shillings and Six-pence Sterling. I cannot say positively, what it is they pay for Cyder, or Beer, but, as much as I can remember of it, it is about the fourth Part of what they pay for Wine. It is likewise to be observed, that, because *Normandy* produces no Wine, and there are excessive Customs every where upon the Frontiers of that Province, as well as the Sea Ports; therefore, instead of the *Quatrieme*, or fourth Part, the King receives above one Half.

When I said, that the Duty of Entry for Wine amounts, at *Paris*, but to twenty-two Livres, or thirty-three Shillings and Nine-pence Sterling, it is to be understood, of the most common Wine; for the best pay a great deal more. The Muscadine, for Instance, pays two Pounds ten Shillings, and the Aquavite three Pounds, sixteen Shillings, and Six-pence: But I must observe to you, that the Aquavite pays a double Duty, that is, the fourth Part instead of the Eighth.

Though *Britanny* be a *Pays d'Etats*, as the *French* call it, yet it hath a terrible Excise there upon Wine. Such are the great and little Duties of the States, which come to a hundred Livres, or seven Pounds, thirteen Shillings,

Shillings, and Nine-pence Sterling, *per Tonneau*, *Bordeaux* Measure, that is, four Hogheads of Wine, containing, in all, about eight-hundred and forty of our *London* Quarts. And, though this Excise is raised upon Wine, sold only in Publick Houses, and no where else, yet, about six Years ago, was it let to Farm for three Millions of Livres, which amounts to two-hundred thirty-thousand seven-hundred sixty-nine Pounds, four Shillings, and Six-pence Sterling, whereof, two Millions five-hundred-thousand Livres are paid to the King, and the other Five-hundred-thousand, are to bear the Charges of the States of the said Province. Over and above these Duties, there is another, called *Impost* and *Billot*, belonging only to the King, which brings every Year

into his Coffers five-hundred-thousand Livres. This Duty consists in thirty-four Shillings and Seven-pence, which the King takes there upon every Ton of Wine. He hath also a Custom of three Shillings and Nine-pence upon every Ton of Wine, brought to *Britanny* by Sea: So that all these Duties, when compared together, make it plainly manifest, that the Excise upon every Ton of Wine amounts to nine Pounds, four Shillings, and Six-pence, which is more than the Price of the Wine. This, I think, is sufficient to explain the Matter I was to make out, *viz.* Wherein consisted the Excise upon Wines, which the *French* call *Les Aides*; but, to have it more clearly understood, I would again desire the Reader, to read it with Care and Attention.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the ENTRIES.

THIS is a general Excise upon every Thing that comes to *Paris*; for Nothing there is free, but Air, besides the River, which runs through the Middle of the City. I wish I could be as particular upon this Article, as I have been upon the others; but it cannot reasonably be expected, that the Memory of a Man is able to supply him, for such an Undertaking; however, I will do my Endeavour to explain it, as well as I can.

In the Entries of *Paris* and *Rouen*, there is included a Duty, which the *French* call *Pie-fourchie*, that is, an Excise upon all Cloven-footed Beasts; as Oxen, Sheep, Swine, and the like. They pay for every Ox, at this Time, nine Shillings Sterling; for a Cow, seven Shillings and Six-pence; three Shillings and Four-pence, for a Calf, or a Hog; half a Crown for a Sheep, and five Groats for a Lamb. I say, at this Time, for in Times of Peace, this Duty was not so high by one half. There is a Duty too upon Fowls, which is Four-pence *per Livre*, let unto Farm, near twenty-five thousand Pounds.

The Imposition that is laid upon Timber, and other Wood, fit for Work and Service, is lett, or, at least, was so some Years ago, for fifteen-thousand three-hundred eighty-four Pounds, twelve Shillings Sterling, *per Annum*.

That upon Fire-wood amounts to much more; but, indeed, I cannot now remember,

nor learn, how much the just Sum is: But this I can say, that they pay one Shilling and Three-pence, for every Load of Fire-wood; and whosoever will consider the Largeness of the City of *Paris*, the Number of Families in it, and, that they burn no Sea-Coal, cannot but agree, That this Tax must bring in a vast Sum of Money to the Exchequer. I must plead the like Excuse, as to the Duties of Entry laid upon Charcoal, and Hay, and both salt and fresh Fish; but the Reader may easily guess, that they are not in any Disproportion to those I have already mentioned.

Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and all Manner of Herbs, pay Four-pence per *Livre*, that is, four Shillings *per Pound*.

If all the Money, accruing from those Impositions, were brought into the King's Treasury, it would amount to a vast Sum; but it must be observed, that, from Time to Time, the *French* King createth, to use the *French* Phrase, many Employments *en Titre d'Office*, that is, Hereditary Employments, to be Overseers of the Sales of certain Commodities, with a Privilege, that no Body shall sell what they sell themselves; and, besides, they take for their own Use one Part of the Duties that are laid upon some certain Commodities. Some Years ago, there were forty-four *Jurez*, so they call them, created all at once, to sell, or appraise Fowls, and each of them paid down above three-

thousand Pounds, and, to repay themselves, they took three Half-pence *per Livre*. A like Number was created for Fish, with the same Salary. Those for Hay are far more numerous, but then they are not altogether so dear, for they may be bought for two-thousand three-hundred seven Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Six-pence. Those upon Charcoal cost above three-thousand Pounds, but they are not many; but those upon Wood are innumerable; and I am very well informed, that the *French King* has received, out of those Offices for Wood, near two Millions four-hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. Now, to repay themselves, they are allowed, as I have said, some Duties; but the *King*, very often, demands from them some ready Money, and this increaseth their Duties so much the more, and is the Reason, that all Manner of Things are grown, *gradatim* in *Paris*, to such an excessive Price; for there is a general Excise upon all Things that come into that City, even to the very Ashes, and old Lees of Wine; and the Duty, laid upon

them, was lett at twelve-hundred twenty-three Pounds, one Shilling, and Sixpence.

And this Duty of Entry is not particular only to *Paris*; for it is imposed upon most Parts of *France*, with this only Difference, That the Duties are not exacted so high, everywhere. One Example of this, I hope, will be sufficient:

At *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Place well known to our *Englishmen*, they pay, for every Pound of Butter, a Half-penny.

For a Load of Firewood, Ten-pence.

For a Load of Timber, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence.

For a Load of Hay, one Shilling and Eight-pence.

For a Horse-Load of Wood, as they use in that Country, Two-pence Half-penny.

For a Horse-Load of Fish, three Shillings and Five-pence.

For the Load of a Man, or Woman, of Fish, Eight-pence. And,

For a Horse-Load of Corn, one Shilling.

ARTICLE V.

Of the King's DEMESN and CUSTOMS.

I Have but very little to say upon these Heads, for I do not look on them to be an Effect of Arbitrary Power: All Crowns in the World must have a sufficient Revenue, either in Lands, or Customs, to support them; and so has the Crown of *France*. But, as the *French Kings* have, within this last Century, very much enlarged their Primitive Power, it is no Wonder, if they have increased, likewise, their ancient Patrimony. The Duty joined to the Demesne, which I take to be Tyrannical, is that called *Lods & Ventes*; that is, a certain Sum of Money, which People are forced to pay, whenever they sell their Estates, or any Part of them. Indeed, this Duty is not in all Places alike; in the Country, where the Customary Law of *Paris* is received, the Buyer is obliged to pay the King the Twelfth-penny: That is to say, out of Twelve-thousand Pounds, one Thousand; But, at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, they pay three Shillings and Four-pence, out of every Pound; and that Duty is paid, the one Half by the Buyer, and the other Half by the Seller. This is very hard,

This Tax, for truly it deserves no better a Name, is not of the Creation of this *French King*; but, about twelve Years ago, he created another very like it: For he ordered, That all People should pay the same Duty, whenever they bartered their Lands, as if they had sold them for ready Money. This was harder yet than the other; and never were the *French King's* Subjects so much harassed and plagued upon Account of any Tax, as they have been of this: For they have been forced to pay the Arrears thereof, if I may so call it, having been called to give an Account for these twenty Years last past.

The *Traites Foraines*, or Customs, are a Duty laid upon all Commodities, that are exported from *France*, or imported into it: But this, in itself, is not very surprising; since some such Duty as this is generally over all the World, and is, no Doubt, the slightest of all Taxes; yet the *French King* has raised it to such a vast Degree, that it is become absolutely Tyrannical and Slavish. I will give you but one Instance, *viz.* upon Sugar, which pays

pays Three-pence per Pound. Another Observation; I shall make upon these Customs, is, That the following Provinces, to wit, *Britanny, Poictou, Xaintonge, Guienne, Languedock, Provence, Dauphine, Lorrain*, and the *New Conquests*, being looked upon all of them as Foreign States, there is another Custom upon all Commodities that are exported or imported into these Provinces, which is so severe

and rigorous, as if they were exported into *Holland*. Why these Provinces should be accounted Foreign States, I could never hear any other Reason given, but that formerly they were subjected to some particular Princes, and not to the Crown of *France*; but pray, Was not *Normandy* ruled by her own Dukes, as well as *Aquitain*?

ARTICLE VI.

Of several Taxes, and Creations of Offices.

THE Offices of Counsellors in Parliament, in *France*, are not disposed of like those in *England*, for these are given *Gratis*, but the others are sold by the *French King*. There is also another considerable Difference between them, *viz.* That the Place of a Judge, here, is, *Quam diu bene se gesserit*; whereas the Employments of Counsellors in Parliament in *France* are Hereditary: But this must be observed, that, to keep those Places to their Families, they are obliged to pay every Year a Duty, which is called *Paulette*, from one *Paulet*, who was the first that contrived this Tax. This Duty amounts to fifty Pounds *per Annum* for each Counsellor; and, besides all this, they are forced likewise to make a Loan, or rather, a Gift to the King, every five Years, which is nine Times as much as the Annual Duty; and, should they fail Performing these Conditions, they presently lose their Right of Inheritance. Whenever a Counsellor dies, or, by any Resignation, his Son comes into his Place, he must pay another Duty, which amounts to the eighth Part of the Price of the Place, whatever it be; so that, if the Place be valued at fifty-thousand Crowns, he must pay above Six-thousand. There is an Office appointed, for the Receiving of this Money, and for the Sale of vacant Places, called *Le Bureau des Parties casuelles*.

The *Decimes*, or Tenthhs of the Clergy, is a Tax, which all the Clergy-men of the Kingdom pay to the King out of their Livings. This Tax, at first, was granted the Kings of *France*, upon Pretence of a War against the *Infidels*; and, if I am not mistaken, it began in 1189. It was very inconsiderable at first, as appears by its very Name, and granted only for a certain Time; but succeeding Kings

have found out a Way to raise it, and not only so, but to make it perpetual. This present King especially, the most ingenious and exquisite Prince in the World, for Increasing his Revenues, has raised it, as he hath done other Taxes, according to his own Pleasure; and from the Tenth he has brought it up now to the fourth Part; so that, if a Curate hath a Living but of a hundred Pounds *per Annum*, he must pay every Year to the King twenty-five Pounds of it, besides what he is obliged to contribute towards the Free-Gift, that the Clergy make every five Years to the King. If the Clergy, who are Favourites, be so much oppressed, What must be the Condition of the Laity?

The Paper and Parchment marked was imposed in the Year 1672. And they are so called from a *Flower-de Luce*, wherewith they are stamped; all Indentures, Bonds, Agreements, Leaves; in a Word, all Manner of Writings, except private Letters, and Bills of Exchange, must be written upon this Paper or Parchment only, otherwise they are void in Law. The Paper is divided into Sheets, Half-sheets, and Quarters of a Sheet. The whole Sheet is sold for Three-pence, the Half for three Half-pence, and the Quarter for three Farthings. The Parchment is dearer, for you must give Twenty-pence for a Skin. Now whosoever considers the great Extent of *France*, must needs agree, that this must bring in a mighty Sum of Money.

At much about the same Time, that this Paper-Tax was imposed, there was another Tax found out, called *Contrôle*. Now to rightly understand, what this is, I must observe to you, that, whereas Law-suits generally begin, here in *England*, by Arrests, they be-

gin in *France* by a Summons, to appear before the Judges. This Summons must be controlled, that is, viewed and signed by an Officer, called Comptroller, whose Fee is Five pence.

All the Silver and Gold Plate that is made, throughout the Kingdom, must be also stamped with the King's Mark, and the Goldsmith pays for that three Shillings and Four-pence, for every Mark, that is, for every eight Ounces. This Duty was yearly set to Farm for twenty-five Thousand Pounds.

Pewter must be also stamped with the King's Mark, which costs one Penny *per* Pound.

The Stockings coming from Foreign Countries are also marked, and the King hath, for his Mark, Two-pence *per* Pair.

So are also all Hats, and the Duty upon them is Ten-pence a Piece.

Iron, Steel, Copper, and Leather must be also marked; but, indeed, I cannot positively say now, what the Duty is.

Every Hackney-Horse, in the Kingdom, pays yearly to the King two Crowns.

The new Tax upon Chocolate, Tea, and Coffee was let yearly at thirty-thousand seven-hundred and sixty-nine Pounds, four Shillings, and Six-pence.

In many Provinces of *France*, as in *Normandy*, &c. the Pigeon-houses are assessed in ten Years; some of them pay twenty five Crowns, others, more or less according to the Bigness of them.

The *French* Nobility and Gentry being obliged, or, at least, used to spend more than their yearly Revenue, it often happens, that they contract so many Debts, as makes them forced to sell their Estates. Now, if their noble Manors are sold to any Merchant, or other, under the Quality of a Nobleman, they must pay, every twentieth Year, a whole Year's Revenue to the King, and this is what the *French* call *Francfief*.

There is another Duty all over the Kingdom, called Barrage, which is paid by the Waggoners and Carriers, and this was employed for the Repairing of Bridges and Highways; now the King hath appropriated it all to his own Use, under the Promise, That he himself would take Care of Pavements, Bridges, &c. But, he has kept his Word herein, as religiously, as he hath the Treaty of *Nimeguen*.

Every House in *Paris* was assessed at a certain Sum for the Poor, and the Scavengers, as they are here in *London*; but the King hath obliged the Proprietors of each House, to redeem that Tax, by paying a certain Sum into his Coffers, and he hath taken upon him the Care of Keeping the Poor, and of Cleansing the Streets; but, how he hath performed what he had promised, we may learn from publick Intelligences, wherein, we are told, That all the Inhabitants of *Paris* have been now lately assessed, upon the Account of the Poor.

Besides the Duties of the Custom-House, there is a Kind of Tax upon Tobacco, I say, a Kind of Tax: Because it is rather, in Reality, an Engrossing of the Trade of that Commodity. There are a Company of People, that pay to the King a Sum of Money yearly, to have the Privilege of selling Tobacco, and that at their own Word. This Sum amounts to about sixty-thousand Pounds Sterling.

All People who let Lodgings furnished in *Paris*, and all the Inn-keepers, upon Highways, have been taxed within these three Months.

Though the Counsellors in Parliament be very numerous, yet the *French* King hath lately, I mean, since the Beginning of this War, increased their Number an Eighth in each Parliament, who have paid ready Money for their Places, each of them an hundred-thousand Livres, that is, seven-thousand six-hundred ninety-two Pounds, six Shillings, and one Penny Half-penny Sterling; and, over and above this Sum, they pay the annual Duty, as well as others; and each of them have been taxed, since that Time, twelve-thousand Livres, or nine-hundred seventy-six Pounds eighteen Shillings Sterling.

The *French* King hath erected *en Titre d'Office* the Mayors of all the Cities of the Kingdom; and, because this Place is hereditary, and those in Possession of them are free from Quartering of Soldiers, and other publick Charges, besides the Honour, they have been sold very dear. I will give but an Instance: The Mayor of *Caen* in *Normandy*, which is not one of the most considerable Cities in *France*, has paid about four-thousand Pounds Sterling.

Those, who sell any Brandy by Retail in their Shops, or in the Streets, at a Half-penny a Glass (as they use in most Parts of *France*)

have been erected also, since this War, *en Titre d'Office*, and have paid twenty-three Pounds, one Shilling, and Six-pence.

A very poor Sort of People, called, *Criers of old Shoes, Hats, and Rags*, have also been erected *en Titre d'Office*, and each of them has paid seven Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Six-pence.

The Barbers, who were Peruke-makers, were erected *en Titre d'Office* in 1672, and then they paid one-hundred fifty-three Pounds eighteen Shillings; and, soon after, they were forced to pay a like Sum; and, since this War, they have been taxed a-new, each of them at thirty-eight Pounds, seven Shillings, and Six-pence.

I will not, however, say, that in all the Cities of *France* they have paid so much; for I would have this be understood of *Paris* only; for, in the other Cities, they have paid proportionable to their Trade. Another Observation, I must make, is, That the very Country-village Barbers have been forced to take Letters of License from the King; and, I suppose, No-body will think that they are granted *gratis*, when they are so forced upon them.

The *French* King begun by the Peruke-makers to tax Tradesmen; for, in a little While after, all the other Tradesmen and Artificers throughout the Kingdom were assised likewise. To be particular in this Point would require a Volume, and so I must content myself, for Brevity's Sake, with one Example, which shall be of the Weavers of *Paris*, the most miserable Tradesmen in *France*, who were assised at seven Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Six-pence.

All Officers of Justice, as Judges, Attornies, Registers, Bailiffs, Notaries, &c. have also been taxed, every one of them, according to the Fees of their several respective Places.

The Packers have been also erected *en Titre d'Office*, but I cannot yet tell what they have paid.

Every Month produces some new found out Offices; and, about a Year ago, the Porters were erected *en Titre d'Office*, under the Title of *Bouteurs a Port*, that is, with the Privileges of unloading the Boats laden with Wine, and some other Commodities. They paid each of them about eight-hundred Pounds Sterling, and they are allowed about five Pence *per Ton*. This will look somewhat

romantick, at least, very surprizing; but it must be considered, that, these Places being hereditary, and of a great Revenue, a Man can make no better Use of his Money, than in Purchasing of them.

Since the Beginning of this War, the *French* King has created some Officers for Funerals, called *Criers*. When any Persons die, these Officers are appointed to take Care of their Funerals, which they make at what Expence they please, for No-body can oppose them, under a very great Penalty. They are allowed for their Trouble a certain Sum of Money; and, besides, they enjoy some Privileges and Immunities, as, from Quartering of Soldiers, and other Parish-charges.

There is a World of other Duties, Taxes, and Offices, which it would be too tedious to relate, and, in a Manner, impossible: But, I hope, what I have said is sufficient to convince any Man of Brains and Sense, that is not of a resolved and obstinate Inflexibility, that this *French* King hath carried his Tyranny, as well as his Prerogative, to a Degree unknown unto all former Ages; I will therefore leave this Subject, after this short Remark, That, in the new Conquests, People are no better treated, than in *France*. The Brewers in *Mons* have been lately erected *en Titre d'Office*, and have been forced to pay a hundred Crowns a-piece; a Man cannot be admitted into holy Orders without paying four Crowns, nor contract Matrimony without a License, which costs ten Shillings.

I had almost forgot Mentioning one Thing, which is even more intolerable, than the heaviest Tax I have yet spoke of, I mean, the Raising, or Lessening the current Coin; and, to explain my Meaning, I must observe to you, That, when the *French* King is at a Pinch for Money, then he raises his Coin as high as he pleaseth; and afterwards he lesseneth it, when he hath no such Need. Thus *Louis d'Ors* are risen, at this Time, from eleven to fourteen Livres, and his Crowns in Proportion; so that, whenever this War shall be at an End, People will lose four Shillings and Six-pence in every *Louis d'Or*, and sooner too, if this War continues. For the King, by his Royal Edict, will, as he hath already done several Times, set a lower Value upon the same Pieces, and command them all to be brought into the Mint, by a certain stated Time, under severe Penalties, to be new stamped;

stamped; and then afterwards he will raise the Price as high as he pleases; by which Means he will get a vast Profit himself, to the Depressi-
on and Ruin of his People. One Instance will serve to clear up this: The *Louis d'Ors*, which are current now at fourteen Livres, will be valued but at twelve, and they must be carried to the Mint, where the King will pay them in, at that Price, with his new-stamped Coin; and, some Time after, those very *Louis d'Ors*, with the new Royal Stamp,

shall be worth fourteen and fifteen Livres, or whatever other higher Value the King is pleased to put them at.

I must not forget neither the five Millions of Livres, that the City of *Paris* is now, at this Day, obliged to pay to the King, as we may see in our *Gazette*. This forced Payment, which amounts near to four-hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, is a little hard, considering the other Taxes, which that City is charged withal.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the French King's yearly Revenue, and how it is collected.

NOtwithstanding all the Taxes I have already mentioned, and the many others, which I have here omitted, yet the *French King's* yearly Revenue amounts not to so great a Sum, as one would be easily tempted, at first, to imagine. I have been often told, that it came to above an hundred and fifty Millions of Livres; but, after a narrow Inquiry into it, I found, that, at the Death of Monsieur *Colbert*, it came only to an hundred thirty-three Millions, two-hundred thousand Livres, or ten Millions, two-hundred forty-six thousand, one-hundred and fifty-three Pounds, sixteen Shillings, and Six-pence of our *English* Money. Now, when we consider, that, since this War, the *French King* hath raised his Taxes higher than ever they were, and created many Offices and Employments, we shall be apt to think, that his Revenues must needs be so much the more increased; but yet, if, at the same Time, we do but reflect upon the lamentable Decay of his Trade in that Kingdom, we shall find, upon a serious Examination, that the Increasing of his Taxes can hardly make Amends for the Loss of his Customs, and, consequently, that his Revenue is much about what it was at the Time I speak of.

But, perhaps, Somebody will say, How can the *French King* keep such great Armies in Pay, if his yearly Revenue be no more? The Answer to this Objection is very easy to any one, who knows, that twenty-thousand Horse stand this Nation in more, than an hundred-thousand cost the *French King*. Our single Troopers have near two Shillings and Six-pence a Day, and the *French* have hardly five Pence;

our Foot-soldiers have eight Pence, or, at least, Six-pence in the Field, and the *French* have only six Farthings and the Ammunition-bread.

Here I could very well put an End to this Discourse, but that I think myself obliged to remove one Objection more, which, I know, some People will be apt to make against me, viz. That, if the *French* pay yearly but ten Millions, and *England* five, we lie under harder Circumstances, than they do, since *France* is twice as big as *England*, at least.

This, I confess, seems, at first, to be a very specious and considerable Objection; but, in Answering of it, I would desire my Reader to make, with me, these following Remarks: *First*, It is a Truth beyond Contradiction, That the Taxes laid in *England*, how heavy soever they may seem to be, are but for one Year, and these, too, laid on as by our own Consent; but those in *France* have been made perpetual, by the grand Imposer on his Subjects Estates and Liberties, for above these twenty Years. This is a very notable Difference. *Secondly*, It must be observed, That all Taxes in *France*, except the *Taille*, are let to Farm, whereby it is manifest, that they must produce more, than what the King receives: For, as a Farm, in any Country, must not only produce enough to make the Farmer able to pay his Landlord his Rent, but also to repay his Expences, and to maintain himself and his Family: Even just so it is, in Relation to the Taxes that are laid on the *French*, but with a far more comfortable Difference to the Farmers of the *French King's* Revenues, I mean, to those who have the least Finger in them;

them; for they, in a short Time, become so vastly rich, that the greatest Lords in *France*, as the Marshal de *Lorges*, and several others, have thought themselves happy in marrying their Daughters.

These Farmers advance Money to the King, and then they repay themselves out of the People's Pockets, and God knoweth with what Vexations and tyrannical Oppressions, for they are impowered to do whatever they please. Those, who have computed, as near as possibly they could, how many Men are employed in the Levying the King's Revenues, do assure us, that they are above eighty Thousand, who are kept at the People's Charges, the Keeping of whom is dearer by far, than the barely Maintaining of an hundred-thousand Soldiers: But a Man must have seen this to believe it.

Now, whosoever will consider these Things, will, no Doubt, agree with me, that the *French* Nation groans under a very slavish and worse than *Egyptian* Bondage, and that they

pay a great Deal more, than what appears in the Books of the Royal Treasury. I was, one Day, discoursing in *France* upon this Point with a very learned Man, and one that very well understood this Business; and he told me, That, upon a very modest Computation, he had found, that the Kingdom of *France* paid yearly above two-hundred thousand Millions, upon Account of the King's Taxes, that is, above fifteen Millions, three-hundred eighty-four thousand, six-hundred fifteen Pounds, seven Shillings, and Six-pence Sterling. Tho' I will not absolutely rely on my Friend's Account, yet this small Treatise, I hope, will be enough to convince any unprejudiced Person, that it is not altogether improbable.

I will only now desire my Readers to peruse this little Book with Care, and then to consider how much they are obliged to those, who are indefatigable in their Labour and Industry to bring this Nation under the dreadful Tyranny of *France*.

A Catalogue of Books, of the newest Fashion, to be sold by Auction, at the *Whigs* Coffee-House, at the Sign of the *Jackanapes*, in *Prating-Alley*, near the *Deanery* of *St. Paul's*. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

1. **E** *Ceebolus Anglicus*: The Oxford Turn-coat, or the Duty of conforming to all Times and Circumstances of prevailing Wick-
edness of the contrary, by *Hum-y Ho—y*, an humble Asserter of that Doctrine, dedicated to his Master, *St.—*

2. *Mercurius Deformatus*: Or the Picture of *Mercury*, with a Calf's Head on, and no Brains in it; by that contemptible Witling, the Weekly Observer: Dedicated to the learned and worthy Dr. *Welwood*.

3. *Lues Germanica*: The Dutch Pox in *Fo-lia*. A modern Treatise, holding forth a surer Way of clapping our Consciences, than a Land Fire-ship can our Cod-pieces.

4. *Si fortuna velit fies, de, &c. Gravel-lane* to Day, D—n of *P—l's* to Morrow,

and *Gravel-lane* again, as moody Fortune or Spouse pleases: By Smock-pecked *Sh—k*.

5. *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, &c. England* first made a *Bethlem*, by Priests of Latitude, and then an *Aceldama*, by the Dutch Pilgrims in *Soho*; published as a Specimen of the Blessings we may rationally expect from a general Comprehension of all Religions, as well as of a general Naturalisation of, all Nations.

6. *Non magna loquimur sed, &c.* By the pious Author, and religious Practiser, of the Letter to the dying Lord *Ruff—l*, addressed, chiefly to his Arch-Brother and quondam Pupil Dr. *Sh—*, as an Antidote against Shame and Remorse; with a Use of Instruction, that those Things, you cannot get fairly rid of by Argument or Banter, you must learn solidly to out-face.

7. *Clodius accusat machos*: Or three Discourses against *Tom Fir—n*, and a Fourth, against Hell-Torments; the first Tract extorted from the Author, by the importunate Clamours of those who hate Hereticks in Masquerade, as the Author himself tells you, lest you should think he drew his Pen in the Defence of Christianity voluntarily; the second published as a brief Summary of his Creed, by Way of communicatory Letter: Dedicated to his Sub-Intruders.

8. *Heu quantum nobis profuit*, &c. A Treatise shewing that Hypocrisy's the best Religion, by him that gain'd fix-thousand Pounds, *per Annum*, by it; these three last, by the same Hand.

9. *Dux femina facti*: Conquest the best Title to Body and Conscience, by Dr. *Sh—k's* Wife, dedicated to her humble Servant her Husband; wherein these two Points are proved at large: *First*, That no Man is a good Husband, who will not sacrifice his Conscience, to the Importunity of a Wife: And *Secondly*, That the Doctor was visibly under her Power, and, therefore, he was forced to submit, and might do so according to his Hypothesis of Force, which dissolves all Obligation, especially since the Female Usurpation had been for a long Time, and thoroughly settled.

10. *Dum vitium fugiunt stulti*, &c. An infallible Cure for the Cramp in the great Toe, by cutting both Legs off; the Operation performed by the Associated Conventioners of Eighty-eight, and approved by some of the Task-masters of last Sessions: Together with Apologies for the same, by those two Foxes, *John—n* and *Bar—t*, each of which, though their Heads stand different Ways, has the Fire-brand of Rebellion in his Tail.

11. *Parturiunt montes, nascetur*, &c. An exact List of all the Countries, Cities, Towns, Fortresses, Castles, laden Vessels, Cannon, Baggage, &c. taken from the *French*, since the Commencement of the last War; by *Johannes Pudendus*, a Speaker of Short-Hand: Dedicated to the invisible, invulnerable, and thrice puissant Protector of these three once flourishing Kingdoms.

12. *Manus manum fricat*: Or, a King-maker deserves to be a Wages-taker; by a Club of those confiding Kn—s that sold their Country last Session; dedicated to their Paymaster; wherein they gratefully own they have taken his Money, but withal tell him

they have not been behind-hand, but, for every hundred Pounds they have received from him, they have given him Ten-thousand.

13. *E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*: Clearly demonstrating, that you will sooner make a sweet Punch-Bowl of a wooden Close-Stool, than an orthodox Bishop of an old stinking Fanatick; humbly offered to the crack-brained frantick Window-breaker of *Cripplegate*, a lively and living Testimony of the Truth of that Treatise.

14. *Semper idem*: Or, a Covenanter in 47, an Engager in 52, a Negative and &c. Oathman in 57, a Surplice-Renouncer in 61, a Conformist and Covenant-Renouncer in 64, a Rebel in 88, a scandalous Intruder in 90, and a *Judas* always; by *R—d K—r*, and several others: Dedicated to undipt *John*, and are to be sold at the *Windmill* in *Turncoat-Alley*; where are Alcorans or Bibles, Common-Prayers or Mass Books, *Geneva* Clokes or Gowns, and Cassocks, Mitres or Turbants of all Sorts and Sizes, for the Use of the persevering Confessors aforesaid.

15. *Quæ genus & flexum variant*, &c. Or, a Prophecy of the six grand Intruders; proving them to be Heteroclitics and Heterodox, from the Rudiments of Grammar and Christianity.

16. *Nos patriæ fines*, &c. Room for Sooterkins, or, the neighbourly Kindness of a general Naturalisation; shewing, that, since Foreigners have naturalised and adopted all our Money, it is but reasonable that we should adopt and naturalise some of their Men; because we have Nothing left now to oblige them with, but our *Terra Firma*, and, since it is not possible to transport our Mountains to them, we should bring them to our Mountains.

17. *Graculus ejuriens*, &c. A Catalogue of Refugees turned Witches, in Hopes of the Honours and Revenues of *English* Bishopricks: By *Gil—t Bu—t*, Founder of that Order: Dedicated to Monsieur *Alix*, already a Treasurer of one Cathedral, and a forward Putter for the Government of another.

18. *Exorcista*: Or, *England* dispossessed of a *Low Country* Devil, by the *High-Dutch* Conjuror of the *Savoy*.

19. *Ecclesia liberata*. The Established Church preferred, by damning her Doctrines to steal her Pelf: By Brother *I—n* of the *Char—r-House*; presented for a New Year's-Gift to Sister *Sym—n*; wherein is learnedly proved, that Passive Obedience, without a Parsonage and

and Prebendary, and *Pater-nosters* without Pence, are unedifying Tenets, and, that no Church is worth the Saving, that will not allow Tent and Eggs to one's Breakfast.

20. *Proximus sum egomet mihi*: Near is my King, but nearer is my Skin: By that renowned Vindicator of the Church, the Martyr Dr. *Pel—g*: Dedicated to M. G. Ludlow, as a thankful Return to his last obliging Letter on that Subject; containing the Reasons of *Jeshurun's* Kicking, and the Doctor's Deserting. Printed for *Aminadab Rebellis*, and are to be sold at the Sign of the *Jack-Pudding*, in *Taylor's Court*, near *West—r*.

21. *Asperius nihil est humili, &c.* A new-invented Mathematical Instrument, by the Help of which one may discover, that, the higher a Jackanapes climbs, the more he shews his Arse: Published for a Warning to Dr. *Birch's* Fathers that never were Sons, that they may take effectual Care to double-line their Breeches, because there is an old Saying, That *Fools will be peeping*.

22. *Ottavus Sapientum*: Or, Bog-witticisms improved, for the Diversion of both Sexes; being some small Gleanings from the plentiful Stock of the Worshipful Sir *Sal—l Lov—l R—r L—*.

23. *Asinus ad Lyram*: An Argument in Law, proving, That Killing of Horses is downright Murder: Published as a Caution to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood: By the same ingenious Author.

24. *In dubiis tutor pars*: Or, the broad Way to save a Man's Bacon, and damn his Soul.

25. *Junius Brutus Redivivus*. The Loyal Converter of the 30th of *January*, into a Day of Preparation for the Sacrament; to be received only by such, who make it the first Article of their Religion, That the Murdering, or Driving away lawful Kings, is not only lawful, but faint-like, performed on the last Anniversary. By *W—ms* of the *Poultry*.

26. *Filius ante diem*: A Vindication of Disobedience and Parricide, proving, that Children owe no Duty to Parents, unless so long as they did not understand it; but, when they come to Years of Discretion, they may,

and ought to maintain their Liberty of Disobedience, even to the Destruction of their Parents, if they but suspect that they will labour to prevent such Undutifulness: Dedicated to a very dutiful Lady, at the great House near *Ch—ng-Crofs*; by the Plier at *St. Andrew's, Holborn*.

27. *Semel insanivimus omnes*: Or, a Treatise shewing, That he is no good Philosopher, that has not committed one Folly: But, at the same Time, shewing, That he is an Ass and a Knave, that pursues it, when he sees the Cheat: Published by a Club of relenting Abdicators; and by them, dedicated to the several Counties, Cities, Towns Corporate, and Boroughs they represent.

28. *Unguentum Ophthalmicum*: Sovereign Eye-bright, to remove the Mists from the People's Eyes, that they may see their Condition, and reward their Riders: Addressed to the unfeigned Lovers of *England*, of what Condition or Persuasion soever.

29. *Nolumus hunc regnare*. An Epitome of all the learned Reasons given by our Intruders, and present Riders, against Returning to our Senses, and Restoring the King; with an Appendix of Fear of Punishment and Disgrace: Dedicated to half a Dozen of henpecked *London Divines*.

30. *Nunquam sera est ad bonos, &c.* Or, the Resurrection of Allegiance and Discipline, from the Grave of Rebellion and Schism, by the oppressed and abused Sons of the old true Church of *England*: Published to the Confusion of those Sons of Latitude and *Belial*, that make Heaven pimp to their Interest.

31. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*: Or, a Dissertation of the no Power of a no Parliament, making a no King, that will always be doing us no Good, by leaving us no Parliaments without Perjury and Pensioners, no Church without Knaves and Intruders, no Trade without Hazard and Losses, no Credit at Home or Abroad, no Honour nor Conscience, no Blood in our Veins, nor Money in our Pockets, none but *Holland Frogs* and *Caterpillars* in the Nation, and Nothing but Repentance at the last.

Cases of Conscience, and Queries.

1. Whether a Pensioner be not ten Times worse than a *Lapland* Wizard, since the latter only sells his own Soul to the Devil, but the Pensioner sells other Men's Souls, Bodies, and all?

2. Whether a Coachman may not drive Post to the D—l, by profaning the *Lord's-day*, notwithstanding the License of the House?

3. Whether the remaining four of the un-repealed Commandments ought not to be cashiered next Session?

4. Whether the Members were asleep in *St. Margaret's*, or *St. Stephen's*, when they voted *Dr. Birch* a Saint in one Place, and a Malignant in the other?

5. Whether the Fifth Commandment be Part of the Coronation-oath, since our Governors observe it so strictly?

6. Whether Protestant Tyranny be not better than Popish Tyranny, by six Millions, *per Annum*?

7. Whether Popish Knives and Gridirons have done us half so much Mischief, as *Dutch* Declarations and *English* Pensioners?

8. Whether it is not a Cordial to an *Englishman's* Stomach, to hear a nasty *Dutchman* swear, that they have given us a King to wipe their *Stadtholder's* Backside?

9. Whether it is better to have some Religion, all Peace, and moderate Taxes; or no Peace, no Religion, and all Taxes?

10. Whether, when the roguish Engraver fixed old *Noll's* Head on *W——m's* Shoulders, the Figure were not all of a Piece?

11. Whether six-hundred thousand Pounds were not too small a Gratuity to our dear Saviours, the *Dutch*? And whether we had not better openly give them all, than let them take it underhand, and laugh at us into the Bargain?

12. Whether our Governors do not act wisely, in sacrificing our Seamen, and starving their Wives, since they design shortly we shall have no Ships?

13. Whether it was not a true Blunder, in him that took the Pope's Picture for that of *K. W.* since he interpreted the two Keys to be those of our Coffers and Consciences?

14. Whether *Julian*, or *Sherlock*, deserve the Whetstone; since *Julian* has been always true to a false Principle, and *Sherlock* a Trai-

tor, and false to a true one?

15. Whether *S——* be not the most excusable Instrument in our present Slavery, since Treason and Rebellion, in him, are Original Sin?

16. Whether *Cumb——d* and *Ten——n* ever confuted ten *Hobbiſts* by their Bawling and Printing? And whether they have not made Ten-thousand by their Practice?

17. Whether *Julian*, the House, or the Hangman have made the best second Treble to *Gilbert's* Pastoral?

18. Whether Father *Sim——n* has been rebaptised, since he publicly renounced Christianity in *Peter——gh* Cathedral?

19. Whether the *Scotch Conferences* and the *Friendly Debate* are not damnably ashamed of their rascally Authors?

20. Whether the *Pilgrim's Progress*, or the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, had the better Tinker to their Author, since they both set up for a Pair of Church-menders?

21. Whether *Richard of Kidderminster* had not much more Epicopacy and Uniformity in him, than our *St. Richard Kidder*?

22. Whether the *Latin* Reason of *Auri sacra fames*, or the *English* of the *Grey Mare is the better Horse*, did operate most in making *Sherlock* a Changeling?

23. Whether *Bedlam* ever produced any Thing half so lewd and frantick, as *Cresner's* Lampoons upon the *Apocalypse*?

24. Whether the old *Welch* Seer may not, with the Help of a small Looking-glass, see an old crazy-crowned Infidel, since he pawned his Creed in 88, that *Lewis the Grand* and *Old Nick* should be Chamber-fellows in the other World, before the End of 92?

25. Whether *J. C.* or *J. Y.* have not all the Reason imaginable to admit Ranters, Sweet-fingers, Muggletonians, *Jews*, *Turks*, and Infidels to be Church-members, since their own Hearts tell them, they are as good Christians as themselves?

26. Whether, in the next Edition of his Shame, the renowned Author of the *Contempt of the Clergy* ought not to add one other lamentable Reason, besides those of Ignorance and Poverty, *viz.* Time-serving, together with his own Phiz in the Frontispiece?

27. Whe-

27. Whether Dame *Britannia* was not less culpable, in being forced to endure a thirteen Years Rape from *Oliver* and the Rump, than by living a five-years Adulteress now by Consent?

A short Account of the Siege of Bantam : And its Surrender to the Rebels, who were assisted by the Dutch, and their Fleet, in the East-Indies. In a Letter from an English Factor to a Merchant of London. London, printed for John Smith, 1683. Folio, containing two Pages.

S I R,

GREAT was our Expectation upon the Success of our late Ambassador *Kaia Nebbe's* Negotiation into *England*; of Settling a Commerce with that Kingdom; which, as it is of all Nations in most Esteem with, so is it most earnestly desired by the *Bantamites*, who have a natural Kindness for the *English* in these Parts.

Whilst we were big with these Joys, a sudden and unexpected Storm happened, which blasted all our Hopes in an Instant, and unmercifully exposed us, not only to the Fury of a Domestic Enemy, but the Spoil and Rapine of a Foreign Foe.

Sir, it would be but a needless Trouble to tell you the true Correspondence, and real Friendship, that has been preserved between the *English* and the *Bantamites*: These allowing them a Factory, and a Place of Residence for their Consult within the Walls of the Town of *Bantam*, which is the Capital City of *Java*, whereas all other Foreigners, as the *Bengalians*, *Cusarats*, *Malayans*, *Abyssins*, *Chinese*, *Portuguese*, and *Hollanders*, are placed without the Town; nay the very *Indians* themselves, who come from the Borders of the Country, have their Places allotted them without the City, where they have their Markets for their particular Commodities, the grand Bazar, or Exchange, being in the East Part of the Town, wholly employed in the *English* Factory, and for stowing up the Commodities they trade in.

Since the last Massacre of the *Dutch* in this Nation, they have not dealt so freely amongst us, but keep within their own Plantation at *Batavia*, which is some twelve Leagues from *Bantam*.

The *Portuguese*, that deal at *Bantam*, live out of Town in the same Quarter with the *Chinese*. They drive here a great Trade in Pepper, Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, Sandalwood, Cubebs, long Pepper, and other Commodities that are sent them from *Malacca*; for the greater Part of them are Factors, and Commissioners of the Governor of *Malacca*, and the Archbishop of *Goa*.

The *English*, besides their Liberty of Residing within the Town of *Bantam*, have free Access through the whole Country of *Java Major*, which is a vast and spacious Isle; for from East to West, it stretches one-hundred and fifty Leagues, or of Miles, four-hundred and fifty, and from North to South, ninety Leagues, which is two-hundred and seventy Miles, *English*.

The *Dutch* joined with the Rebels, in this unnatural Incurſion, to invade our City with the more Ease, we being so unprovided of Ammunition, and all other Conveniencies to make any considerable Resistance; in which they had found much more Difficulty, and, it is probable, we might have held out as yet, had we received that Recruit of Arms and Ammunition, as was every Day expected by the Ambassador from *England*, who is not yet come.

And

And this, Sir, leads me to the tragical Part of my Letter, which must needs create Pity in you, when you consider in what Conster-nation this sudden Change hath left us in, not able to call our Lives or Fortunes our own ; nor can we yet tell, whether we are Freemen, or Slaves.

During the Absence of our Ambassador in *England*, a Match was propos'd, by the King of *Bantam*, between his eldest Son, *Zerombia Zebbe*, and the Daughter of the King of *Mitram*.

This was a Match well propos'd, and had been fortunate for the *English*, had it taken its wish'd Success, the King of *Mitram* being, as it were, Emperor of *Java Major*.

The young Prince, going upon this Expedition, fell in Love, by the Way, with the King of *Tuban's* Daughter, which, next to *Bantam*, is the chiefest Town in *Java*.

The Prince having forgot all other Obligations, it was not long before the Marriage was unhappily solemniz'd, though it was much inferior to what had been formerly propos'd. the King of *Tuban's* Territories being but small, and he himself a Tributary to the King of *Bantam* : Besides, the King of *Tuban* having four Wives, six Sons, and two Daughters, besides natural Children, and Concubines innumerable, the Princess, which was the former Match propos'd, being sole Heiress to the Emperor.

This so incens'd the King of *Bantam*, that he excludes his Son out of the Kingdom, making his younger Son, by a second Wife, his Heir.

The Prince, no less incens'd, on the other Hand, march'd with a small Army of the *Tubanites* towards *Batavia*, desiring Aid of the *Dutch*, who were forward enough to assist him, as well for the old Grudge, that continued between them and the *Bantamites*, as to enlarge their Dominions, upon any Opportunity that presents.

There being a *Dutch* Fleet at *Batavia*, they took Shipping, and lay before *Bantam* on the Twenty-third of *November*, playing with their great Cannon upon the Town ; during which Time, the King made several Proffers of Accommodation, but nothing would be accepted.

At last, all our Ammunition being spent, and our Walls battered down, on the Second of *December* they enter'd the Town, seizing upon the *Bazar*, and all Places of Factory and Store, killing and plundering all before them.

The King, with the chief Officers of the City, keeps his Army in the Field ; where, by daily Recruits, which flock to him from all Parts, he hopes yet, in some Time, to recover his former Losses.

The *Hollanders* have possess'd themselves of the Port, and the Rebels of the City. We are every Day threatened to be turn'd out, and a *Dutch* Factory and Consul establish'd in our Place. All the Hopes, we have, are of the Return of the Ambassador, and the Success of the King's Army ; of which we hope to give you a better Account by the next.

The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner *, made by the most vertuous and right gracious Ladie, *Queene Catherine*, bewailing the Ignorance of hir blind Life, led in Superstition ; verie profitable to the Amendment of our Liues. *Quarto*, containing Forty-seven Pages.

William Cicill *hauing taken much Profit, by the Reading of this Treatise following, wissheth vnto euerie Christian, by the Reading thereof, like Profit, with Increase from God.*

MO S T gentle and Christian Reader, if Matters should be rather confirmed by their Reporters, than the Reports warranted by the Matters, I might iustlie bewaile our Time, wherein euill Deeds be well worded, and good Deeds euill cleaped. But sincere Trueth is, that Things be not good for their Praises, but be praised for their Goodnesse. I doo not moue thee to like this Christian Treatise, because I haue Mind to praise it ; but I exhort thee to mind it, and, for the Goodnesse, thou shalt allow it, for whose Liking I labour not to obtaine, onelie, moued by mine Example, their Iudgement I regard, chieflie confirmed by the Matter. Truelie, our Time is so disposed to grant good Names, to euill Fruits, and excellent Termes to meane Works, that neither can good Deeds enioie, their due Names, being defrauded by the Euill ; neither excellent Works can possesse their woorthie Termes, being forestalled by the Meane ; insomuch that Men seeke, rather, how much they can, than how much they ought to saie ; inclining more to their Pleasure, than to their Iudgement, and to shew themselves rather eloquent, than the Matter good ; so that neither the Goodnesse of the Cause can moue them to saie more, neither the Euilnesse lesse. For, if the Excellencie of this Christian Contemplation, either for the Goodnesse herein to Maruell appearing, either for the Profit, hereupon, to the Reader ensuing, should be, with due Commendation, followed : I, of Necessitie, should either trauell, to find out new Words, the old being anticipated by euill Matters, or wish, that the common Speech of Praising were spared, untill conuenient Matters were found to spend it ; such is the Plentie of Praising, and Scarseness of Deseruing.

Wherefore, lacking the Maner in Words, and not the Matter, in deed of high Commendation, I am compelled to keepe in my Iudgement with Silence, trusting whom my Report could not haue moued to like this present Treatise, the Worthinesse of the Matter shall compell to giue it Honour.

Anie earthlie Man would soon be stirred, to see some Misterie of Magike, or Practise of Alchumie, or, perchance, some Incantment of Elements ; but thou, which art christened, hast here a wonderfull Myserie of the Mercie of God, a heauenlie Practise of Regeneration, a spiritual Incantment of the Grace of God. If Ioie and Triumph be shewed, when a Kings Child is born into the World, What Ioie is sufficient, when Gods

* This is the 140th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Child is regenerated from Heauen? The one is Flesh, which is borne of Flesh; the other is Spirit, which is borne of Spirit. The one, also, shall wither like the Grasse of the Earth, in short Time; the other shall liue in Heauen, beyond all Time. If the Finding of one lost Sheepe be more ioyfull, than the Hauing of Ninetie and nine; What Ioye is it, to consider the Returne of a straie Child of Almighty God, whose Returne teacheth the Ninetie and nine to come to their Fold? Euen such Cause of Ioye is this, that the Angels, in Heauen, take Comfort herein. Be thou, therefore, ioyfull, when a noble Child is newlie born; shew thy selfe glad, when the lost Sheepe hath womne the whole Flocke; be thou not sad, where Angells reioise.

Here maist thou see one, if the Kind may moue thee, a Woman; if Degree may prouoke thee, a Woman of high Estate; by Birth made noble, by Marriage most noble, by Wisedome godlie, by a mightie King, an excellent Queene; by a famous Henrie, a renowned Catherine, a Wife to him that was a King to Realmes; refusing the World, wherein she was lost, to obtaine Heauen, wherein she may be saued; abhorring Sinne, which made hir bound to receiue Grace, wherby she may be free; despising Flesh, the Cause of Corruption, to put on the Spirit, the Cause of Sanctification; forsaking Ignorance, wherein she was blind, to come to Knowledge, whereby she may see; remoouing Superstition, wherewith she was smothered, to embrace true Religion, wherewith she may reuiue.

The Fruit of this Treatise, good Reader, is thine Amendment; this onlie had, the Writer is satisfied. This good Ladie thought no Shame to detest hir Sinne, to obtaine Remission; no Vilenes, to become nothing, to be a Member of him, which is all Things in all; no Follie to forget the Wisedome of the World, to learne the Simplicitee of the Gospell at the last; no Displeasantesse, to submit hir selfe to the Schoole of the Crose, the Learning of the Crucifix, the Booke of our Redemption, the verie absolute Librarie of Gods Mercie and Wisedome. This Waite, thought she, hir Honour increased, and hir State permanent, to make hir earthlie Honour Heauenlie, and neglect the Transitorie for the Euerlasting.

Of this I would thee warned, that the Profit may ensue. These great Mysteries and Graces be not well perceiued, except they be surelie studied; neither be they perfecte studie, except they be diligenlie practised; neither profitable practised, without Amendment. See and learne, hereby, what she hath doone, then maist thou practise, and amend that thou canst do; so shalt thou practise with Ease, hauing a Guide, and amend with Profit, hauing a Zeale. It is easier to see these, than to learne; begin at the Easiest, to come to the Harder; see thou hir Confession, that thou maiest learne hir Repentance; practise hir Perseuerance, that thou maiest haue like Amendment; despise thy selfe, in eschewing Vice, that thou maiest please God, in asking Grace; let not Shame hinder the Confession, which hindered not the Offense. Be thou sure, if we knowledg our Sin, God is faithfull to forgieue vs, and to cleanse vs from all Vnrighteousnes. Obeie the Prophets Saieing: Declare thy Waies to the Lord.

Thus far thou maist learne to knowe thy selfe; next this, be thou as diligent to releue thy selfe in Gods Mercie, as thou hast beene to reueale thy selfe in thine owne Repentance. For God hath concluded all Thinges vnder Sinne, bicause he would haue Mercie vpon all; who hath also borne our Sinnes in his Bodie vpon the Tree, that we should be deliuered from Sinne, and should liue vnto Righteousnes, by whose Stripes we be healed. Here is our Anchor; here is our Shepheard; here we be made whole; here is our Life, our Redemption, our Salvation, and our Blisse; let vs, therefore, now feed, by this gracious
Queenes

Queenes Example, and be not ashamed to become in Confession Publicanes, since this noble Ladie will be no Pharise.

And, to all Ladies of Estate, I wish as earnest Mind, to followe our Queene in Vertue, as in Honour, that they might once appeare to prefer God before the World, and be Honourable in Religion, which now be Honourable in Vanities; so shall they, as in some vertuous Ladies, of right high Estate, it is, with great Comfort seen, taste of this Freedome of Remission of the euerlasting Blisse, which exceedeth all Thoughts and Vnderstandings, and is prepared for the Holie in Spirit. For the which, let vs, with our Intercession in Holines and Pures of Life, offer our selues, to the Heauenlie Father, an vndefiled Host: To whom be eternall Praise and Glorie, throughout the Earth, without End. Amen.

The First Chapter.

Of an humble Confession of Sinnes, to the Glorie of God.

WHEN I consider, in the Bethinking of mine evil and wretched former Life, mine obstinate, stonie, and vntractable Heart, to haue so much exceeded in Euilnesse, that it hath not onelie neglected, yea contemned, and despised Gods holie Precepts and Commandements; but, also, imbraced, receiued, and esteemed, vaine, foolish, and feined Trifles, I am partlie, by the Hate I owe to Sinne, who hath reigned in me, and partlie, by the Loue I owe to all Christians, whom I am content to edifie; euen, with the Example of mine owne Shame, forced, and constrained, with my Hart and Words, to confesse and declare to the World, how ingrate, negligent, vnkind, and stubborne, I haue been to God my Creator, and how beneficiall, mercifull, and gentle, he hath been alwaies to me his Creature, being such a miserable and wretched Sinner.

Trulie, I haue taken no little small Thing vpon me. *First*, To set forth my whole Stubbornesse, and Contempt in Words; the which is incomprehensible in Thought, as it is in the twelfth *Psalme*, ‘Who vnderstandeth his Faults?’ Next this, to declare the excellent Beneficence, Mercie, and Goodnesse of God, which is infinite, and vnmeasurable. Neither can all the Words of Angels and Men make Relation thereof, as appertaineth to his most high Goodnesse. Who is he, that is not forced to confesse the same, if he consider what he hath receiued of God,

and doth dailie receiue? Yea, if Men would not acknowledge and confesse the same, the Stones would crie it out. Trulie, I am constrained and forced to speake, and write thereof, to mine owne Confusion and Shame, but to the Glory and Praise of God. For he, as a louing Father, of most abundant and high Goodnesse, hath heaped vpon me innumerable Benefits; and I, contrarie, haue heaped manifold Sinnes, despising that which was good, holie, pleasant, and acceptable in his Sight, and choosing that which was delicious, pleasant, and acceptable, in my Sight.

And no Maruell it was, that I so did, for I would not learne to knowe the Lord, and his Waies, but loued Darknesse better than Light, yea Darknesse seemed to me Light. I embraced Ignorance, as perfect Knowledge, and Knowledge seemed to me superfluous and vaine. I regarded little Gods Word, but gaue my selfe to Vanities, and Shadowes of the World. I forsooke him, in whom is all Truth, and followed the vaine, foolish Imaginations of my Hart. I would haue couered my Sinnes with the Pretence of Holinesse; I called Superstition godlie Meaning, and true Holinesse Errour. The Lord did speake manie pleasant and sweet Words vnto me, and I would not heare; he called me diuerslie, but, through Frowardnesse, I would not answer.

Mine Euils and Miseries be so manie, and so great, that they can accuse me euen to my Face. Oh, how miserable and wretchedlie

an I confounded, when, for the Multitude and Greatnesse of my Sinnes, I am compelled to accuse my selfe! Was it not a maruellous Vnkindnesse, when God did speake to me, and also call to me, that I would not answere him? What Man, so called, would not haue heard? Or what Man, hearing, would not haue answered? If an earthlie Prince had spoken, either called, I suppose there be none, but would willinglie haue done both. Now, therefore, what a Wretch and Caitife am I, that, when the Prince of Princes, the King of Kings, did speake manie pleasant and gentle Words vnto me, and also called me so manie and fundrie Times, that they can not be numbered; and yet, notwithstanding these great Signes and Tokens of Loue, I would not come vnto him, but hid my selfe out of his Sight, seeking manie crooked and Biwaies, wherein I walked so long, that I had cleane lost his Sight: And no Maruell, or Wonder, for I had a blind Guide, called *Ignorance*, who dimmed so mine Eies, that I could neuer perfectlie get anie Sight of the faire, goodlie, streight, and right Waies of his Doctrine; but continuallie travelled, vncomfortable, in foule, wicked, crooked, and peruerse Waies; yea, and bicause they were so much haunted of manie, I could not thinke, but that I walked in the perfect and right Waie, hauing more Regard to the Number of the Walkers, than to the Order of the Walking; beleeuing also, most assuredly, with Companie, to haue walked to Heauen, whereas, I am most sure, they would haue brought me down to Hell.

I forsooke the spirituall Honouring of the true liuing God, and worshipped visible Idols, and Images made of Mens Hands, beleeuing, by them, to haue gotten Heauen; yea, to saie the Truth, I made a great Idole of my selfe, for I loued my selfe better than God. And, certainlie, looke how manie Things are loued, or preferred, in our Harts, before God, so manie are taken and esteemed for Idols, and false Gods. Alas! How haue I violated this holie, pure, and most high Precept and Commandment of the Loue of God? Which Precept bindeth me to loue him with my whole Hart, Mind, Force, Strength, and Understanding: And I, like vnto an euill, wicked, and disobedient Child, haue giuen my Will, Power, and Senses, to the Contrarie, making,

almost, of euerie earthlie and carnall Thing, a God.

Furthermore, the Bloud of Christ was not reputed, by me, sufficient for to wash me from the Filth of my Sinnes; neither such Waies, as he had appointed by his Word; but I sought for such Riffraffe, as the Bishop of Rome hath planted, in his Tyrannie and Kingdom, trusting, with great Confidence, by the Vertue and Holinesse of them, to receiue full Remission of my Sinnes. And so I did, as much as was in me, obfuscate and darken the great Benefit of Christes Passion, than the which, no Thought can conceiue anie Thing of more Value. There can not be done so great an Iniurie and Displeasure to Almighty God, our Father, as to tread vnder Foot Christ, his onlie begotten and welbeloued Sonne. All other Sinnes in the World, gathered together in one, be not so heinous, and detestable, in the Sight of God. And no Wonder, for, in Christ crucified, God doth shewe himselfe most noble and glorious, euen an Almighty God, and most louing Father, in his onlie deare and chosen blessed Sonne.

And, therefore, I count my selfe one of the most wicked and miserable Sinners in the World, bicause I haue beene so much contrarie to Christ my Sauour. Saint *Paule* desired to knowe nothing, but Christ crucified; after he had beene rapt into the third Heauen, where he heard such Secrets, as were not conuenient and meete to vtter to Men, but counted all his Works and Doings as nothing, to win Christ. And I, most presumptuouslie thinking nothing of Christ crucified, went about to set forth mine owne Righteousnesse, saing, with the proud Pharise: 'Good Lord, I thanke thee, I am not like other Men; I am none Adulterer, nor Fornicator, and so forth;' with such like Words of vaine Glorie, extolling my selfe, and despising others, working as an hired Seruant for Wages, or else for Reward, and not, as a louing Child, onlie for verie Loue, without Respect of Wages or Reward, as I ought to haue done. Neither did I consider, how beneficiall a Father I had, who did shew me his Charitie and Mercie of his owne meere Grace and Goodnesse, that, when I was most his Enemy, he sent his onlie begotten and welbeloued Sonne, into this World of Wretchednesse

nesse and Miserie, to suffer most cruell and sharpe Death for my Redemption. But my Hart was so stonie and hard, that this great Benefit was neuer trulie and liuelie printed in my Hart, although, with my Words, it was oft rehearsed, thinking my selfe to be sufficientlie instructed in the same, and being, in deede, in blinde Ignorance; and yet I stood so well in mine owne Iudgement and Opinion, that I thought it vaine to seeke the Increase of my Knowledge therein.

Paule calleth Christ *the Wisdome of God*; and, euen the same Christ, was, to me Foolishnesse. My Pride and Blindnesse deceiued me, and the Hardnesse of my Hart withstoode the Groning of Truth within it. Such were the Fruits of my carnall and humane Reasons, to haue rotten Ignorance in Price for ripe and seasonable Knowledge; such, also, is the Malice and Wicknesse that possesseth the Harts of Men; such is the Wisdome and Pleasing of the Flesh. I professed Christ in my Baptisme, when I began to liue, but I swarued from him after Baptisme, in Continuance of my Liuing, euen as the Heathen, which neuer had begun.

Christ was innocent, and void of all Sinne, and I wallowed in filthie Sinne, and was free from no Sinne. Christ was obedient vnto his Father, euen to the Death of the Crosse; and I disobedient, and most stubborn, euen to

the Confusion of Truth. Christ was meeke and humble in Hart, and I most proud and vaine-glorious. Christ despised the World, with all the Vanities thereof, and I make it my God, bicause of the Vanities. Christ came to serue his Brethren, and I coueted to rule ouer them. Christ despised worldlie Honour, and I much delighted to attaine the same. Christ loued the base and simple Things of the World, and I esteemed the most faire and pleasant Things. Christ loued Pouerty, and I Wealth. Christ was gentle and mercifull to the Poore, and I hard-hearted and vngentle. Christ praied for his Enemies, and I hated mine. Christ reioiced in the Conuersion of Sinners, and I was not greeued to see their Reuersion to Sinne. By this Declaration, all Creatures may perceiue, how far I was from Christ, and without Christ; yea, how contrarie to Christ, although I bare the Name of a Christian: Insomuch that, if anie Man had said, I had beene without Christ, I would haue stiffelie denied, and withstoode the same; and yet, in deede, I neither knew Christ, nor wherefore he came.

As concerning the Effect and Purpose of his Coming, I had a certaine, vaine, and blind Knowledge, both cold and dead, which may be had with all Sinne; as doth plainlie appeare by this my Confession and open Declaration.

The Second Chapter.

A Lamentation of a Sinner, with hartie Repentance in Faith, to obtaine Absolution and Remission, through the Merits of Christ.

WHAT Cause now haue I to lament, sigh, and weepe, for my Life and Time so euill spent? With how much Humilitie, and Lowlinesse, ought I to come, and knowledge my Sinnes to God, giuing him Thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his abundant Goodnesse, to giue me Time of Repentance. For I knowe my Sinnes, in the Consideration of them, to be so greeuous, and, in the Number, so exceeding, that I haue deserued, uerie often, eternall Damnation. And for the Deferring of God's Wrath, so manifoldlie due, I must vncessantlie giue Thanks to the Mercie of God; beseeching also, that the same Delaie of Punishment cause not his Plague to be the forer, since

mine owne Conscience condemneth my former Doings. But his Mercie exceedeth all Iniquitie. And if I should not thus hope, alas, what should I seeke for Refuge and Comfort? No mortall Man is of Power to help me; and, for the Multitude of my Sinnes, I dare not lift vp mine Eies to Heauen, where the Seate of Iudgement is, I haue so much offended my God. What, shall I fall in Desperation? Naie, I will call vpon Christ, the Light of the World, the Fountaine of Life, the Reliefe of all carefull Consciences, the Peacemaker betweene God and Man, and the onlie Health and Comfort of all true repentant Sinners.

He can, by his almightie Power, saue me, and deliuer me out of this miserable State, and hath Will, by his Mercie, to saue euen the whole Sin of the World. I haue no Hope nor Confidence in anie Creature, neither in Heauen nor Earth, but in Christ, my whole and onlie Sauour. He came into the World to saue Sinners, and to heale them that are sicke; for he said, 'The Whole haue 'no Neede of the Physician.' Behold, Lord, how I come to thee, a Sinner sicke, and grievousslie wounded; I aske not Bread, but the Crums that fall from the Childrens Table. Cast me not out of thy Sight, although I haue deserued to be cast into Hell Fire.

If I should looke vpon my Sinne, and not vpon thy Mercie, I should despaire; for, in my selfe, I find nothing to saue me, but a Dunghill of Wickednesse to condemne me. If I should hope, by mine owne Strength and Power, to come out of this Maze of Iniquitie and Wickednesse, wherein I haue walked so long, I should be deceiued. For I am so ignorant, blind, weake, and feeble, that I can not bring my selfe out of this intangled and wayward Maze; but, the more I seeke Means, and Waies, to winde my selfe out, the more I am wrapped and tangled therein.

So that I perceiue my Striuing therein to be Hinderance, my Trauell, to be Labour

spent, in Going backe. It is the Hand of the Lord that can, and will, bring me out of the endlesse Maze of Death. For, without I be preuented, by the Grace of the Lord, I can not aske Forgiuenesse, nor be repentant, or sorie for them. There is no Man can auow, that Christ is the onlie Sauour of the World, but by the Holie Ghost; yea, as St. *Paule* saith, no Man can saie, The Lord *Jesus*, but by the Holie Ghost. The Spirit helpeth our Infirmitie, and maketh continuall Intercession for vs, with such sorrowfull Gronings, as can not be expressed.

Therefore, I will first require, and praie the Lord, to giue me his Holie Spirit, to teach me to auow, that Christ is the Sauour of the World, and to vtter these Words, The Lord *Jesus*; and, finallie, to helpe mine Infirmities, and to intercede, or intreate for me. For I am most certaine and sure, that no Creature, in Heauen nor Earth, is of Power, or can, by anie Meane, helpe me; but God, who is omnipotent, almightie, beneficiall, and mercifull, welwilling, and louing, to all those that call, and put their whole Confidence and Trust in him. And, therefore, I will seeke none other Meanes, nor Aduocate, but Christes Holie Spirit, who is, onlie, the Aduocate, and Mediatour, betweene God and Man, to helpe and releue mee.

The Third Chapter.

What true Faith worketh in the Soule of a Sinner.

BUT now, What maketh me so bold and hardie, to presume to come to the Lord with such Audacitie and Boldnesse, being so great a Sinner? Trulie nothing, but his owne Word. For he saith, 'Come to me, all ye that labour, and are burdened, and I shall refresh you.' What gentle, mercifull, and comfortable Words are these, to all Sinners? Were he not a frantike, madde, beaftlie, and foolish Man, that would runne for Aide, Helpe, or Refuge, to anie other Creature? What a most gracious, comfortable, and gentle Saieng was this, with such pleasant and sweete Words, to allure his verie Enemies to come vnto him? Is there anie worldlie Prince, or Magistrate, that would shew such

Clemencie, and Mercie, to their disobedient and rebellious Subiects, hauing offended them? I suppose they would not, with such Words, allure them, except it were to call them, whom they cannot take, and punish them, being taken. But euen, as Christ is Prince of Princes, and Lord of Lords, so his Charitie and Mercie exceedeth, and surmounteth all others. Christ saith, 'If carnall Fathers do giue good Gifts to their Children, when they aske them, How much more shall your Heauenlie Father, being, in Substance, all holie, and, most highlie, good, giue good Gifts, to all them that aske him?'

It is no small nor little Gift that I now require, neither thinke I my selfe worthie to receiue

receiue such a noble Gift, being so ingrate, vnkind, and wicked a Child. But, when I behold the Benignitie, Liberalitie, Mercie, and Goodnesse of the Lord, I am encouraged, boldened, and stirred, to aske such a noble Gift. The Lord is so bountifull and liberrall, that he will not haue vs satisfied and contented with one Gift, neither to aske simple and small Gifts; and, therefore, he promisseth, and bindeth himselfe, by his Word, to giue good and beneficiall Gifts, to all them that aske him with true Faith, without which, nothing can be done acceptable, or pleasing, to God; for Faith is the Foundation and Ground of all other Gifts, Vertues, and Graces; and, therefore, I will praise and saie, 'Lord increase my Faith.'

For this is the Life euerlasting, Lord, that I must beleue thee to be the true God, and whom that thou didst send *Iesus Christ*. By this Faith I am assured, and, by this Assurance, I feele the Remission of my Sins. This is it that maketh me bold; this is it that comforteth me; this is it that quencheth all Despaire?

I knowe, O my Lord, thine Eies looke vpon my Faith. *St. Paule* saith, 'We be iustified by Faith in Christ, and not by the Deeds of the Lawe; for, if Righteousnes come by the Lawe, then Christ died in vaine.' *St. Paule* meaneth not here, a dead, humane, and historicall Faith, gotten by humane Industrie; but a supernaturall and liuelie Faith, which worketh by Charitie, as he himself plainlie expreffeth. This Dignitie of Faith is no Derogation to good Works; for, out of this Faith, spring all good Works, yet we may not impute, to the Worthinesse of Faith or Works, our Iustification before God, but ascribe, and giue the Worthinesse of it, wholie to the Merits of Christs Passion, and refer and attribute the Knowledge and Perceiuing thereof, onlie to Faith; whose verie, true, and onlie Propertie it is, to take, apprehend, and hold fast the Promises of Gods Mercie, the which maketh vs righteous; and to cause me continuallie to hope for the same Mercie, and, in Loue, to work all Maner of Waies, allowed in the Scripture, that I may be thankfull for the same.

Thus I feele my selfe to come, as it were, in a new Garment before God; and now, by his Mercie, to be taken iust and righteous,

which, of late, without his Mercie, was sinfull and wicked; and, by Faith, to obtaine his Mercie, the which the Vnfaithfull can not enioie. And although *St. Iohn* extolleth Charitie, in his Epistle, saieg, 'That God is Charitie, and he that dwelleth in Charitie, dwelleth in God.' Truelie, Charitie maketh Men liue like Angels, and, of the most furious, vnbrideled, and carnall Men, maketh meeke Lambes.

Yea, with how feruent a Spirit ought I to call, crie, and praie to the Lord, to make his great Charitie to burne and flame my Hart, being stonie, and euill affected, that it neuer would conceiue, nor regard, the great inestimable Charitie and Loue of God, in sending his onlie begotten, and deere beloued Sonne, into this Vale of Miserie, to suffer the most cruell and sharpe Death of the Crosse, for my Redemption: Yea, I neuer had this vnspeakeable and most high Charitie, and abundant Loue of God, printed, and fixed in my Hart duellie, till it pleased God, of his meere Grace, Mercie, and Pittie, to open mine Eies, making me to see, and behold, with the Eie of liuelie Faith, Christ crucified, to be mine onlie Sauour and Redeemer. For then I began (and not before) to perceiue, and see mine owne Ignorance and Blindnesse; the Cause thereof was, that I would not learne to knowe Christ my Sauour and Redeemer.

But when God, of his meere Goodnesse, had thus opened mine Eies, and made me see and behold Christ, the Wisedome of God, the Light of the World, with a supernaturall Sight of Faith, all Pleasures, Vanities, Honor, Riches, Wealth, and Aids of the World, began to waxe bitter vnto me: Then I knew, it was no Illusion of the Diuell, nor false, ne humane Doctrines I had receiued. When such Successe came thereof, that I had in Detestation and Horrore that, which I erst so much loued and esteemed; being, of God, forbidden, that we should loue the World, or the vaine Pleasures and Shadowes in the same: Then began I to perceiue, that Christ was my onlie Sauour and Redeemer; and the same Doctrines to be all Diuine, Holie, Heauenlie, and infused, by Grace, into the Harts of the Faithfull, which neuer can be attained by humane Doctrines, Wit, nor Reason, although they should trauell and labour for the same,

to the End of the World. Then began I to dwell in God by Charitie, knowing, by the louing Charitie of God, in the Remission of my Sinnes, that God is Charitie, as St. *John* saith. So that of my Faith (whereby I came to knowe God, and, whereby, it pleased God, euen bicause I trusted in him, to iustifie me) sprang this excellent Charitie in my Hart.

I thinke no lesse, but manie will wonder, and maruell at this my Saieng, that I neuer knewe Christ for my Sauour and Redeemer, vntill this Time. For many haue this Opinion, saing : ‘ Who knoweth not there is a Christ ? Who, being a Christian, doth not confesse him his Sauour ? ’ And thus, beleeuing their dead, humane, historical Faith and Knowledge (which they haue learned in their scholasticall Bookes) to be the true infused Faith and Knowledge of Christ, which may be had, as I said before, with all Sinne : They vse to saie, by their owne Ex-

perience of themselves, that their Faith doth not iustifie them. And, true it is, except they haue this Faith, the which I haue declared here before, they shall neuer be iustified.

And yet it is not false, that, by Faith onlie, I am sure to be iustified. Euen this is the Cause, that so manie impugne this Office and Dutie of true Faith, bicause so manie lacke the true Faith. And, euen as the Faithfull are forced to allow this true Faith, so the Vnfaitfull can, in no Wise probablie, intreate thereof ; the one feeling in himselfe that he saith, the other hauing not in him for to saie.

I haue, certeinlie, no curious Learning, to defend this Matter withall, but a simple Zeale, and earnest Loue, to the Truth inspired of God, who promiseth, to powre his Spirit vpon all Flesh ; which I haue, by the Grace of God (whom I most humble honour) felt in my selfe to be true.

The Fourth Chapter.

Of the great Loue of God towards Mankind, and of the inward Beholding of Christ crucified.

LET vs, therefore, now, I praie you, by Faith, behold and consider the great Charitie and Goodnesse of God, in sending his Sonne, to suffer Death for our Redemption, when we were his mortall Enemies ; and, after what Sort and Maner he sent him.

First, It is to be considered, yea to be vndoubtedlie, and, with a perfect Faith, beleued, that God sent him to vs freele ; for he did giue him, and sold him not ; a more noble and rich Gift he could not haue giuen. He sent not a Seruant, or a Friend, but his onlie Sonne, so deerelie beloued ; not in Delights, Riches, and Honours, but in Crosses, Pouerties, and Slanders ; not as a Lord, but as a Seruant, yea, and in most uile and painefull Passions, to wash us ; not with Water, but with his owne pretious Bloud ; not from Mire, but from the Puddle and Filth of our Iniquities. He hath giuen him, not to make vs Poore, but to enrich vs with his Diuine Vertues, Merits, and Graces ; yea, and in him, he hath giuen vs all good Things, and,

finallie, himselfe, and with such great Charitie, as can not be expressed.

Was it not a most high and abundant Charitie of God, to send Christ to shed his Bloud, to loose Honour, Life, and all, for his Enemies ? Euen, in the Time, when he had done him most Iniurie, he first shewed his Charitie to vs, with such Flames of Loue, that greater could not be shewed. God, in Christ, hath opened vnto vs (although we be weake and blind of our selues) that we may behold, in this miserable Estate, the great Wisedome, Goodnesse, and Truth, with all the other godlie Perfections, which be in Christ. Therefore, inwardlie to behold Christ crucified vpon the Crosse, is the best and goodliest Meditation that can be.

We may see also, in Christ crucified, the Beautie of the Soule, better than in all the Bookes of the World : For who, that with a liuelie Faith, seeth and feeleth, in Spirit, that Christ, the Sonne of God, is dead, for the Satisfieng and Purifieng of the Soule, shall see, that his Soule is appointed for the uerie
Tabernacle

Tabernacle and Mansion of the inestimable and incomprehensible Maiestie and Honour of God. We see also, in Christ crucified, how vaine and foolish the World is, and how that Christ, being most wise, despised the same. We see, also, how blind it is, because the same knoweth not Christ, but persecuteth him. We see also, how unkind the World is, by the Killing of Christ, in the Time he did shew it most Fauour. How hard and obstinate was it, that would not be mollified with so manie Tears, such Sweate, and so much Bloudthead of the Sonne of God, suffering with so great and high Charitie?

Therefore, he is now verie blind, that seeth not how vaine, foolish, false, ingrate, cruell, hard, wicked, and euill the World is. We may also, in Christ crucified, weigh our Sinnes, as in a Diuine Ballance, how greuous, and how weightie they be, seeing they haue crucified Christ; for they would neuer haue bene counterpaied, but with the great and pretious Weight of the Bloud of the Sonne of God. And, therefore, God, of his high Goodnesse, determined, that his blessed Sonne should rather suffer Bloudthead,

than our Sinnes should haue condemned vs. We shall neuer knowe our owne Miseric and Wretchednesse, but with the Light of Christ crucified; then we shall see our owne Crueltie, when we seele his Mercie; our owne Vnrighteousnesse and Iniquitie, when we see his Righteousnesse and Holinesse. Therefore, to learne to knowe trulie our owne Sinnes is to studie in the Booke of the Crucifixe, by continuall Conuersation in Faith; and to haue perfect and plentiful Charitie is to learne, first by Faith, the Charitie that is in God towards vs.

We may see also, in Christ upon the Crosse, how great the Paines of Hell, and how blessed the Ioes of Heauen be; and what a sharpe and painefull Thing it shall be to them, that, of that sweet, happie, and glorious Ioie, Christ, shall be deprived. Then this Crucifixe is the Booke, wherein God hath included all Things, and hath most compendiously written, therein, all Truth, profitable and necessarie for our Saluation. Therefore, let vs endeavour, our selues, to studie this Booke, that we, being lightened with the Spirit of God, may giue him Thanks for so great a Benefit.

The Fift Chapter.

Of the glorious Victories of Christ ouer all Enemies.

IF we looke further in this Booke, we shall see Christs great Victorie vpon the Crosse, which was so noble and mightie, that there neuer was, neither shall be such. If the Victorie and Glorie of wordlie Princes were great, because they did ouercome great Hostes of Men, How much was Christes greater, which vanquished, not onelie the Prince of this World, but all the Enemies of God; triumphing ouer Persecution, Iniuries, Villanies, Slanders, yea Death, the World, Sinne, and the Diuell, and brought to Confusion all carnall Prudence?

The Princes of the World neuer did fight, without the Strength of the World: Christ contrariwise went to Warre, euen against all the Strength of the World. He fought, as *Dauid* did with *Goliath*, vnarmed of all humane Wisdome and Policie, and without all worldlie Power and Strength. Neuertheless, he was fullie replenished, and armed with the

whole Armour of the Spirit; and, in this one Battell, he ouercame, for euer, all his Enemies. There was neuer so glorious a Spoile, neither a more rich and noble, than Christ was upon the Crosse, which deliuered all his Elect from such a sharpe and miserable Captiuitie. He had, in his Battell, manie Stripes, yea, and lost his Life, but his Victorie was so much the greater. Therefore, when I looke vpon the Sonne of God, with a supernaturall Faith and Light, so vnarmed, naked, giuen vp, and alone, with Humilitie, Patience, Liberalitie, Modestie, Gentlenesse, and with all other his Diuine Vertues, beating downe to the Ground all Gods Enemies, and making the Soule of Man so faire and beautifull: I am forced to saie, that his Victorie and Triumph was maruellous; and, therefore, Christ well deserued to haue this noble Tide, *Iesus of Nazareth, King of the Iewes.*

But, if we will particularlie vnfold and see his great Victories, let vs first behold, how he ouercame Sinne with his Innocencie, and confounded Pride with his Humilitie; quenched all worldlie Loue with his Charitie, appeased the Wrath of his Father with his Meekenesse, and turned Hatred into Loue, with his so manie Benefits and godlie Zeale.

Christ hath not onlie overcome Sinne, but, rather, he hath killed the same; in as much as he hath satisfied for it himselfe, with the most Holie Sacrifice and Oblation of his pretious Bodie, in suffering most bitter and cruell Death. Also, after another Sort, that is, he giueth all those that loue him, so much Spirit, Grace, Vertue, and Strength, that they may resist, impugne, and overcome Sinne, and not consent, neither suffer it to reigne in them. He hath also vanquished Sinne, because he hath taken awaie the Force of the same; that is, he hath cancelled the Lawe, which was, in euill Men, the Occasion of Sinne. Therefore, Sinne hath no Power against them, that are, with the Holie Ghost, vnited to Christ; in them there is nothing worthe of Damnation. And although the Dregs of *Adam* do remaine, that is, our Concupiscences, which, in deede, be Sinnes; neuerthelesse, they be not imputed for Sinnes, if we be trulie planted in Christ. It is true, that Christ might haue taken awaie all our immoderate Affections, but he hath left them for the great Glorie of his Father, and for his owne greater Triumph. As for Example: When a Prince fighteth with his Enemies, which, sometime, had the Souerainty ouer his People, and, subduing them, may kill them if he will, yet he preferueth and saueth them; and, whereas they were Lords ouer his People, he maketh them after to serue, whome they before had ruled. Now, in such a Case, the Prince doth shewe himselfe a greater Conquerour, in that he hath made them, which were Rulers, to obeie; and the Subjects to be Lords ouer them, to whome they serued, than if he had vtterlie destroied them vpon the Conquest. For now he leaueth continuall Victorie to them, whome he redeemed, whereas, otherwise, the Occasion of Victorie was taken awaie, where none were left to be the Subjects. Euen so, in like Case, Christ hath left in vs these

Concupiscences, to the Intent they should serue vs, to the Exercise of our Vertues, where first they did reigne ouer vs, to the Exercise of our Sinne. And it may be plainlie seene, that whereas, first, they were such Impediments to vs, that we could not moue our selues towards God; now, by Christ, we haue so much Strength, that, notwithstanding the Force of them, we may assuredlie walke to Heauen. And although the Children of God, sometime, do fall, by Frailtie, into some Sinne; yea, that Falling maketh them to humble themselues, and to reknowlege the Goodnesse of God, and to come to him for Refuge and Helpe.

Likewise Christ, by his Death, hath overcome the Prince of Diuells, with all his Host, and hath destroied them all. For, as *Paul* saith, it is verified, That Christ should breake the Serpents Head, prophesied by God. And although the Diuell tempt vs, yet if, by Faith, we be planted in Christ, we shall not perish, but rather, by his Temptation, take great Force and Might. So it is euident, that the Triumph, Victorie, and Glorie of Christ is the greater, hauing, in such Sort, subdued the Diuell; that, whereas he was Prince and Lord of the World, holding all Creatures in Captiuitie, now Christ vseth him as an Instrument to punish the Wicked, and to exercise and make strong the Elect of God in Christian Warfare.

Christ, likewise, hath overcome Death in a more glorious Manner, if it be possible, because he hath not taken it awaie, but leauing vniuersallie all subiect to the same. He hath giuen so much Vertue and Spirit, that, whereas afore we passed thereto with great Feare, now we be bold through the Spirit, for the sure Hope of the Resurrection, that we receiue it with Ioie. It is now no more bitter, but sweete; no more feared, but desired; it it no Death, but Life.

And, also, it hath pleased God, that the Infirmities and Aduersities do remaine to the Sight of the World; but the Children of God are, by Christ, made so strong, righteous, whole, and sound, that the Troubles of the World be Comforts of the Spirit, the Passions of the Flesh are Medicines of the Soul; for all Maner of Things worke to their Commoditie and Profite; for they, in Spirit, feele, that God, their Father, doth gouerne them.

them, and disposeth all Things for their Benefit; therefore they feele themselves sure. In Persecution, they are quiet and peacefull; in Trouble, they are without Weerinesse, Feares, Anxieties, Suspensions, Miseries; and, finally, all the Good and Euill of the World worketh to their Commoditie.

Moreouer, they see that the Triumph of Christ hath bene so great, that not onelie he hath subdued and vanquished all our Enemies, and the Power of them, but he hath ouerthrowne and vanquished them, after such a Sort, that all Things serue to our Helth. He might and could haue taken them all awaie, But where then should haue bene our Victorie, Palme, and Crowne? For we daillie haue Fights in the Flesh, and, by the Succour of Grace, haue continuall Victories ouer Sinne; whereby we haue Cause to glorifie God, that, by his Sonne, hath weakened our Enemy, the Diuell, and, by his Spirit, giueth vs Strength to vanquish his Offspring.

So doo we knowledge, daillie, the great Triumph of our Sauour, and reioice in our own Fights; the which we can no Wise impute to anie Wisdome of this World, seeing Sinne to increase by it; and, where worldlie Wisdome most gouerneth, there most Sinne ruleth; for, as the World is Enemy to God, so also the Wisdome thereof is aduerser to God, and, therefore, Christ hath declared, and discovered the same for Foolishness. And, although he could haue taken awaie all worldlie Wisdome, yet he hath left it for his greater Glorie, and Triumph of his chosen Vessels. For before, whereas it was our Ruler against God, now, by Christ, we are serued of it for God, as of a Slaue in worldly Things; albeit, in supernaturall Things, the same is not to be vnderstood. And further, if, at anie Time, Men would impugne, and gainsaie vs, with the Wisdome of the World, yet we haue, by Christ, so much supernaturall Light of the Truth, that we make a Mocke of all those that repugne the Truth.

Christ also, vpon the Crosse, hath triumphed ouer the World. *First*, Bicause he hath discovered the same to be naught; that whereas it was couered with the Vaile of Hypocrisie, and the Vesture of morall Vertues: Christ hath shewed, that, in Gods Sight, the Righteousnesse of the World is Wickednesse,

and he hath yeilded Witnes, That the Works of Men, not regenerated by him in Faith, are euill; and so Christ hath iudged and condemned the World for naught. Furthermore, he hath giuen to all his so much Light and Spirit, that they knowe it, and dispraise the same; yea and tread it vnder their Feet, with all vaine Honours, Dignities, and Pleasures; not taking the faire Promises, neither the Offers which it doth present; naie, they rather make a Scorne of them. And, as for the Threatnings and Force of the World, they nothing feare.

Now, therefore, we may see how great the Victorie and Triumph of Christ is, who hath deliuered all those, the Father gaue him, from the Power of the Diuell, cancelling, vpon the Crosse, the Writing of our Debts. For he hath deliuered vs from the Condemnation of Sinne, from the Bondage of the Lawe, from the Feare of Death, from the Danger of the World, and from all Euills in this Life, and in the other to come. And he hath enriched vs, made vs noble, and most highlie happie, after such a glorious and triumphant Waie, as can not with Tongue be exprest; and, therefore, we are forced to saie, his Triumph is maruellous.

It is also seene and knowne, that Christ is the true *Messias*; for he hath deliuered Man from all Euills, and, by him, Man hath all Goodnesse, so that he is the true *Messias*. Therefore, all other Helpers be but vaine, and counterfeited Sauours; seeing that, by this, our *Messias*, Christ, wholie and onlie we be deliuered from all Euils, and, by him, we haue all Goodnesse. And that this is true, it is euident and cleare, bicause the verie true Christian is a Christian by Christ. And the true Christian feeleth inwardlie, by Christ, so much Goodnesse of God, that euen troublous Life and Death be sweet vnto him, and Miseries happie. The true Christian, by Christ, is disburdened from the Seruitude of the Lawe, hauing the Lawe of Grace, grauen by the Spirit, inhabiting his Hart, and from Sinne that reigned in him, from the Power of the infernall Spirits, from Damnation, and from euerie Euill; and is made a Sonne of God, a Brother of Christ, Heire of Heauen, and Lord of the World; so that, in Christ and by Christ, he possesseth all good Things.

But let vs knowe, that Christ yet fighteth in Spirit, in his elect Vessels, and shall fight euen to the Daie of Iudgment; at which Daie shall that great Enemie, Death, be wholie destroyed, and shall be no more. Then shall the Children of God reioice on him, saieing, O Death, where is thy Victorie and Sting? There shall be then no more Trouble nor Sinne; naie, rather, none Euill, but Heauen for the Good, and Hell for the Wicked. Then shall, wholie, be discouered, the Victorie and Triumph of Christ, who, after *Paule*, shall present vnto his Father the Kingdome, together with his Chosen faued by him.

It was no little Fauour towards his Children, that Christ was chosen of God to saue vs, his Elect, so highlie, by the Waie of the Crosse. *Paule* calleth it a Grace. and a most singular Grace. We may well thinke, that he, hauing beene, to the World, so valiant a Captaine of God, was full of Light, Grace, Vertue, and Spirit; therefore, he might iustlie saie, *Consummatum est*. Wee seeing then, that the Triumph and Victorie of our Captaine, Christ, is so maruellous, glorious, and noble, to the which War we be appointed; let vs force our selues to folowe him, with bearing our Crosse, that we may haue Fellowship with him in his Kingdome.

The Sixth Chapter.

That we ought to submit our selues to the Schoole of the Crosse, and still looke and learne in the Booke of the Crucifix.

TRULIE, it may be most iustlie verified, that to behold Christ crucified, in Spirit, is the best Meditation that can be. I certeinlie neuer knew mine owne Miseries, and Wretchednes, so well by Booke, Admonition, or Learning, as I haue done, by looking into the spirituall Booke of the Crucifix. I lament much, I haue passed so manie Yeeres, not regarding that Diuine Booke; but I iudged, and thought my selfe to be well instructed in the same; whereas now I am of this Opinion, that if God would suffer me to liue here a thousand Yeeres, and I should studie continuallie in the same Diuine Booke, I should not be filled with the Contemplation thereof. Neither hold I my selfe contented, but alwaies haue a great Desire, to learne and studie more therein. I neuer knewe mine owne Wickednes, neither lamented for my Sinnes trulie, vntill the Time God inspired me with his Grace, that I looked in this Booke; then I began to see perfectlie, that mine owne Power and Strength could not help me, and that I was in the Lords Hand, euen as the Claie is in the Potters Hand; then I began to crie, and saie:

‘ Alas! Lord, that euer I haue so wicked-
‘ lie offended thee, being to me, from the
‘ Beginning, so gracious, and so good a
‘ Father, and, most speciallie, now hast de-

‘ clared and shewed thy Goodnesse vnto me,
‘ when, in the Time, I haue done thee most
‘ Iniurie, to call me, and also to make me
‘ knowe, and take thee for my Sauior and
‘ Redeemer.’

Such be the wonderfull Works of God, to call Sinners to Repentance, and to make them to take Christ, his welbeloued Sonne, for their Sauior; this is the Gift of God, and of all Christians to be required and desired. For, except this great Benefit of Christ crucified be felt and fixed surelie in Mans Hart, there can be no good Worke done, acceptable before God; for, in Christ, is all Fulnesse of the Godhead, and, in him, are hid all the Treasures of Wisdome and Knowledge: Euen he is the Water of Life, whereof whosoever shall drinke, he shall neuer more thirst, but it shall be in him a Well of Water, springing vp into euerlasting Life. *St. Paule* saith, There is no Damnation to them that are in Christ, which walke not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. Moreouer he saith, If, when we were Enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the Death of his Son, much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preferred by his Death. It is no little or small Benefit we haue receiued by Christ, if we consider what he hath done for vs, as I haue perfectlie declared.

clared heretofore. Wherefore I praise the Lord, that this great Benefit of Christ crucified may be stedfastlie fixed and printed in all Christians Harts, that they may be true Louers of God, and worke as Children for Loue, and not as Seruants, compelled with Threatenings, or prouoked with Hire.

The sincere and pure Louers of God doo embrace Christ, with such Feruencie of Spirit, that they reioice in Hope, be bold in Danger, suffer in Aduersitie, continue in Praier, blesse their Persecutors. Further, they be not wise in their owne Opinion, neither high-minded in their Prosperitie, neither abashed in their Aduersitie, but humble and gentle alwaies to all Men: For they knowe, by their Faith,

they are Members all of one Bodie, and that they haue possessed all one God, one Faith, one Baptisme, one Ioie, and one Saluation. If these pure and sincere Louers of God were thicke sowne, there should not be so much Contention and Strife growing on the Fields of our Religion, as there is. Well, I shall praise to the Lord, to take all Contention and Strife awaie, and that the Sowers of Sedition may haue Mind to cease their Labour, or to sowe it among the Stones, and to haue Grace to sowe gracious Vertues, where they may both take Roote, and bring forth Fruit, with sending also a godlie Vnitie and Concord amongst all Christians, that we may serue the Lord in true Holinesse of Life.

The Seuent Chapter.

A Christian bewailing of the miserable Ignorance and Blindnesse of Men.

THE Example of good Liuing is required of all Christians, but speciallie in the Ecclesiasticall Pastors and Shepheards. For they be called, in Scripture, Workmen with God, Disbursters of Gods Secrets, The Light of the World, The Salt of the Earth; at whose Hands all other should take Comfort in working, Knowledge of Gods Will, and Sight to become Children of Light, and taste of seasonable Wisdome. They haue, or should haue, the Holie Spirit, abundantlie to pronounce and set forth the Word of God, in Veritie and Truth. If Ignorance and Blindnesse reigne amongst vs, they should, with the Truth of God's Word, instruct and set vs in the Truth, and direct vs in the Waie of the Lord.

But Thanks be giuen vnto the Lord, that hath now sent vs such a godlie and learned King, in these latter Daies, to reigne ouer vs; that, with the Vertue and Force of Gods Word, hath taken awaie the Vailes and Mists of Errours, and brought vs to the Knowledge of the Truth, by the Light of Gods Word; which was so long hid, and kept vnder, that the People were nigh famished, and hungred, for Lacke of spirituall Food. Such was the Charitie of the spirituall Curats and Shepheards. But our *Moses*, and most godlie wise Gouvernour and King, hath deliuered vs out

of the Captiuitie and Bondage of *Pharao*. I meane by this *Moses*, King *Henrie the Eight*, my most souereigne fauourable Lord and Husband; one (if *Moses* had figured anie more than Christ) through the excellent Grace of God, meete to be an other expressed Veritie of *Moses* Conquest ouer *Pharao*. And I meane by this *Pharao*, the Bishop of *Rome*, who hath beene, and is a greater Persecutor of all true Christians, than euer was *Pharao* of the Children of *Israel*; for he is a Persecutor of the Gospell and Grace, a Setter forth of all Superstition and counterfeited Holinesse, bringing manie Soules to Hell with his Alchimie and counterfeited Monie, deceiuing the poore Soules, vnder the Pretence of Holinesse; but so much the greater shall be his Damnation, bicause he deceiueth and robbeth vnder Christs Mantell. The Lord keepe and defend all Men from his Iuglings and Sleits, but speciallie the poore, simple, and vnlearned Soules. And this Lesson I would all Men had of him, that, when they begin to mislike his Dooing, then onlie begin they to like God, and certeinlie not before.

As for the spirituall Pastors and Shepherds, I thinke they will cleaue and stick to the Word of God, euen to the Death; to vanquish all Gods Enemies, if Neeede shall require;

quire; all Respects of Honour, Dignitie, Riches, Welth, and their priuate Commodities, laid apart; following also the Examples of Christ, and his chosen Apostles, in preaching and teaching sincere and wholesome Doctrine, and such Things as make for Peace, with godly Lessons, wherewith they may edifie others; that euerie Man may walke after his Vocation, in Holinesse of Life, in Vnite and Concord, which Vnitie is to be desired of all true Christians.

It is much to be lamented, the Schismes, Varieties, Contentions, and Disputations, that haue beene, and are in the World, about Christian Religion, and no Agreement nor Concord of the same among the learned Men. Trulie, the Diuell hath beene the Sower of the Seede of Sedition, and shall be the Maintainer of it, euen till Gods Will be fulfilled. There is no War so cruell and euill as this; for the War, with Sword, killeth but the Bodies, and this slaieth manie Soules; for the poore vnlearned Persons remaine confused, and almost euerie one beleeueth and worketh after his owne Waie; and yet there is but one Truth of Gods Word, by the which we shall be saued. Happie be they that receiue it, and most vnhappie are they which neglect and persecute the same: For it shall be more easie for *Sodom* and *Gomor*, at the Daie of Iudgement, than for them. And not without iust Cause, if we consider the Beneuolence, Goodnesse, and Mercie of God, who hath declared his Charitie towards vs, greater, and more inestimable, than euer he did to the *Hebrues*. For they liued vnder Shadowes and Figures, and were bound to the Lawe. And Christ, we being his greatest Enemies, hath deliuered vs from the Bondage of the Lawe, and hath fulfilled all that was figured in their Lawe, and also in their Prophetes; sheading his owne pretious Bloud, to make vs the Children of his Father, and his Brethren, and hath made vs free, setting vs in a godlie Libertie: I meane not Licence to Sinne, as manie be glad to interpret the same, when as Christian Libertie is godlie intreated of.

Trulie, it is no good Spirit that moueth Men to find Fault at euerie Thing, and, when Things may be well taken, to peruert

them into an euill Sense and Meaning. There be, in the World, manie Speakers of Holines and good Works, but verie rare and seldome is declared, which be the good and holie Works. The Works of the Spirit be neuer almost spoken of, and, therefore, verie few knowe what they be. I am able to iustifie the Ignorance of the People to be great, not in this Matter alone, but in manie other, the which were most necessarie for Christians to knowe. Because I haue had iust Prooofe of the same, it maketh me thus much to saie, with no little Sorowe and Greefe in my Hart, for such a miserable Ignorance and Blindnesse amongst the People.

I doubt not, but we can saie all, Lord, Lord; but I feare, God may saie vnto vs, This People honoureth me with their Lips, but their Harts be far from me. God desireth nothing but the Hart, and saith, He will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth. Christ condemned all Hypocrisie and feigned Holines, and taught sincere, pure, and true Godlinesse; but we, worse than frantike, or blinde, will not followe Christs Doctrine, but trust to Mens Doctrines, Judgements, and Saiings, which dimmeth our Eies, and so the Blind leadeth the Blind, and both fall into the Dich. Trulie, in my simple and vnlearned Iudgement, no Mans Doctrine is to be esteemed, or preferred, like vnto Christs and the Apostles; nor to be taught, as a perfect and true Doctrine, but euen as it doth accord and agree with the Doctrine of the Gospell.

But yet, those that be called spirituall Pastours (although they be most carnall, as it doth verie euidentlie and plainelie appeare by their Fruites) are so blinded with the Loue of themselves, and the World, that they extoll Mens Inuentions and Doctrines, before the Doctrine of the Gospell. And when they be not able to mainteine their own Inuentions and Doctrines, with anie Iot of the Scripture, then they most cruellie persecute them that be contrarie to the same. Be such the Louers of Christ? Naie, naie, they be the Louers of the wicked *Mammon*, neither regarding God, nor his Honour. For filthie Lucre hath made them almost mad, but frantike they be doubtlesse. Is not this miserable State of spirituall Men in the World much

much to be lamented of all good Christi- all Kind of Lamentation, but such as may
ans? But yet I cannot allowe, neither praise stand with Christian Charitie.

The Eight Chapter.

Of the Fruites and Rules of true Christianitie for Men to followe.

CHARITIE suffereth long, and is gentle, enuieth not, vpbraideth no Man, casteth, frowardlie, no Faults in Mens Teeth, but referreth all Things to God; being angrie without Sinne, reforming others without Slanders, carrieng euer a Store-house of mild Words to pearce the stonie-hearted Men. I would all Christians, that, like as they haue professed Christ, would so endeavour themselves to folowe him in godlie Liuing. For we haue not put on Christ, to liue anie more to our selues, in the Vanities, Delightes, and Pleasures of the World, and the Flesh; suffering the Concupiscence and Carnalitie of the Flesh to haue his full Swinge, for we must walke after the Spirit, and not after the Flesh; for the Spirit is spirituall, and coueteth spirituall Things, and the Flesh carnall, and desireth carnall Things. The Men, regenerate by Christ, despise the World, and all the Vanities and Pleasures thereof; they be no Louers of themselves, for they feelee how euill and infirme they be, not being able to do anie good Thing, without the Helpe of God, from whome they knowledge all Goodnesse to procede.

They flatter not themselves, with thinking euerie Thing, which shineth to the World, to be good and holie; for they knowe, all externe and outward Works, be they neuer so glorious and faire to the World, may be done of the Euill, as well as of the Good: And, therefore, they haue, in verie little Estimation, the outward Shew of Holinesse, because they be all spirituall, casting vp their Eies vpon heauenlie Things; neither looking, nor regarding the earthlie Things, for they be to them vile and abiect. They haue also the Simplicite of the Doue, and the Policie of the Serpent; for, by Simplicite, they haue a Desire to do Good to all Men, and to hurt no Man, no, though they haue Occasion giuen; and, by Policie, they giue not, nor minister anie iust Cause to anie Man, whereby their Doctrine might be re-

proued. They be not, also, as a Reede shaken with euerie Winde; but, when they be blasted with the Tempests and Stormies of the World, then remaine they most firme, stable, and quiet, feeling in Spirit, that God, as their best Father, doth send, and suffer all Things for their Benefit and Commoditie. Christ is to them a Rule, a Line, an Example of Christian Life; they be neuer offended at anie Thing, although Occasion be ministred vnto them: For, like as Christ, when *Peter* would haue withdrawne him from Death, answered, and said, Go backe from me, *Sathan*, for thou offendeest me; that is, As much as lieth in thee, thou giuest me Occasion, with thy Words, to make me withdrawe my selfe from Death, although I yielded not thereto; for this, thy Procurement, can not extinguish the burning Desire I haue, to shed my Bloud for my Chosen. Euen so the perfect Men are neuer offended at anie Thing; for, although the World were full of Sinne, they would not withdrawe themselves from doing of Good, nor waxe cold in the Loue of the Lord. And much lesse they would be moued to do Euill, yea rather, they be so much the more moued to do Good.

The Regenerated, by Christ, are neuer offended at the Works of God, because they knowe, by Faith, that God doth all Things well; and that he can not erre, neither for Want of Power, nor by Ignorance, nor Malice; for they knowe him to be Almighty, and that he seeth all Things, and is most abundantlie good. They see, and feelee in Spirit, that, of that Will most highlie perfect, can not but procede most perfecte Works. Likewise, they be not offended at the Works of Men; for, if they be good, they are moued, by them, to take Occasion to folowe them, and to reknowledge the Goodnes of God, with Giuing of Thanks, and Praising his Name daillie the more. But if they be indifferent, and such as may be done with

with good and euill Intents, they iudge the best Part, thinking they may be done to a good Purpose, and so they be edified. But, if they be so euill, that they can not be taken in good Part, by anie Meanes, yet they be not offended, although Occasion be giuen; naie, rather, they be edified, in asmuch as they take Occasion to be better, though the Contrarie be ministred to them.

Then begin they to thinke, and saie thus: 'If God had not preferred me with his Grace, I should haue committed this Sinne, and worffe. O how much am I bound to confesse and knowledge the Goodnesse of God!' They go also thinking and saieing

further: 'He, that hath sinned, may be one of Gods Elect; peraduenture the Lord hath suffered him to fall, to the Intent he may the better knowe himselfe. I knowe he is one of them, that Christ hath shed his Bloud for, and one of my Christian Brethren; trulie, I will admonish and rebuke him, and, in Case I find him desperate, I will comfort him, and shewe him the great Goodnesse and Mercie of God in Christ; and, with godlie Consolations, I will see if I can lift him vp.' And thus ye may see, how the Men, regenerated by Christ, of euerie Thing, win and receiue Fruit.

The Nint Chapter.

Of the Fruits of Infidelitie, and Offence of Weaklings.

AND, contrariwise, the Yonglings, and, Vnperfect, are offended at small Trifles, taking euerie Thing in euill Part, grudging and murmuring against their Neighbour; and so much the more, as they shew themselves feruent in their so doing, they are iudged, of the blind World, and of themselves, great Zeale-bearers to God. If this were the greatest Euill of these Yonglings, it were not the most Euill; but I feare they be so blind and ignorant, that they are offended, also, at good Things, and iudge nothing good, but such as they embrace and esteeme to be good, with murmuring against all such, as folowe not their Waies. If there be anie of this Sort, the Lord giue them the Light of his Truth, that they may increase and growe in godlie Strength. I suppose, if such Yonglings and Vnperfect had seen Christ, and his Disciples, eate Meate with vnwashed Hands, or not to haue fasted with the Pharisees, they would haue bene offended, seeing him a Breaker of Mens Traditions. Their Affections dispose their Eyes to see through other Men, and they see nothing in themselves; where Charitie, although it be most full of Eyes, to see the Faults of others, whome it coueteth to amend, thinketh none euill, but discreetlie, and rightlie, interpreteth all Things, by the which, more iustlie and trulie euerie Thing is taken.

Now, these superstitious Weaklings, if

they had been conuerfant with Christ, and seene him leade his Life sometime with Women, sometime with Samaritans, with Publicanes, Sinners, and with the Pharisees, they would haue murmured at him. Also, if they had seene Marie powre vpon Christ the precious Ointment, they would haue said, with Iudas, 'This Ointment might haue bene sold, and giuen to the Poore.' If they also had seene Christ, with Whips, driue out of the Temple those that bought and sold, they would, forthwith, haue iudged Christ to haue bene troubled and moued with Anger, and not by Zeale of Charitie. How would they haue bene offended, if they had seene him go to the Iewes Feast, heale a sicke Man vpon the Sabbath Daie, practise with the Woman of Samaria, yea, and shew vnto hir of his most Diuine Doctrine and Lif? They would haue taken Occasion to haue hated and persecuted him, as the Scribes and Pharisees did; and euen so should Christ, the Sauour of the World, haue bene to them an Offence and Ruine.

There be an other Kind of little ones vnperfecte, which are offended after this Sort and Maner. As when they see one, that is reputed and esteemed holie, to commit Sinne, forthwith they learne to do that, and worffe, and waxe cold in dooing of Good, and confirme themselves in Euill; and then they excuse their wicked Life, publishing the same with

with the Slander of their Neighbour. If anie Man reprocue them, they saie: Such a Man did this, and woofse. So it is euidnt, that such Persons would denie Christ, if they sawe other Men doo the same. If they went to Rome, and sawe the Enormities of the Prelates, which is said to reigne there amongst them, I doubt not, if they sawe one of them sinne, which were reputed and taken for holie, their Faith should be lost, but not the Faith of Christ, which they neuer possessed; but they should loose that humane Opinion, which they had of the Goodnesse of the Prelates: For, if they had the Faith of Christ, the Holie Ghost should be a Witnes vnto them; the which should be mightie in them, that, in Case all the World would denie Christ, yet they would remaine firme and stable in the true Faith.

The Pharisees also tooke Occasion of the Euill of others, to waxe hautie and proud, taking themselves to be Men of greater Perfection than anie other, because of their Vertue; euen as the Pharisee did, when he sawe the Publicans Submission. And so they be offended with euerie little Thing, iudging Euill, murmuring against their Neighbour; and, for the same, they are, of manie, reputed, and taken for the more holie and good, whereas, in deed, they be the more wicked. The most wicked Persons are of-

fended, euen at themselves; for, at their little Stabilitie in Goodnesse, and of their delectable and euill Life, they take Occasion to despaire, where they ought the more to commit themselves to God, asking Mercie for their Offences; and, forthwith, to giue Thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his Goodnesse, to suffer them so long a Time.

But what needeth it anie more to saie, The euill Men are offended, euen at the Works of God? They see God suffer Sinners, therefore, thinke they, Sinne displeaseth him not. And, because they see not the Good rewarded with Riches, oftentimes they imagine, that God loueth them not: It seemeth to them God is parciall, because he hath elected some, and some reprocued. And, therefore, they saie, That the Electd be sure of Saluation; taking, by that, Occasion to doo Euill inough, saing, Whatsoeuer God hath determined, shall be performed. If also they see the good Men oppressed, and the euill Men exalted, they iudge God vniust, taking Occasion to liue euille, saing, Inasmuch as God fauoureth the naughtie Men, let vs doo Euill inough, to the Intent he doo vs Good. If then the Wicked be offended, euen at God, it is no Wonder if they be offended at those that followe and walke in his Paths and Waies.

The Tenth Chapter.

Of carnall Gospellers, by whose euill Liuing, Gods Truth is shamefullie slandered.

I Will now speake with great Dolor and Heauinesse in my Hart, of a Sort of People which be in the World, that be called Professors of the Gospell, and, by their Words, doo declare and shew, they be much affected to the same: But, I am afraid, some of them doo build vpon the Sand, as *Simon Magus* did, making a weake Foundation; I meane, they make not Christ their chiefeft Foundation, professing his Doctrinne, of a sincere, pure, and zealous Mind; but either, for because they would be called Gospellers, to procure some Credit and good Opinion of the true and verie Fauourers of Christs Doctrinne, either to find out some carnall Libertie, ei-

ther to be contentious Disputers, Finders, or Rebukers of other Mens Faults, or else, finally, to please and flatter the World. Such Gospellers are an Offence, and a Slander to the Word of God, and make the Wicked to reioice and laugh at them, saing, Behold, I praie you, their faire Fruits. What Charitie, what Discretion, what Godlinesse, Holinesse, or Puritie of Life, is among them? Be not they great Auengers, foule Gluttons, Slanderers, Backbiters, Adulterers, Fornicators, Swearers, and Blasphemers, yea, and wallowe and tumble in all Sinnes? These be the Fruits of their Doctrinne.

And thus it may be seene, how the Word of God is euill spoken of, through licentious and euill Liuing; and yet the Word of God is all holie, pure, sincere, and godlie, being the Doctrine and Occasion of all holie and pure Liuing. It is the Wicked that peruert all good Things into Euill, for an euill Tree can not bring forth good Fruit; and, when good Seede is sowne in a barren and euill Ground, it yeeldeth no good Corne; and so it fareth by the Word of God: For when it is heard, and knowne of wicked Men, it bringeth no good Fruit; but when it is sowne in good Ground, I meane the Harts of good People, it bringeth forth good Fruit abundantly; so that the Want and Fault is in Men, and not in the Word of God. I praise God, all Men and Women may haue Grace to become meete Tillage for the Fruits of the Gospell, and to leaue onlie the Iangling of it. For onlie Speaking of the Gospell maketh not Men good Christians, but good Talkers, except their Facts and Works agree with the same; so then their Speech is good, because their Harts be good. And euen as much Talk of the Word of God, without practising the same in our Liuing, is euill and detestable in the Sight of God; so it is a lamentable Thing to heare, how there be manie, in the World, that do not well digest the Reading of Scripture, and do commend and praise Ignorance, and saie, That much Knowledge of Gods Word is the Originall of all Dissention, Scismes, and Contention; and maketh Men haucie, proud, and presumptuous, by Reading of the same.

This Maner of Saieing is no lesse than a plaine Blasphemie against the Holie Ghost; for the Spirit of God is the Author of his Word; and so the Holie Ghost is made the Author of Euill, which is a most great Blasphemie, and, as the Scripture saith, a Sinne that shall not be forgiven in this World, neither in the other to come. It were all our Parts and Duties, to procure and seeke all the Waies and Meanes possible, to haue more Knowledge of Gods Word set forth Abroade in the World, and not allow Ignorance, and discommend Knowledge of Gods Word, stopping the Mouthes of the Vnlearned, with subtle and craftie Persuasions of Philosophie and Sophistrie, whereof cometh no Fruite, but a great Perturbation of

the Mind, to the Simple and Ignorant, not knowing which Waie to turn them. For how, Is it not extreame Wickednesse, to charge the holie sanctified Word of God with the Offences of Man? To alledge the Scriptures to be perillous Learning, because certaine Readers thereof fall into Heresies?

These Men might be inforced, by this Kind of Argument, to forsake the Vse of Fire, because Fire burneth their Neighbours Houise; or to abstaine from Meate and Drinke, because they see manie surfet. O blind Hate! They slander God for Mans Offence, and excuse the Man whome they see offend, and blame the Scripture, which they can not improue; yea, I haue heard of some, that haue verie well vnderstood the *Latin* Tongue, that when they haue heard learned Men persuade to the Credite and Beleefe of certaine vnwritten Verities, as they call them, which be not in Scripture exprest, and yet taught as Doctrine Apostolike, and necessarie to be beleeued; they haue bene of this Opinion, that the learned Men haue no Epistles written by the Apostles of Christ, than we haue Abroad in the Canon of the Old and New Testament, or knowne of anie, but onlie to them of the Clergie. Which Beleefe I did not a little lament in my Hart to heare, that anie Creature should haue such a blind ignorant Opinion.

Some Kind of Simplicite is to be praised, but this Simplicite, without the Veritie, I can neither praise nor allow. And thus it may be seene, how we, that be vnlettered, remaine confused, without God, of his Grace, lighten our Harts and Minds with a heauenlie Light and Knowledge of his Will; for we be giuen, of our selues, to beleue Men better than God. I praise God, send all learned Men the Spirit of God abundantly, that their Doctrine may bring forth the Fruits thereof. I suppose there was neuer more Neede of good Doctrine to be set forth in the World, than now in this Age; for the carnall Children of *Adam* be so wise in their Generation, that, if it were possible, they would deceiue the Children of Light. The World loueth his owne, and, therefore, their Facts and Doings be highlie esteemed of the World; but the Children of God are hated, because they be not of the World; for their

Habita-

Habitation is in Heauen, and they do despise the World as a most vile Slaue.

The fleshlie Children of Adam be so politike, subtil, craftie, and wise in their Kind, that the Elect should be illuded, if it were possible; for they are clothed with Christs Garment, in vtter Appearance, with a faire Shewe of all Godlines and Holines in their Words; but they haue so thorne, nopped, and turned Christs Garment, and haue so

disguised themselves, that the Children of Light, beholding them with a spirituall Eie, do accompt and take them for Men which haue sold their Maisters Garment, and haue stolne a Peece of euerie Mans Garment; yet, by their subtil Art, and craftie Wits, they haue so set those Patches and Peeces together, that they do make the blind World, and carnall Men to beleue, it is Christs verie Mantell.

The Eleuenth Chapter.

Of the vertuous Properties of Gods Children, of whome euerie one attendeth his Vocation.

BUT the Children of Light knowe the Contrarie; for they are led, by the Spirit of God, to the Knowledge of the Truth, and, therefore, they discern and iudge all Things right, and knowe from whence they come, euen from the Bishop of Rome, and his Members, the Headspring of all Pride, Vaineglorie, Ambition, Hypocrisie, and feigned Holines.

The Children of God be not abashed, although the World hate them; they beleue they are in the Grace and Faouour of God, and that he, as a best Father, doth gouerne them in all Things, putting awaie from them all vaine Confidence and Trust in their owne Doings; for they knowe they can do nothing but Sin of themselves. They be not so foolish and childish, not to giue God Thanks for their Election, which was before the Beginning of the World; for they beleue most surelie, they be of the Chosen; for the Holie Ghost doth witnes to their Spirit, that they be the Children of God, and, therefore, they beleue God better than Man. They saie, with St. Paule, 'Who shall separate vs from the Loue of God? Shall Tribulation, Anguish, Persecution, Hunger, Nakednesse, Perill, or Sword? As it is written, For thy Sake are we killed all Daie long, and are accounted as Sheepe appointed to be slaine; neuertheless, in all these Things, we overcome, through him that loueth vs.' For I am sure, that neither Death, nor Life, neither Angels, nor Rule, neither Power, neither Things present, neither Things to come, neither Quantitie or Qualitie, nei-

'ther anie Creature, shall be able to depart vs from the Loue of God, which is in Christ Iesu our Lord.'

They are not, by this godlie Faith, presumptuously inflamed; nor, by the same, become they loose, idle, or slowe in dooing of godlie Works, as carnall Men dreame of them; so much the more seruent they be in dooing most holie and pure Works, which God hath commanded them to walke in. They wander not in Mens Traditions and Inuentions, leauing the most holie and pure Precepts of God vndone, which they knowe they be bound to obserue and keepe. Also, they worke not like Hirelings, for Neede, Wages, or Reward; but, as louing Children, without Respect of Lucre, Gaine, or Hire; they be in such Libertie of Spirit, and ioie so much in God, that their inward Consolation can not be exprest with Tongue. All Feare of Damnation is gone from them, for they haue put their whole Hope of Saluation in his Hands, which will and can performe it; neither haue they anie Post or Piller to leane to, but God; and his smooth vnwrinkled Church; for he is to them all in all Things, and to him they leane, as a most sure square Piller, in Prosperitie and Aduersitie; nothing doubting of his Promises and Couenants, for they beleue most surelie they shall be fulfilled.

Also, the Children of God be not curious in searching the high Mysteries of God, which be not meet for them to knowe; neither do go about, with humane and carnall Reasons,

to interpret Scripture, perswading Men, by their subtille Wits, and carnall Doctrine, that much Knowledge of Scripture maketh Men Heretikes, without they temper it with humane Doctrine, Sophistrie, Philosophie, and Logicke, wherewith to be seduced, according to the Traditions of Men, after the Ordinances of the World, and not after Christ. *St. Paule* doth most diligentlie admonish vs, which Arts are not conuenient and meet to be made Checkmate with Scripture; for the Scriptures be so pure and holie, that no Perfection can be added vnto them; for, euen as fine Gold doth excell all other Mettals, so doth the Word of God all Mens Doctrines. I beseech the Lord to send the Learned and Vnlearned such Abundance of his Holie Spirit, that they may obeie and obserue the most sincere and holie Word of God, and shew the Fruits thereof, which consisteth, chieflie, in Charitie and godlie Vnitie; that, as we haue professed one God, one Faith, and one Baptisme, so we may be all of one Mind, and one Accord, putting awaie all Biting and Gnawing; for, in Backbiting, Slandering, and Mis-reporting our Christian Brethren, we shew not our selues the Disciples of Christ, whom we professe. In him was most high Charitie, Humilitie, and Patience, suffering, most patientlie, all Ignomine, Rebukes, and Slanders, praieng to his eternall Father for his Enemies with most perfect Charitie; and, in all Things, did remit his Will to his Fathers, as the Scripture doth witnesse, when he praied in the Mount. A godlie Example and Lesson for vs to followe at all Times and Seasons, as well in Prosperitie, as in Aduersitie; to haue no Will but Gods Will, committing, and leauing to him, all our Cares and Greefes, and to abandon all our Policies and Inuentions; for they be most vaine and foolish, and, indeed, uerie Shadows and Dreames.

But we be yet so carnall and fleshlie, that we run headlong, like vnbrideled Colts without Snaffle or Bridle. If we had the Loue of God printed in our Harts, it would keepe us backe from running astrae. And, vntill such Time as it please God to send vs this Bit to hold vs in, we shall neuer run the right Waie, although we speake and talke neuer so much of God and his Word. The true Followers of Christs Doctrine haue alwaies

a Respect and an Eie to their Vocation. If they be called to the Ministerie of Gods Word, they preach and teach it sincerelie, to the Edifying of others, and shew themselves, in their Liuing, Followers of the same. If they be married Men, hauing Children and Familie, they nourish and bring them vp, without all Bitternesse and Fiercenesse in the Doctrine of the Lord, in all Godlinesse and Vertue; committing the Instruction of others, which apperteine not to their Charge, to the Reformation of God, and his Ministers, which chieflie be Kings and Princes, bearing the Sword euen for that Purpose, to punish euill Doers. If they be Children, they honour their Father and Mother, knowing it to be Gods Commandment, and that he hath, thereto, annexed a Promise of long Life. If they be Seruants, they obeie and serue their Maisters with all Feare and Reuerence, euen for the Lords Sake, neither with Murmuring nor Grudging, but with a free Hart and Mind.

If they be Husbands, they loue their Wiues as their owne Bodies, after the Example as Christ loued the Congregation, and gaue himselfe for it, to make it to him a Spouse without Spot or Wrinkle. If they be Women married, they learne of *St. Paule* to be obedient to their Husbands, and to keepe Silence in the Congregation, and to learne of their Husbands at Home: Also, they wear such Apparell, as becommeth Holinesse, and comelie Vsage, with Sobernesse; not being Accusers, or Detractors; not giuen to much Eating of delicate Meats, and Drinking of Wine; but they teach honest Things, to make the yong Women sober-minded, to loue their Husbands, to loue their Children; to be discreet, chaste, housewifelic, good, and obedient vnto their Husbands, that the Word of God be not euill spoken of. Verelie, if all Sorts of People would looke to their owne Vocation, and ordeine the same, according to Christs Doctrine, we should not haue so manie Eies and Eares to other Mens Faults, as we haue; for we be so busie and glad, to find and espie out other Mens Doings, that we forget, and can haue no Time, to weigh and ponder our owne; which, after the Word of God, we ought first to reforme, and then we shall the better helpe an other with the Straw out of his Eies.

But, alas ! we be so much giuen to loue and to flatter our selues, and so blinded with carnall Affections, that we can see and perceiue no Fault in our selues ; and, therefore, it is a Thing verie requisite and necessarie for

vs, to praise all with one Hart and Mind to God, to giue vs an heauenlie Light and Knowledge of our owne Miseries and Calamities ; that we may see them, and acknowledge them trulie before him.

The Twelue Chapter.

The Conclusion, with a Christian Exhortation to the Amendement of Life.

IF anie Man shall be offended at this my Lamenting the Faults of Men, which be in the World, fantasizing with themselves, that I do it either of Hatred or of Malice to anie Sort or Kind of People, verilie, in so dooing, they shall do me great Wrong ; for, I thanke God, by his Grace, I hate no Creature ; yea, I would saie more, to giue witness of my Conscience, that neither Life, Honour, Riches, neither whatsoever I possesse here, which appertaineth to mine owne priuate Commoditie, be it neuer so deerlie beloued of me, but most willinglie, and gladlie, I would leaue it, to win anie Man to Christ, of what Degree, or Sort, soeuer he were. And yet is this nothing, in Comparison to the Charitie that God hath shewed me, in sending Christ to die for me. No, if I had all the Charitie of Angels, and Apostles, it should be but like a Sparke of Fire, compared to a greate Heape of burning Coales.

God knoweth, of what Intent and Mind I haue lamented mine owne Sinnes and Faults to the World. I trust, no Bodie will iudge, that I haue done it for Praise or Thanke of anie Creature ; since, rather, I might be ashamed, than reioice in Rehearsall thereof. For, if they knewe how little I esteeme and weigh the Praise of the World, that Opinion were soone remooued and taken awaie ; for, I thanke God, by his Grace, I knowe the World to be a blind Iudge, and the Praises thereof vaine, and of little Moment ; and, therefore, I seeke not the Praises of the same, neither to satisfie it, none otherwise than I am taught by Christ to do, according to Christian Charitie. I would to God we would all, when Occasion doth serue, confesse our Faults to the World, all Respects of our owne Commoditie laid apart. But, alas ! Selfe-

loue doth so much reigne among vs, that, as I haue said before, we can not espie our owne Faults. And although, somtime, we find our owne Guilt, either we be fauourable to interpret it no Sin, or else we be ashamed to confesse ourselues thereof ; yea, and we be sore offended, and greeued, to heare our Faults charitable and godlie told vs of other, putting no Difference betweene charitable Warning, and malicious Accusing.

Trulie, if we fought Gods Glorie, as we should do in all Things, we should not be ashamed to confesse our selues to digresse from Gods Precepts and Ordinances, when it is manifest we haue done, and daile do. I praise God, our owne Faults and Deeds condemne vs not at the last Daie, when euerie Man shall be rewarded according to his Doings. Trulie, if we do not redresse and amend our Liuing, according to the Doctrine of the Gospell, we shall receiue a terrible Sentence of Christ the Sonne of God, when he shall come to iudge and condemne all Transgressours, and Breakers of his Precepts and Commandements, and to reward all his obedient and louing Children. We shall haue no Man of Lawe to make our Plea for vs, neither can we haue the Daie deferred ; neither will the Iudge be corrupted with Affection, Bribes, or Reward ; neither will he heare anie Excuse or Delaie ; neither shall this Saint, or that Martyr, helpe vs, be they neuer so holie ; neither shall our Ignorance saue vs from Damnation ; but yet wilfull Blindnesse, and obstinate Ignorance, shall receiue greater Punishment, and not without iust Cause. Then shall it be knowne who hath walked in the Darke ; for all Things shall appeere manifest before him ; no Mans Deeds shall be hidden, no, neither Words nor Thoughts. The poore and simple Obseruers.

servuers of Gods Commandements shall be rewarded with euerlasting Life, as obedient Children to the heauenlie Father; and the Transgressors, Adders, and Diminishers of the Lawe of God, shall receiue eternall Damnation, for their iust Reward. I beseech God we may escape this fearefull Sentence, and be found such faithfull Seruants, and louing Children, that we may heare the happie, comfortable, and most ioisfull Sentence, ordeined

for the Children of God, which is :

‘ Come hither, ye Blessed of my Father, and receiue the Kingdome of Heauen, prepared for you before the Beginning of the World.’

Vnto the Father, the Sonne, and the Holiē Ghost, be all Honour and Glorie, World without End. *Amen.*

Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at *Picquet* : Being acted from the Year 1653, to 1658, by *O. P.* and others, with great Applause.

Tempora mutantur, & nos —

Printed in the Year 1659, *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

Oliver.

I AM like to have a good Beginning of it; I have thrown out all my best Cards, and got none but a Company of wretched ones; so I may very well be capetted.

Lambert. Now you have a good Pack, my Lord, I am content to play; but you knew every Card of the old ones, and could make your Game as you listed.

Lawrence. I took a few, yet they make me a good Game; for I left all the little ones behind me.

Fleetwood. If your Highness had those, my Lord *Laurence* left, you would have a better Game, than you have; I could wish you would look upon them; but yet, I know, you can hardly tell what to play well. I am for the little ones, if there be enough of them; for two *Quint Minors* will win the Game, before you come to reckon you are fourteen by *Knaves*.

Fines. It is fit you should play at some common Game, where all the small Cards are in, and where the Ace goeth but for One. I was too long at the Sport, and left it, because I could make nothing of it; but, here, whosoever gets one Card is like to make a good Hand: I have got a good Tearse already.

Musgrave. I was somewhat scrupulous, whether Play was lawful, or not; and so sat out the last Game, which had like to have undone me: For the Future, I shall play what Game soever your Highness pleaseth, especially now I see you play so well, when you lose.

Lisle. If I go into *France*, I must practise another Game; but, do what I can, I shall be over-reached by *hoc Mazarine*.

Desborough. I am nothing but a Ruff, yet I shall do well; I have got a Card of a right Suit, and should hope to have a better Game, if the Cards were in any other Hands, than your Lordship's.

Skippon. I sit here, and hold the Cards, but know no more how to play, than a Post.

Rouse. I am more diligent at this Game, than ever I was at any, but I got more the last Game, when I played *Cent*; for I had a Hundred, and all made: All, that I desire, is to save myself, and help my Kindred to something, by betting on my Side, while my Luck lasts.

Jones. I must needs lose, for I have thrown out the Card that made me a good Game.

Onseley. A Fox on it, I left *Piccadilly*, and the *Three Kings*, to play here, and I shall get nothing all the Days of my Life.

Aibley-

Ashley-Cooper. I was *Picquet* at *Whitehall*, and thought to save myself amongst the *Cavalier* Posts; but, I doubt, I shall be deceived.

Pickering. I had rather play at another Game, where more may play; but, I thank the Lord, I can frame myself to any Sport, so my Lord P. be one at it.

Strickland. You play not here, as they do in *Holland*, where I learned this Game; for you make *Lifting* here, and there they deal by Turns.

Major. All, that I am, I had in my *Rife*; I was the pitifullest Game in the World before.

Sydenham. I am pretty well, though I changed my Suit; I went in all One, and had another as good in the Stock.

Montague. You make me play at a Game, I never knew in my Life before; I must needs lose.

Blake. I shall be a Kind of a *Stander-by* this Time, and so shall have Time enough to teach you the Game against the next, when you may play by yourself.

Thurloe. My Lord, it will not be so well for me to play; I will stand behind your Chair, and make and shuffle, with what you are to play, the next Game.

St. John. My Lord, I shall not play neither; but I will go your Halves, so you keep my Counsel.

Pierpoint. You play so rashly, I will not bet a Farthing on your Head.

Salloway. I am but a *Stander-by*; yet I observe, the small Cards, that are left, and not played with, are all very clear; but the rest of the Pack are filthy foul already.

Bradshaw. I dispatched out one King, and went for another, but have missed him; yet he hath not a Card of his Suit with him; so I shall snap him, when he comes into my Hands.

Hajlerigge. May we not play *Levet-coil*? I have not Patience to stay till another Match be made, and I had as live be hanged, as sit out.

Nevil. I will not play for a Farthing; besides that I love not the Game, I am so dunned with the Spleen, I should think on something else all the While I were a playing, and take in all the small Cards; for I am all Day dreaming of another Game.

Waller. My Lord, you have hanged my King, and I have no other Way, than to play into your Hands.

Whitlocke. I shall be content to play at any

Game, but shall be unwilling to play for a dead Horse; yet I care not if I keep Stakes.

Knightly. My Lord, give me Leave to speak against your Game, that so I may be thought not to bet; and then I shall be able to give such Advice, as I may help you to play.

Roberts. I have the Luck of it; I win as well at this Game, as at the last, when I played at *Loadam*; I had all the small Cards then, and now I have all the great ones.

Gerrard. I do not like the Game so well, as to leave the Match I have made for myself; yet I do not care, if I venture a little on your Hand, and try if I can get a Stock to set up my youngest Son for a Gamester.

Bernard. May I not talk as much as I will in your Play, so long as I am resolved never to bet or play with you at this Game, for a Groat?

Vane. One had better, sometimes, play with a good Gamester, than a Bungler; for one knows not where to have him: If *Cromwell* had discarded, as he ought to have done, I had won my Stake at it; as it is, I shall save myself; which, I fear, he will hardly do, though he mingles the Cards well, when he deals himself, and hath excellent Luck in Cutting, when another deals.

Rich. I play a thousand Times better, now I have a bad Game, than when I had a good one.

Harrison. I played the Fool, and went in for a fifth King, when there were but four in the Stock.

Lawson. My Lord, the Game was not dealt you, you took it; I throw up my Cards.

Streater. My Lord, if you would curse and swear soundly, the Game would become you, better than it doth, in Regard you pretend so much to Religion; I shall disturb you in the Game, if I stand by; I see you play in the Dark, therefore I must take my Leave of your Lordship, and bid you Good Night.

Noell. I make my Fortune by lending the Gamesters Money.

Young Trevor. Shall not I play? My Lord Protector has given me a Stock, and I will pack the Cards with all the *Cavalier*-Gamesters in the Town.

Sir John Trevor. Well said, *Jack*; thou art none of my Son, if thou beest not in all Games, and canst carry a Trump in thy Pocket.

Harvey.

Harvey. They caught me playing false, and would let me play no longer, though I was on my Lord Protector's Side.

Tichborne. I had Reason to desire to play at Council-picquet, since I am like to lose so much by another Man's ill Play.

Newdigate. I have lost by Play, but I got by Leaving off.

Chute. There is such Cheating, that I will play no longer.

Purefoy. I will play at small Game, rather than sit out; for I was never set at Work.

Pride. Baxter and I are at the old foolish *Christmas* Game with Honours.

Monk. My Lord, when you came to play, your Stock was none of the greatest; but, since I see your good Fortune, I am resolved still to play, as you do; especially since you have made me Master of one of your great Play-houses; but, above all Things, if you can keep the Bone in your Hand, the Dogs will follow you; if you can keep the Treasure, the Gamesters all croud to you.

Dissenting Army-members. My Lord, when you began the Game, you promised us fair Play above-board; but, since we see you begin to juggle, we will play no longer.

Exchequer. I must win at last, yet at present I have ill Luck; for I have three Knaves, and had cast out the fourth.

Upper Bench. Sure you are no better than a Cheat; for I threw out one of them, and you have taken him up into your Hands.

Common-Pleas. You served me the very same Trick the last Term, and took in one of them whom I discarded; but ye had best leave your Cheating and Wrangling, all of you, lest ye be found what ye are, and be forbid to keep a *Christmas* here any more; and

then we be forced to set up a Mis-rule in the Country, where there are but small Games, and the Box will be poorly paid.

Chancery and Duchy. I am blank; if it had not been for the Queen, I had cast out a Knave, which now proves the best of my Game.

Trustees. I have taken more than I should, I must reckon nothing.

Commissioners for Excise and Customs. Gentlemen, pay the Box.

Presbyterian. I lost the last Game for Want of a King, and now have got one that doth me no Good in the World; I had a good Hand, but I played the Fool, and threw him out; so that all my Help depends on one Card.

Independent. I have none but small Cards, and they of several Suits, so that I shall make little of it this Bout.

National Minister. I went in for those Cards, the Bishops and Deans parted with the last Game; but, though I missed them, yet, if my Tenths be good, I shall make Shift till another Dealing.

Divine. I was Picquet the last, but am now Re-picquet.

Papist. If you all complain, I hope I shall win at last.

EPILOGUE.

IT is to be noted, That the Gentlemen, that have been eminent in this last Dealing of the Cards, played very fair in the former Game here described, with a

PLAUDITE.

— *Sic transit Gloria mundi.*

Cases of Treason. Written by Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knight, His Majesty's Solicitor-General. Printed at *London*, by the Assigns of *John More*, and are sold by *Matthew Walbanck*, and *William Coke*, Anno 1641. Quarto, containing thirty-eight Pages.

C H A P. I.

W H E R E a Man doth compass or imagine the Death of the King, the King's Wife, the King's eldest Son, and Heir apparent, if it appear by any Overt-Act, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth violate the King's Wife, the King's eldest Daughter, unmarried, the Wife of the King's eldest Son, and Heir apparent, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth levy War against the King in the Realm, it is Treason.

Where a Man is adherent to the King's Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort, it is Treason.

Where a Man counterfeiteth the King's Great Seal, Privy Signet, Sign Manual, it is Treason; likewise his Money.

Where a Man bringeth into this Realm false Money, counterfeited to the Likeness of *English*, with Intent to merchandise or make Payment thereof, and knowing it to be false Money, it is Treason.

Where a Man counterfeiteth any Coin current in Payment within this Realm, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth bring in any Money, being current within the Realm, the same being false and counterfeit, with Intent to utter it, and knowing the same to be false, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth clip, waste, round, or file any of the King's Money, or any foreign Coin, current by Proclamation, for Gain's Sake, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth any Way impair, diminish, falsify, scale, or lighten Money current by Proclamation, it is Treason.

Where a Man killeth the Chancellor, the

Treasurer, the King's Justices in *Eyre*, the King's Justices of Assizes, the Justices of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, being in their several Places, and doing their Offices, it is Treason.

Where a Man procureth or consenteth to Treason, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth persuade or withdraw any of the King's Subjects from his Obedience, or from the Religion by his Majesty established, with Intent to withdraw any from the King's Obedience, it is Treason.

Where a Man is absolved, reconciled, or withdrawn from his Obedience to the King, or promisseth Obedience to any foreign Power, it is Treason.

Where any Jesuit, or any other Priest ordained since the first Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, shall come into or remain in any Part of this Realm, it is Treason.

Where any Person, being brought up in a College of Jesuits, or Seminaries, shall not return within six Months after Proclamation made, and, within two Days after his Return, submit himself to take the Oath of Supremacy, if otherwise he do return, and not within six Months after Proclamation made, it is Treason.

Where a Man, committed for Treason, doth voluntarily break Prison, it is Treason.

Where a Jailer doth voluntarily permit a Man committed for Treason to escape, it is Treason.

Where a Man relieveth or comforteth a Traitor, and knoweth of the Offence, it is Treason.

Where a Man doth affirm or maintain any Authority of Jurisdiction spiritual, or doth put in Ure or execute any Thing for the Advancement

ment or Setting forth thereof, the third Time, it is Treason.

Where a Man refuseth to take the Oath of Supremacy, being tendered by the Bishop of

the Dioceſe, if he be any eccleſiaſtical Perſon ; or by Commiſſion out of the Chancery, if he be a temporal Perſon ; ſuch Offence the ſecond Time is Treason.

CH A P. II.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings in Cases of Treason.

IN Treason, the corporal Punishment is by Drawing on a Hurdle from the Place of the Priſon to the Place of Execution, by Hanging and being cut down alive, Bowelling and Quartering, and in Women, Burning.

In Treason, there enſueth a Corruption of Blood in the Line aſcending and deſcending.

In Treason, Lands and Goods are forfeited, and Inheritances, as well Intailed as Fee-ſimple, and the Profits of Eſtates for Life.

In Treason, the Eſcheats go to the King, and not to the Lord of the Fee.

In Treason, the Land forfeited ſhall be in the King's actual Poſſeſſion, without Office.

In Treason, there be no Acceſſaries, but all are Principals.

In Treason, no Sanctuary, nor Benefit of Clergy, or peremptory Challenge is allowed.

In Treason, if the Party ſtand mute, yet nevertheleſs Judgment and Attainder ſhall proceed all one as upon Verdict.

In Treason, no Council is to be allowed, nor Bail permitted to the Party.

In Treason, no Witneſſes ſhall be received upon Oath for the Party's Juſtification.

In Treason, if the Fact be committed beyond the Seas, yet it may be tried in any County where the King will award his Commiſſion.

In Treason, if the Party be *non ſanæ memoriæ*, yet if he had formerly confeſſed it before the King's Council, and that it be certified that he was of good Memory at the Time of his Examination and Confeſſion, the Court may proceed to Judgment, without calling or arraigning the Party.

In Treason, the Death of the Party before Conviction diſchargeth all Proceedings and Forfeitures.

In Treason, if the Party be once acquitted, he ſhould not be brought in Queſtion again for the ſame Fact.

In Treason, no new Caſe not expreſſed in the Statute of 25 *Edw. III.*, or made Treason by any ſpecial Statute ſince, ought to be judged Treason, without conſulting with the Parliament.

In Treason, there can be no Proſecution but at the King's Suit, and the King's Pardon diſchargeth.

In Treason, the King cannot grant over to any Subject Power and Authority to pardon it.

In Treason, a Trial of a Peer of the Kingdom is to be, by ſpecial Commiſſion, before the Lord High Steward, and thoſe that paſs upon him to be none but Peers : The Proceeding is with great Solemnity, the Lord Steward ſitting under a Cloth of State, with a White Rod of Juſtice in his Hand, and the Peers may confer together, but are not any Ways ſhut up ; and are demanded, by the Lord Steward, their Voices one by one, and the Plurality of Voices carries it.

In Treason, it hath been an ancient Uſe and Favour, from the Kings of this Realm, to pardon the Execution of Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering ; and to make Warrant for their Beheading.

The Proceeding, in Caſe of Treason, with a common Subject, is in the *King's Bench*, or by Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer*.

C H A P. III.

Cases of Misprision of Treason.

WHERE a Man concealeth High Treason only, without any Consorting or Abetting, it is Misprision of Treason. Coin of Gold or Silver, not current in the Realm, it is Misprision of Treason.

Where a Man fixes an old Seal to a new Patent, it is Misprision of Treason.

C H A P. IV.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings in Cases of Misprision of Treason.

THE Punishment of Misprision of Treason is by perpetual Imprisonment, Loss of the Issues and Profits of their Lands during Life, and Loss of Goods and Chattels. The Proceeding and Trial is, as in Cases of High Treason.

In Misprision of High Treason, Bail is not admitted.

C H A P. V.

Cases of petty Treason.

WHERE a Servant killeth his Master ; the Wife the Husband ; the spiritual Man his Prelate, to whom he is subordinate, and oweth Faith and Obedience, it is petty Treason. Treason, and the late Experience and Opinion seemeth to sway to the contrary, though against Law and Reason in my Judgment.

Where a Son killeth the Father or Mother, it hath been questioned, Whether it be petty Treason. Where a Servant killeth his, or her Master or Mistres, after they are out of Service, it is petty Treason.

C H A P. VI.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings in Cases of petty Treason.

IN petty Treason, the corporal Punishment is by Drawing on an Hurdle, and Hanging ; same with the Case of Felony.

In petty Treason, the Forfeiture is the same with the Case of Felony.

C H A P. VII.

Cases of Felony.

WHERE a Man committeth Murder, or Homicide of Malice prepened, it is Felony. Where a Man committeth Murder, that is breaking of an House, with an Intent to commit Felony, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Man-slaughter, that is Homicide of sudden Heat, and not of Malice prepened, it is Felony.

Where a Man rideth armed with a felonious Intent, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth maliciously and feloniously burn any Man's House, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth maliciously, &c. burn Corn upon the Ground, or in Stack, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth maliciously cut out another Man's Tongue, or put out his Eyes, it is Felony.

Where a Man robbeth or stealeth, viz. taketh away another Man's Goods, above the Value of twelve Pence, out of his Possession, with Intent to conceal it, it is Felony.

Where a Man embezzleth and withdraweth any of the King's Records at *Westminster*, whereby a Judgment is reversed, it is Felony.

Where a Man, having the Custody of the King's Armour, Ammunition, or other Habilliments or War, doth maliciously convey away the same, it is Felony, if it be to the Value of twenty Shillings.

Where a Servant hath Goods of his Master's, delivered unto him, and goeth away with them, it is Felony.

Where a Man conjures, or invokes wicked Spirits, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth use or practise Witchcraft, whereby any Person shall be killed, wasted, or lamed, it is Felony.

Where a Man practiseth any Witchcraft, to discover Treasure hid, or to discover stolen Goods, or to provoke unlawful Love, or to impair or hurt any Man's Cattle or Goods the second Time, having been once before convicted of like Offence, it is Felony.

Where a Man useth the Craft of Multiplication of Gold or Silver, it is Felony.

Where a Man receiveth a Seminary Priest, knowing him to be such a Priest, it is Felony.

Where a Man taketh away a Woman against her Will, not claiming her as his Ward or Bond-woman, it is Felony.

Where a Man or Woman marieth again, his or her former Husband or Wife being alive, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Buggery, with Man or Beast, it is Felony.

Where any Persons, above the Number of Twelve, shall assemble themselves with Intent to put down Inclosures, or bring down Prices of Victuals, &c. and do not depart after Proclamation, it is Felony.

Where a Man shall use any Words to encourage or draw any People together, *ut supra*, and they do assemble accordingly, and do not depart after Proclamation, it is Felony.

Where a Man being the King's sworn Servant conspireth to murder any Lord of the Realm, or any Privy-Counsellor, it is Felony.

Where a Soldier hath taken any Parcel of the King's Wages, and departeth without License, it is Felony.

Where a Recusant, which is a Seducer, and Persuader, and Inciter of the King's Subjects against the King's Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes, or a Persuader of Conventicles, or shall refuse to abjure the Realm, it is Felony.

Where Vagabonds be found in the Realm, calling themselves *Egyptians*, it is Felony.

Where a Purveyor doth take without Warrant, or otherwise doth offend against certain special Laws, it is Felony.

Where a Man hunts in any Forest, Park, or Warren, by Night or by Day, with Vizard, or other Disguisements, and is examined thereof, and concealeth his Fact, it is Felony.

Where one stealeth certain Kind of Hawks, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Forgery the second Time, having been once before convicted, it is Felony.

Where a Man transporteth Rams, or other Sheep, out of the King's Dominions the second Time, it is Felony.

Where a Man, being imprisoned for Felony, breaks Prison, it is Felony.

Where a Man procureth, or consenteth to Felony to be done, it is Felony, as to make him accessory before the Fact.

Where a Man receiveth or relieveth a Felon, it is Felony, as to make him accessory after the Fact.

Where a Woman, by the Constraint of her Husband, in his Presence, joineth with him in committing of Felony, it is not Felony in her, neither as Principal, nor as Accessary.

Homicide, or the Killing of a Man, is to be considered in four Kinds, Chance-medley, *Se defendendo*, Man-slaughter, and wilful Murder.

C H A P. VIII.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings in Cases of Felony.

IN Felony, the corporal Punishment is Hanging, and it is doubtful, whether the King may turn it into Beheading in the Case of a Peer, or other Person of Dignity, because, in Treason, the Striking off the Head is Part of the Judgment, and so the King pardoneth the Rest; but in Felony, it is no Part of the Judgment, and the King cannot alter the Execution of Law; yet Precedents have been both Ways: If it be upon Indictment, the King may, but upon an Appeal he cannot.

In Felony there followeth Corruption of Blood, except it be in Cases made Felony by special Statutes, with a Proviso, that there shall be no Corruption of Blood.

In Felony, Lands in Fee-simple, and Goods and Chattels are forfeited, and the Profits of Estates for Life are likewise forfeited, but not Lands intailed: And by some Customs, Lands in Fee-simple are not so forfeited:

*The Father to the Bough,
The Son to the Plough.*

as in *Gavelkind*, in *Kent*, and other Places.

In Felony, the Escheats go to the Lord of the Fee, and not to the King, except he be Lord: But Profits for the Estates for Lives, or in Tail, during the Life of Tenant in Tail, go to the King; and the King hath likewise *annum, & diem, & vaslum*.

In Felony, Lands are not in the King, before Office, nor in the Lord before Entry or Recovery, in a Writ of Escheat, or Death of the Party attainted.

In Felony, there can be no Proceeding with the Accessary, before there be a Proceeding with the Principal: If he die, or plead his Pardon, or have his Clergy, before Attainder, the Accessary can never be dealt with.

In Felony, if the Party stand mute, and will not put himself upon Trial, or challenge peremptorily, above that the Law allows, he shall have Judgment, not of Hanging, but of

Penance of pressing to Death; but there he saves his Lands and forfeits only his Goods.

In Felony, at the Common Law, the Benefit of Clergy, or Sanctuary, was allowed; but now by Statute, it is taken away in most Cases.

In Felony, Bail may be admitted where the Fact is not notorious, and the Person not of ill Name.

In Felony, no Council is to be allowed to the Party, no more than in Treason.

In Felony, if the Fact be committed beyond the Seas, or upon the Seas, *super altum mare*, there is no Trial at all in one Case, nor by Course or Jury in the other, but by the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.

In Felony, no Witness shall be received upon Oath for the Party's Justification, no more than in Treason.

In Felony, if the Party be *non sanæ memoriæ*, although it be after the Fact, he cannot be tried nor adjudged, except it be in Course of Outlawry, and that is also erroneous.

In Felony, the Death of the Party, before Conviction, dischargeth all Proceedings and Forfeitures.

In Felony, if the Party be once acquitted, or in Peril of Judgment of Life lawfully, he shall never be brought in Question again, for the same Fact.

In Felony, the Prosecution may be either at the King's Suit, or by Way of Appeal; the Defendant shall have his Course, and produce Witnesses upon Oath, as in Civil Causes.

In Felony, the King may grant hault Justice to a Subject, with the Regality of Power to pardon it.

In Felony, the Trial of Peers is all one as in Case of Treason.

In Felony, the Proceedings are in the *King's Bench*, or before Commissioners of *Oyer and Terminer*, or of Jail Delivery, and in some Cases before Justices of the Peace.

CHAP. IX.

Cases of Felony de se, with the Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings.

IN the Civil Law, and other Laws, they make a Difference of Cases of Felony *de se*; for where a Man is called in Question upon any Capital Crime, and killeth himself to prevent the Law, there they give the Judgment in all Points of Forfeiture, as if they had been attainted in their Life-time: And, on the other Side, where a Man killeth himself upon

Impatience of Sickness or the like, they do not punish it at all; but the Law of England taketh it all in one Degree, and punisheth only with Loss of Goods, to be forfeited to the King, who generally grants them to his Almoner, where they be not formerly granted unto special Liberties.

CHAP. X.

Cases of Præmunire.

WHERE a Man purchaseth or accepteth any Provision, that is, Collation of any spiritual Benefice or Living, from the See of Rome, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man shall purchase any Process to draw any People off the King's Allegiance out of the Realm, in Plea whereof the Cognisance pertains to the King's Court, and cometh not in Person to answer his Contempt in that Behalf before the King and his Council, or in his Chancery, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth sue in any Court which is not the King's Court, to defeat or impeach any Judgment given in the King's Court, and doth not appear to answer his Contempt, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth purchase or pursue in the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, any Process, Sentence of Excommunication, Bull, or Instrument, or other Thing which toucheth the King in his Regality, or his Realm in Prejudice, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth affirm or maintain any

foreign Kind of Jurisdiction spiritual, or doth put in Ure or Execution any Thing for the Advancement or Setting forth thereof; such Offence the second Time committed is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man refuseth to take the Oath of Supremacy, being tendered by the Bishop of the Diocese, if he be an ecclesiastical Person; or by a Commission out of the Chancery, if he be a temporal Person, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Dean and Chapter of any Church, upon the *Conge d'Elire* of an Archbishop or Bishop, doth refuse to elect any such Archbishop or Bishop, as is nominated unto them in the King's Letters missive, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth contribute or give Relief to any Jesuit or Seminary Priest, or to any Person brought up therein, and called Home, and not returning, it is Case of *Præmunire*.

Where a Man is a Broker of an usurious Contract above Ten in the Hundred, it is *Præmunire*.

CHAP. XI.

The Punishment, Trial, and Proceedings in Cases of Præmunire.

THE Punishment is by Imprisonment during Life, Forfeiture of Goods, Forfeiture of Lands in Fee-simple, and Forfeiture of the Profits of Lands intailed, or for Life.

The Trial and Proceeding is as in Cases of Misprision of Treason, and the Trial is by

Peers, where a Peer of the Realm is the Offender.

Striking any Man, in the Face of the King's Courts, is Forfeiture of Lands, perpetual Imprisonment, and Loss of that Hand.

CHAP. XII.

Cases of Abjuration and Exile, and the Proceedings therein.

WHERE a Man committeth any Felony, for the which at this Day he may have Privilege of Sanctuary, and confesseth the Felony before the Coroner, he shall abjure the Liberty of the Realm, and chuse his Sanctuary; and if he commit any new Offence, or leave his Sanctuary, he shall lose the Privilege thereof, and suffer as if he had not taken Sanctuary.

Where a Man, not coming to the Church, and being a Popish Recusant, doth persuade any the King's Subjects to impugn his Majesty's Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, or shall persuade any Subject to come to any unlawful Conventicles, and shall not after conform himself within a Time, and make his Submission, he shall abjure the Realm, and forfeit his Goods and Lands during Life; and, if he depart not within the Time prefixed, or return, he shall be in the Degree of a Felon.

Where a Man, being a Popish Recusant,

and not having Lands to the Value of twenty Marks *per Annum*, nor Goods to the Value of forty Pounds, shall not repair to his Dwelling or Place where he was born, and there confine himself within the Compass of five Miles, he shall abjure the Realm; and, if he return, he shall be in the Case of a Felon.

Where a Man kills the King's Deer in Chaces or Forests, and can find no Sureties after a Year's Imprisonment, he shall abjure the Realm.

Where a Man is a Trespasser in Parks, or in Ponds of Fish, and after three Years Imprisonment cannot find Sureties, he shall abjure the Realm.

Where a Man is a Ravisher of any Child whose Marriage belongs to any Person, and marrieth the said Child after Years of Consent, and is not able to satisfy for the Marriage, he shall abjure the Realm.

CHAP. XIII.

Cases of Heresy, and the Trial and Proceedings therein.

THE Declaration of Heresy, and likewise the Proceedings and Judgment upon Hereticks, is by the Common Laws of this Realm referred to the Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical,

and the Secular Arm is reached to them by the Common Laws, and not by any Statute for the Execution of them by the King's Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*.

CHAP. XIV.

The King's Prerogative in Parliament.

THE King hath an absolute negative Voice to all Bills that pass the Parliament, so as, without his Royal Assent, they have a mere Nullity, and not so much as *Authoritas præscripta*, or *Senatus consulta* had, notwithstanding the Intercession of Tribunes.

The King may summon Parliaments, dissolve them, prorogue them, and adjourn them, at his Pleasure.

The King may add Voices in the Parliament, at his Pleasure, for he may give Privilege to Borough Towns as many as he will, and may likewise call and create Barons, at his Pleasure.

No Man can sit in Parliament, except he take the Oath of Allegiance.

C H A P. XV.

The King's Prerogative in Matters of War or Peace.

THE King hath Power to declare and proclaim War, and to make and conclude Peace, and Truce, at his Pleasure.

The King hath Power to make Leagues and Confederacies with foreign States, more strait and less strait, and to revoke and disannul them, at his Pleasure.

The King hath Power to command the Bodies of his Subjects for the Service of his Wars, and to muster, train, and levy Men, and to transport them by Sea or Land, at his Pleasure.

The King hath Power, in Time of War,

to execute Martial Law, and to appoint all Officers of War, at his Pleasure.

The King hath Power to grant his Letters of Mart and Reprisal for Remedy to his Subjects upon foreign Wrongs, at his Pleasure.

The King hath Power to declare Laws by his Letters Patents for the Government of any Place conquered by his Arms, at his Pleasure.

The King may give Knighthood, and thereby enable any Subject to perform Knight's Service, at his Pleasure.

C H A P. XVI.

The King's Prerogative in Matters of Money.

THE King may alter his Standard, in Baseness or Fineness of his Coin, at his Pleasure.

The King may alter his Stamp in Form, at his Pleasure.

The King may alter the Valuations of his Coin, and raise and fall Monies, at his Pleasure.

The King, by his Proclamation, may make Monies of his own current, or not current, at his Pleasure.

The King may take or refuse the Subjects Bullion and Coin, more or less Money.

The King, by his Proclamation, may make foreign Money current, or not current.

C H A P. XVII.

The King's Prerogative in Matters of Trade and Traffick.

THE King may constrain the Person of any of his Subjects not to go out of the Realm at all.

The King may restrain any of his Subjects to go out of the Realm into any special Part foreign.

The King may forbid the Exportation of

any Commodities out of the Realm.

The King may forbid the Importation of any Commodities into the Realm.

The King may set a reasonable Impost upon any foreign Wares, that come into the Realm, and so of native Wares, that go out of the Realm.

C H A P. XVIII.

The King's Prerogative in the Persons of his Subjects.

THE King may create any Corporation or Body Politick, and enable them to purchase, and grant, and to sue, and be sued, and that with such Restrictions and Modifications as he pleases.

The King may denizen and enable any Foreigner for him and his Descendants after the Charter, though he cannot naturalise nor enable him to make Pedigree from Ancestors Paramount.

The

The King may enable any attainted Person, by his Charter of Pardon, to purchase, and to purge his Blood for the Time to come, tho' he cannot restore his Blood for the Time past.

The King may enable any dead Person in Law, as Men professed, to take and purchase to the King's Benefit.

C H A P. XIX.

An Answer to the Question proposed by Sir Alexander Hay, Knight, touching the Office of Constables.

1. **T**O the First, Of the Original of the Authority of Constables, it may be said, *Caput inter nubila condit*, for the Authority was granted upon the ancient Laws and Customs of this Kingdom, practised long before the Conquest, and intended and instituted for the Conservation of the Peace, and Repressing of all Manner of Disturbance, and Hurt of the People, and that as well by Way of Prevention as Punishment; but yet so, as they have no judicial Power, to hear and determine any Cause, but only a ministerial Power, as in the Answer of the Seventh Article more at large is set down.

As for the Office of the High Constable, the Original of that is yet more obscure; for though the High Constable's Authority hath the more ample Circuit, he being over the Hundred, and the Petty Constable over the Village; yet, I do not find, that the Petty Constable is subordinate to the High Constable, or to be ordered or commanded by him; and therefore, I doubt, the High Constable was not *ab origine*, but that when the Business of the Country increased, the Authority of the Justices of Peace was enlarged by divers Statutes; then, for Conveniency Sake, the Office of High Constables grew in use for the receiving of the Commands and Precepts from the Justices of Peace, and distributing them to the

Petty Constables; and, in Token of this, the Election of High Constable, in most Parts of the Kingdom, is by the Appointment of the Justices of Peace, whereas the Election of the Petty Constable is by the People.

But there be two Things unto which the Office of Constable hath special Reference, and which, of Necessity, or, at least, a Kind of Congruity, must precede the Jurisdiction of that Office, either the Things themselves, or somewhat that hath a Similitude or Analogy towards them.

1. The one is the Division of the Territory, or Gros of the Shires, into Hundreds, Villages, and Towns; for the High Constable is Officer over the Hundred, and the Petty Constable is over the Town or Village.

2. The other is the Court-Leet, unto which the Constable is a proper Attendant and Minister; for there the Constables are chosen by the Jury, there they are sworn, and there that Part of their Office, which concerneth Information, is principally to be performed; for the Jury is to present Offences, and the Offenders are chiefly to take Light from the Constables, of all Matters of Disturbance and Nuisance of the People, which they, in respect of their Office, are presumed to have best and most particular Knowledge of.

C H A P. XX.

Three Ends of the Institution of the Court-Leet.

1. **T**HE first End of the Institution of the Court-Leet, is, To take the Oath of Allegiance of all Males above the Age of twelve Years.

2. The Second, To enquire of all Offences against the Peace; and, for those that are against the Crown and Peace both, to enquire of only,

V O L. V.

and certify to the Justices of Gaol-Delivery; but those, that are against the Peace simply, they are to enquire and punish.

3. The Third is, To enquire of, punish, and remove all publick Nuisances, and Grievances, concerning Infection of Air, Corruption of Victuals, Ease of Chaffer, and Contract of

S f

all

all other Things, that may hurt or grieve the People in general, in their Health, Quiet, and Welfare.

And to these three Ends, as Matters of Policy subordinate, the Court-Leet hath Power to call upon the Pledges that are to be taken for the good Behaviour of the Residents, that are not Tenants, and to enquire of all Defaults of Officers, as Constables, Ale-tasters, &c. and for Choice of Constables, as aforesaid.

The Jurisdiction of these Leets is ever remaining in the King, and, in that Case, exercised by the Sheriff in his Turn, which is the grand Leet, granted over to Subjects; but, yet, it is still the King's Court.

2. To the Second, as was said, The Election of the Petty Constable is at the Court-Leet by the Inquest that makes the Presentments; the Election of the Head Constables is by the Justices of the Peace at their Quarter-Sessions.

3. To the Third, The Office is annual, except they be removed.

4. To the Fourth, They be Men, as it is now used, of inferior, yea, of base Condition, which is a mere Abuse, or Degenerating, from the first Institution; for the Petty Constables in Towns ought to be of the better Sort of Residents in the said Town, save, that they ought not to be aged, or sickly, but Men of able Bodies, in respect of the keeping Watch, and Toil of their Place, neither ought they to be in any Man's Livery: And the High Constables ought to be of the ablest Sort of Freeholders, and of the substantiallest Sort of Yeomen, next to the Degree of Gentlemen; but they ought to be such as are not incumbered with any other Office, as Mayor, Under-Sheriff, Bailiff, &c.

5. To the Fifth, They have no Allowance, but are bound by Duty to perform their Offices, *gratis*; which may the rather be endured, because it is but annual, and they are not tied to keep or maintain any Servants or Underministers, for that every one of the King's People are bound to assist them.

6. To the Sixth, Upon Complaint made, of his Refusal, to any one Justice of Peace, the said Justice shall bind him over to the Sessions, where, if he cannot excuse himself by some just Allegation, he may be fined and imprisoned for his Contempt.

7. To the Seventh, The Authority of Constables, as it is substantive, and of itself, or substituted, and astricted to the Warrants and

Commands of the Justices of Peace; so again it is original, or additional; for, either it was given them by the Common Law, or else annexed by divers Statutes. And, as for subordinate Power, wherein the Constable is only to execute the Commandments of the Justices of Peace, and likewise the additional Power which is given by divers Statutes, it is hard to comprehend them in any Brevity; for that they do correspond to the Office and Authority of the Justices of Peace, which is very large, and are created by the Branches of several Statutes, which are Things of divers and dispersed Natures: But, for the original and substantive Power of a Constable, it may be reduced to three Heads:

1. For Matter of Peace only.

2. For Matter of Peace and the Crown.

3. For Matter of Nuisance, Disturbance, and Disorder, although they be not accompanied with Violence and Breach of Peace.

For Pacifying of Quarrels begun, the Constables may, upon hot Words given, or Likelihood of Breach of Peace to ensue, command them, in the King's Name, to keep the Peace, and depart, and forbear: And so he may, where an Assault is made, part the same, and keep the Parties asunder, and arrest and commit the Breakers of the Peace, if they will not obey, and call Power to assist him for the same Purpose.

For Punishment of Breach of Peace past, the Law is very sparing in giving any Authority to Constables, because he hath no Power judicial, and the Use of his Office is rather for preventing, or staying of Mischief, than for punishing of Offences; for, in that Part, he is rather to execute the Warrants of the Justices, or, when sudden Matter ariseth upon his View, or notorious Circumstances, to apprehend Offenders, and carry them before the Justice of Peace, and generally to imprison, in like Cases of Necessity, where the Case will not endure the present Carrying before the Justices. And thus much for the Matters of Peace.

For Matters of the Crown, the Office of the Constable consisteth chiefly in four Parts:

1. The First is Arrest.

2. The Second is Search.

3. The Third is Hue and Cry.

4. And the Fourth is Seizure of Goods.

All which the Constable may perform of his own Authority, without any Warrant from a Justice of Peace.

1. For

1. For First, If any Man will lay Murder or Felony to another's Charge, or do suspect him of Murder or Felony, he may declare it to the Constable, and the Constable ought, upon such Declaration or Complaint, carry him before a Justice; and if, by common Voice or Fame, any Man be suspected, the Constable of Duty ought to arrest him, and bring him before a Justice, though there be no other Accusation.

2. If any House be suspected for the Receiving or Harboursing of any Felon, the Constable, upon Complaint, or common Fame, may search.

3. If any fly upon the Felony, the Constable ought to raise Hue and Cry, and search his Goods, and keep them safe without Impairing, and to inventory them in the Presence of honest Neighbours.

4. For Matters of common Nuisance and Grievance, they are of a very variable Nature, according to the several Comforts which Man's Life and Society require, and the Contraries which infest the same.

In all which, be it Matter of corrupting Air, Water, or Victuals, or stopping, straightening, or indangering Passage, or general Deceits in Weights, Measures, Sizes, or counterfeiting Wares, and Things vendible; the Office of the Constable is, to give, as much as in him lies, Information of them, and of the Offenders in Leets, that they may be presented. But, because Leets are kept but twice in the Year, and many of these Things require present or speedy Remedy, the Constable, in Things of a notorious and vulgar Nature, ought to forbid and repress them in the mean Time.

8. To the Eighth, They are, for their Contempt to be fined and imprisoned by the Justices in their Sessions.

9. To the Ninth: The Oath they take is in this Manner:

' You shall swear, that you shall well and truly serve the King, and the Lord of this Law-day; and you shall cause the Peace of our Lord, the King to be well and duly kept, to your Power: And you shall arrest all those that you see committing Riots, Debates, and Affrays in Breach of Peace: And you shall well and duly endeavour yourself to your best Knowledge, that the Statutes of *Winchester* for Watch, Hue and Cry,

and the Statutes made for the Punishment of sturdy Beggars, Vagabonds, Rogues, and other idle Persons, coming within your Office, be truly executed, and the Offenders punished: And you shall endeavour, upon Complaint made, to apprehend Barretters and riotous Persons, making Frays, and likewise to apprehend Felons; and if any of them make Resistance with Force and Multitude of Mis-doers, you shall make Out-cry, and pursue them, till they be taken; and shall look unto such Persons as use unlawful Games; and you shall have Regard unto the Maintenance of Artillery; and you shall well and duly execute all Process and Precepts sent unto you from the Justices of Peace of the County; and you shall make good and faithful Presentments of all Blood-sheds, Out-cries, Affrays, and Rescues made within your Office; and you shall well and duly, according to your Power and Knowledge, do that which belongeth to your Office of Constable, to do for this Year to come.' So help, &c.

10. To the Tenth, The Authority is the same in Substance, differing only in Extent; The Petty Constable serving only for one Town, Parish, or Borough; the Head Constable serving for the whole Hundred; neither is the Petty Constable subordinate to the Head Constable, for any Commandment that proceeds from his own Authority; but it is used, that the Precepts of the Justices be delivered unto the High Constables, who being few in Number, may better attend the Justices, and then the Head Constables, by Virtue thereof, make their Precepts over to the Petty Constables.

11. To the Eleventh, In Case of Necessity he may appoint a Deputy, or in Default thereof, the Steward of the Court-Leet may; which Deputy ought to be sworn.

Now to conclude, the Office of Constables consists wholly in these three Things, *viz.*

Their Office concerning, 1. The Conservation of the Peace.

2. The Serving the Precepts and Warrants of the Justices.

3. Their Attendance for the Execution of Statutes.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Jurisdiction of Justices itinerantes in the Principality of Wales.

THESE Justices have Power to hear and determine all Criminal Causes, which are called in the Laws of England, *The Pleas of the Crown*; and herein they have the same Jurisdiction, that the Justices have in his Majesty's Bench, commonly called the *King's Bench*.

They have Jurisdiction to hear and determine all Civil Causes, which are called, in the Laws of England, *Common-Pleas*; and do take Knowledge of all Fines, levied of Lands or Hereditaments, without suing out any *De-dimus potestatem*; and herein they have the same Jurisdiction that the Justices of the *Common-Pleas* do execute at *Westminster*.

Also they may hear and determine all Assizes upon Disseizins of Lands or Hereditaments, wherein they equal the Jurisdiction of the Justices of Assize.

Justices of *Oyer and Terminer* may hear and determine all notable Violences and Outrages perpetrated or done, within their several Precincts of the Principality of *Wales*.

* The Prothonotary's Office is to draw all Pleadings, and to enter and ingross all Records and Judgments in Civil Causes.

* The Clerk of the Crown's Office is to ingross all Proceedings, Arraignments, and Judgments in Criminal Causes.

† The Marshal, whose Office is to attend the Persons of the Judges at their Coming, Sitting, and Going from the Sessions or Court.

† The Crier, he is *tanquam publicus Præco*, to call forth such Persons, whose Appearances are necessary, and to impose Silence to the People.

There is a Commission under the great Seal of England, to certain Gentlemen, giving them Power to preserve the Peace, and to resist and punish all turbulent Persons, whose Misdemeanors may tend to the Disquiet of the People; and these be called, *The Justices of Peace*, and every of them may well and truly be called and termed *Eirenarcha*.

The Chief of them is called *Custos Rotulorum*, in whose Custody all the Records of their Proceedings are resident.

Others there are of that Number, called *Justices of Peace and Quorum*; because in their Commission, they have Power to sit and determine Causes, concerning Breach of Peace, and Misbehaviour; the Words of their Commission are conceived thus, *Quorum* such and such, *unum vel duos &c. esse volumus*; and without some one, or more, of them of the *Quorum*, no Sessions can be holden: And for the avoiding of a superfluous Number of such Justices (for through the Ambition of many, it is counted a Credit, to be burthened with that Authority) the Statute of 38 *Henry VIII.* hath expressly prohibited that there shall be but eight Justices of Peace † in every County. These Justices do hold their Sessions quarterly.

In every Shire, where the Commission of the Peace is established, there is a Clerk of the Peace, for the Entering and Ingrossing of all Proceedings before the said Justices. And this Officer is appointed by the *Custos Rotulorum*.

Every Shire hath its Sheriff, which Word, being of the *Saxon English*, is as much to say, as *Shire Reeve*, or Minister of the County: His Function or Office is two-fold:

1. Ministerial.
2. Judicial.

As touching his Ministerial Office, he is the Minister and Executioner of all the Process and Precepts of the Courts of Law, and thereof ought to make Return and Certificate.

As touching his Judicial Office, he hath Authority to hold two several Courts of distinct Natures: The one called the *Tourne*, because he keepeth his Turn and Circuit about the Shire, and holdeth the same Court in several Places, wherein he doth inquire of all Offences perpetrated against the Common Law, and not forbidden by any Statute or Act of Parliament; and the Jurisdiction of this Court

* In the King's Gift.
by the Lord Keeper.

† In the Disposing of the Judge.

† These Justices are appointed

is derived from Justice Distributive, and is for Criminal Offences, and is held twice every Year.

The other is called the County Court, wherein he doth determine all petty and small Causes Civil, under forty Shillings, arising within the said County, and therefore it is called the *County Court*.

The Jurisdiction of this Court is derived from Justice Commutative, and is held every Month: The Office of the Sheriff is annual, and in the King's Gift, whereof he is to have a Patent.

Every Shire hath an Officer, called an *Escheator*, which is an Office to attend the King's Revenue, and to seize into his Majesty's Hands all Lands, either escheated Goods, or Lands forfeited, and therefore is called *Escheator*; and he is to inquire by good Inquest of the Death of the King's Tenants, and to whom their Lands are descended, and to seize their Bodies and Lands for Ward, if they be within Age, and is accountable for the same; and this Officer is named by the Lord Treasurer of *England*.

There are in every Shire two other Officers, called *Crownors* or *Coroners*; they are to enquire by Inquest, in what Manner, and by

whom every Person dieth of a violent Death, and to enter the same of Record; which is a Matter Criminal, and a Plea of the Crown, and therefore they are called *Coroners*, or *Crownors*, as one hath written, because their Inquiry ought to be publick in *Corona populi*.

These Officers are chosen by the Freeholders of the Shire, by Vertue of a Writ out of the *Chancery*, *De Coronatore eligendo*; and of them I need not to speak more, because these Officers are in Use elsewhere.

Forasmuch as every Shire is divided into Hundreds, it is also by the said Statute of 34 *H. VIII. Cap. 26.* ordered, that two sufficient Gentlemen, or Yeomen, shall be appointed Constables of every Hundred.

Also there is, in every Shire, one Jail or Prison, appointed for the Restraint of Liberty of such Persons as for their Offences are thereunto committed, until they shall be delivered by Course of Law.

In every Hundred of every Shire, the Sheriff thereof shall nominate sufficient Persons to be Bailiffs of that Hundred, and Underministers of the Sheriff; and they are to attend upon the Justices in every of their Courts and Sessions.

The Last Will and Testament of Father *Peters*: As it was found quilted into my Lord Chancellor's Cap, with a Letter directed to his Lordship, &c. and his Prayer to the Blessed Virgin of *Loretto*. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

Meritorious Sir,

UNDERSTANDING that you were to be my Successor in these Houses of Clay, I thought it would not be amiss to leave you my Executor, who, next my Reverence, have done the King the best Service in the Nation, and consequently must be no Stranger nor Enemy to Father *Peters*. I have now laid aside the Sword of the Spirit, and betaken myself to an Arm of Flesh; and, having converted my Apostolical Robe into the Whore of *Babylon's* Dye, am resolved to visit Father *le*

Chaise, and send over the King of *France* with thirty-thousand Men. I need not put you in Mind of the terrible Blow that shall come, and none see who hurts them, nor any other private Juggle; for, having made Room for your Admittance to his Majesty's Ear, there is Nothing can fall betwixt the Cup and the Lip.¹ It would be superfluous to tell you, that innumerable Prayers and Indulgences for you, and your Posterity after you, are, together with this my Sanctuary, conferred upon you; I with *England* do not grow too hot for you in a little Time: However, I go to prepare a Place

Place for you. Be not troubled, your Merits and my Beads will never let you lie long in Purgatory, should all Hopes fail, and therefore be secure of a future Happiness; be of good Courage, and your Faith will save you. This I am sure of, and all the World knows it, that you have made to yourself Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, so that you are like to feed well as long as you live in this World; and, as for the other, let not one melancholy Thought make you soak your Guts one Bowl the less, for I will warrant you, my Works of Supererogation helping out your Defects, I shall have Nothing too much, nor you too little, to bribe Admittance into Paradise: St. Peter and I were old Cronies, and, as long as I have but an Evidence of his own Hand-writing to produce, he cannot for Shame, but out of good Manners, let me and my

Friend in. However, go on bravely, thou Son of Perdition, and fill up the Measure of thy Iniquity, till thou grow ripe for Translation, and the Roman Calendar. Divine Bard, and Reverend Impostor, into thy Hands alone I commit my *English Spirit*, and my last Will and Testament to be disposed of according to my Appointment, together with an Inventory of what Goods I have left in those Lodgings for your Use; and a private Prayer, to be said over seventeen Times a Day, and the Blessed Virgin hear thee in the Day when thou callest upon her, and make the Works of thy Hand prosperous, and thy Counsels like *Haman's*, or good *Achitophel's*.

Thine eternally,

PETERS.

The last Will and Testament of Father Peters.

I Give my Soul into the Hands of the Blessed *Gabriel*, to be translated into Purgatory; and there, after two Turns of the Spit, and one Winding up of the Jack, which is enough for the Purification of any Jesuit, and from thence, to carry it to the Lap of his Mistress, the Blessed Virgin of *Loretto*, whom I serve, and whose I am.

Let my Heart be dried, and beaten to Powder, and so divided into several Drams, to be drank by all the new Converts in *England*, in a Glass of a Heretick's warm Blood.

Let the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales* take a Morning's-Draught of my Spleen, prepared after the same Manner, as my Heart by his Holiness.

My Gall should be at the *French King's* Service, but they have more Need of it in *England*, therefore let that fall to *Sunderland's* Share.

My Brains have overgrown me this last three or four Years, and therefore shall be divided amongst Pluralities, *Peterborough*, *Huntington*, *Bishop Chester*, *Smith*, and *Chapman*.

Chester, not content with my Brains, snaps at my Kidnies; by St. Francis, he is the likelest Man to make good Use of them, let him take them.

Let my Scull be carried to St. Omers, and, tipped with Silver, to be drank in upon the

solemn Day that is consecrated to my Name; and, being filled with Blood, upon the Admission of every Novice, to be turned off by all the Brotherhood, at the Time of the Administration of the Holy Sacrament.

My wanton Eyes I bequeath to the Nuns at St. *Bridget's*, and to those Objects of Charity, that the King's Alms were bestowed upon.

My Tongue, to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, because he has so little.

My Ears, to *Pem, Ferguson*, and the rest of that Tribe; or *Titus Oates*, that courageous Gnaw-post.

My Nose, to the P. O. who has scratched his out of *Scipio's* Grave.

My Teeth, to *Harry Hills*, for Beads; or, to polish the Rosary; or, instead of it, *Aretine*, *Tully* and *Oetavia*, *Rocheſter*, *School of Venus*, &c.

My Throat, to the Earl of *Essex*, to be shaved.

My Breasts, to the Queen, who lost her own with Longing for a Box of the Ear of the Princess, and Sauſages made of Hereticks Dripping.

My Issues, to Queen Dowager, who, they say, has twenty; ten to my Knowledge.

My Instrument of Propagation, otherwise called the Carnalidge, Part to my Lady *Salisbury*, or *Stonehorse Spencer*.

My

My prolifick Juice, to the Queen, and my Blessing; together with all the Hairs of my ——— to make a Peruke for my Son ———

The Strength of my Back, to the King, together with all my Merits: Some one will be apt to say, *Your Merit*, quoth he, *That is a Halter*. Good Mr. King, if you will put up the Affront, I will, or else, my Intent being well directed, I am clear.

My A——, to the great Button-maker of England.

My Deputy Hair, and my Alderman's Hat, to *Alsep*, and the rest of the Gang.

My Rasor let *Jefferies* shave himself with, and cut his Throat when he has done. My Breeches I recommend to the Queen's Use, to get her with Child without the Help of a Man; and the Smell of my Stockings to make

her fair. How beautiful upon the Mountains, &c. Let my Corpse be buried in the Room where Sir *Edmundsbury Godfrey* was murdered, to fright his bodily Appearance, and I will, to the Devil to choak his Ghost. Twenty-thousand Pounds for Swords, Knives, Powder, Fireballs, &c. Ten-thousand Pounds for him that stabs the Prince of *Orange*. Two-thousand for the *French* Dragoons, to be paid by Father *le Chaise*, for their good Service. One-hundred for him that kills a Heretick. One-thousand for the Colonel of *St. Ignatio*, to invent and provide all Manner of Tortures. Two-thousand to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin of *Loretto*, to be converted into a golden Chamber-Pot. All this last to be paid by the King, as-foon as I have sent him Money from *France*.

An Inventory of the Goods that I left in my Lodgings, to the Lord Chancellor, with their Value set upon them.

1. A Piece of *Adam's* Fig-Leaf-Apron, together with an Apple of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Three-hundred thirty-thousand Pounds.

2. A Frog, a Loufe, and a Locust, that was upon *Pharaoh's* Land; with *Joseph's* Coat, *Sampson's* Jaw-bone, and Half *Gideon's* Fleece. Fifty-thousand Pounds.

3. The Hoof of *Balaam's* Ass, the Dart that killed *Abshalom*, together with the Stone that slew *Goliath*, and a Piece of *Bathsheba's* Smock, prized at one-thousand Pounds.

4. Three Chairs that *Solomon* sat in at Study, together with his black Fur Cap; and a Table that *St. Paul* made Use of, when he wrote his Epistle to the *Hebrews*. Two-thousand Pounds.

5. The Parchments, that the same Apostle sent for, by *Timothy*, with the Cloke; *St. Agnes's* Candlestick, and *St. Winifred's* Ink-horn. Three-thousand Pounds.

6. *St. Francis's* Clock; *St. Dennis's* Fire-shovel and Tongs; a broken Chamber-pot of the Blessed Virgin of *Loretto*; and a little Sauce-Pan for the Prince of *Wales*, that *Zacharias* bought for his Son *John*. Thirty-thousand Pounds.

7. *St. Ignatius's* Warming-pan, the Nail of *Loyola's* little Toe, Pope *Joan's* Placket, and *Bellarmino's* Close-stool. Ten-thousand Pounds.

8. A Surreverence of *St. Clemens* in a Silver

Box; *St. Ambrose's* Clyster-pipe; *St. Austin's* Almanack: Valued at one-thousand Pounds.

9. *St. Cyprian's* Balon; *Cicely's* Looking-glass, and Marmalade-pot; *Coleman's* Halter, *St. Catharine's* Tower and Curling-pin, with her Wash to beautify the Face, which I have used this many Years; and it wastes no more than the Widow's Cruise, which I also have. Twenty-thousand Pounds.

10. Some of *Paul's* Fastling-spittle in a Bottle, sealed with his Coat of Arms, good for sore Eyes, and to restore even the Blind; a Nail of *Timothy's* Shoe, Queen *Mary's* Ruff, and *St. Margaret's* Scissars. Three-thousand Pounds.

11. A Board of the Ark, a Feather of *Noah's* Dove, a Grain of *Lot's* Wife, took from the Pillar of Salt; and the Paper that saluted *Lyass* B——. Seven-thousand Pounds.

12. The Dirt-pies that the Virgin *Mary* made when she was a Child; some of the Dung that fell into *Tobit's* Eyes; the Horns of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when turned into a Cow; *St. Bridget's* Thimble, and Case of Needles. Two-thousand Pounds.

13. The Nails that held our Saviour to the Crofs; the Spear that pierced his Side; some of the Water and Blood that came out; the Inscription that was set over his Head, in *Pilate's* own Hand-writing. Six-thousand Pounds.

14. *Judas's* Bag full of Bread and Cheese; the Piece of Money that was taken out of the Fifth's Mouth for Tribute; some of the Water that was made Wine. Seven-thousand Pounds.

15. A Piece of our Blessed Saviour's Cradle; the Manger; the Key of *St. Peter's* Back-door into Heaven; his Slippers; the Bill, Spurs, and Comb of the Cock, that crowed when he denied his Master. Four-thousand Pounds.

16. A Part of the Nipple of *St. Agatha*; *St.*

Margaret's piss-burnt Garter; the Table-cloth, Napkins, and Knives, that were used in the Institution of the Lord's-Supper; the Bed that *Pope Jean* pigged in; *Pope Boniface's* Codpiss-Buttons; and our Lord's-Prayer, in our Saviour's own Hand-writing. Nine-thousand Pounds.

17. A Drop of the Blessed Virgin's Milk, which she gave to *St. Biasio*, when he thirsted in the Wilderness.

A Form of private Prayer used by Father Peters.

O Blessed *Mary*, Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, Saviour of the World, Giver of Salvation, the Almighty Lady, Author of our Redemption, I beseech thee to hear me. Bow the Heavens, and come down from that thy Throne, to hear the Petition of thy humble Suppliant. By our Saviour's Birth and Baptism, by the Manger in which he was laid, by the Gifts the Wisemen brought, by the Star that appeared in the East, by the Swaddling-Cloaths he wore, by the Milk he sucked, by the Tears he shed in his Agony, by the Kiss given him by *Judas*, by the Halter with which *Judas* hanged himself, and the Bag that he had to bear; by the Lance that pierced our Saviour's Side, by the Water and Blood that came out, by the Tomb in which he was laid, by the Spices with which he was embalmed, by the Ointment with which he was anointed unto his Burial, by the Cross on which he suffered, by the two Thieves that together died with him, by the Choir of Angels at his Birth, and the Choir of Angels that were his Attendants at his Resurrection; by the Superscription of *Pilate*, by the High-Priest's Ear that was cut off, by the Name of Woman, with which Christ pleased to signify thy Pre-eminence over all Women, &c. I beseech thee to hear me. Let not the Scepter depart from *Amalek*, nor a Law-giver from the *Jebusites*; nor a Cardinal from *England*, nor a *Peters* from the Court,

so long as the Sun and Moon endure. Pray for us, O Blessed Virgin, that all our Designs and Contrivances may have good Success; and command thy Son to be so careful of the Good of his Society, that it may be implanted in all the Nations of the World; and particularly, in this wherein we live. Let the King hearken to me, the Charmer, who charms wisely; nor be as a deaf Adder, that will not hear; nor stiff-necked as his People, that will not obey. Make him resolute in his Religion, and true to the Cause which he has promised to maintain; and let the Abundance of his Merits wash away the many religious Vows and Oaths, which he has made and broke, for the Honour of the *Roman Church*. We are thy People, and the Sheep of thy Pasture; if thou hadst not been for us, we had been swallowed up quick in this heretical, damnable, prejudiced Kingdom, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us; but thou hast fought for us, and defended us. O go on to perfect this Work of thine, which thou hast, in some Measure, begun; and make us all one Sheepfold, under one Shepherdess, the Blessed *Mary*. Make *Peter* open to all, that will open the Door of their Hearts to thee; and damn all those eternally that shall presume to refuse it, for thy Name's Sake, and mine, the Lord Chancellor's, *Salisbury's*, *Chester's*, *Peterborough's* Merit, &c. Amen.

An Expedient for the Preventing any Difference between his Highness and the Parliament. About the Recognition, the Negative Voice, and the Militia. By a Lover of his Country, that desires, at this Time, to be nameless. *London*, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black-spread-Eagle*, at the West-end of *St. Paul's*, 1659. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

THOUGH I look not upon the present Dispute about the Negative Voice, and the Command of the Militia, as like to give us much Trouble (for Usurpations and Tyrannies, once judged by God, never recover to rise again in the same Form :) Yet, to satisfy the Doubts and Fears of those honest Souls, who see not what Strength they have on their Side, I shall desire them to be assured, That there is Reason and Equity sufficient to stop the Mouth of such a Claim, by any single Person in this Nation : And, therefore, we shall need no other Compromise of this Difference, but to reflect upon the Rise and Occasion of this Government, from whence the Nature and Power of it will best appear.

THE present Form of Government, then, as it varies from a Republick, was begotten by Necessity. For the Nation having traversed all the Ways of a Parliament and Council of State; and seen all they could afford, and at length, finding through long Continuance, as standing Waters, they did corrupt, Discontent gathered and fermented, and fought where it might most advantageously discover itself; and so fell in with the Power of the Army; and the Person of the then General, whom they had found so stout and faithful, and withal successful; and was willing to throw themselves and their Cause into his Arms and Protection, consenting that he should use any Means, yea, though he were most arbitrary therein, to ease them of their old Masters, whom they could bear no longer. So that, as I said, it was pure Necessity and Straight, that cast us here, and not any Affection to Monarchick Government. The clear Intent and Expectation of the honest People, that were Accessory to the Devolving the Power here, being : That that Person should in the Name and Power of God (or of his own

Truth and Righteousness, which was supposed to be in him) administer the Power of these Nations, to settle us in Freedom and Peace upon all Accounts, both Civil and Spiritual; and they never dreamed of a Monarch or a Family Interest, nor did they imagine any Need of cautioning it here. Though others, wiser Heads (such, who perhaps, by the Opportunity of their high Places, had approached nearer this Temptation in their own Hearts) did foresee, and were aware, what might be the Consequence and Product of this over-hasty Credulity and Trust, as afterwards indeed it came to pass.

§. II. The Protector did clearly run bias'd to the honest Intentions of those, that wished him the Administration of the Power, when he made himself a Civil Ruler. But Changes in States and Governments being brought with such Pangs and Throws, as are very uneasy and dangerous, they are not every Day's Work. It was in vain to retract or withdraw the Trust committed to the General, though many disliked the Way he went; nor could Men believe, that the late Passages and Trans-actions could ever grow into such Oblivion,

as that he, or any Man, should think that this Nation should be willing to match the Militia and the Scepter together in the Government, but only in his Person, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary Person: They having fought against it in the Person of the late King.

§. III. Hereditary Succession in the Government being so much disgusted by the honest Patriots in the late Parliament, the Nomination of the immediate Succession was indulged; his late Highness, as an Expedient to satisfy the then present, powerful Strivings for Hereditary Succession, which was not neither yielded unto, but upon a very high Confidence of the Spirit and Principles of his late Highness, to carry him above all private Respects, in the Execution of the Trust of Nomination.

§. IV. His now Highness, being in Possession of the Government, takes therewith the Power of the Militia, which was invested in his Father, and he conceives also the Negative Voice to descend upon him with the Civil Government. The Question is, Whether in Truth it do so, or no? I conceive not; and first for the Militia, it is true, the supreme Command of all the Armies in the three Nations was in his late Highness; but not as he was Protector, but as General, which he was, before he was Protector. So that the Protector or Civil Government was annexed to the Militia, not the Militia to the Civil Government; or rather the Power of administering to a Civil Settlement was annexed to the Person, not to the Power or Office of the General; and that upon the Reputation of his Personal Virtue: His Military Power and Capacity serving only as a Strength and Security to him, in the due Exercise of the Power of Civil Administration intrusted. So that it was not *Oliver Cromwell* as Protector, or the supreme Civil Magistrate that was made General; nor *Oliver Cromwell* as General simply, that was made Protector; but *Oliver Cromwell*, General of such a Spirit, of such Integrity and Faithfulness, that the like qualified Person was not to be found in the three Nations, that was thought fit for all the Power that could be cast upon him.

§. V. As for the Negative Voice, as it was never disputed with his late Highness, where it was suffered to sleep as in a safe Hand, for

his Personal Virtues; so was it never, since it was taken away from, or rather with the King and kingly Government, concredited, or be-trusted with any Power or Person. And, indeed, it is a Thing altogether superfluous as well as dangerous; for take away from Parliaments, who, sure in this Light, that is risen upon us, cannot be imagined, from their Source and Fountain, the Generality and Body of the Nation, to bring with them that choice Discerning, which is singular, to judge of Spiritual Things: I say, take away from them the Coercive Power, in Things Spiritual, and purely of the Mind, and admit them, as Children of this World, to be so wise in their Generation, as to be able to judge, what is good and behoofeful for the Nation, wherein their Stakes and Interests lie; and what Use will there be of a Negative Voice in a Commonwealth as we are, or should be, where no distinct Personal or Family Interest, is, or ought to be owned, but what is one with the Commonwealth, and in a Subserviency thereunto?

§. VI. The Negative Voice, therefore, being out of Doors with Kingship, and we having no Civil Head now that is Master of the Commonwealth, but a Servant to it; that was set up for that End, though an honourable Servant, and it is fit he should be so maintained: The Resolution is easy.

Let his present Highness be acknowledged and confirmed as supreme Magistrate in these three Nations.

Let the Officers of the Army choose their General, and let him have his Commission from the Protector and Parliament.

Let his Highness, now being with the Parliament, have the Power of disposing and commanding these Forces, and of making War and Peace.

The Light, in which these Things do evidence and offer themselves to the Judgment and Consciences of Men, is manifest:

For the *First*, A single Person cannot hurt us, if an unfit Power be not concredited and be-trusted with him. When we engaged against a King, it was not against a single Person simply; but so stated and circumstanced, arbitrary, tyrannical, with a luxurious Court, a burthenfome State, &c. For this is a Principle we never intended, by that Engagement, to engage against what might be useful to us,

no rational Man would do so, but what we found hurtful. Therefore the single Person may stand.

2. When we admitted a single Person, and abated so much of the Circumstance, we gave not up the Substance of our Cause; therefore be not baffled in that: But, if we give the single Person a Negative Voice, and the Dispose of the Militia, we give up the very Heart and Substance of our Cause. Therefore, part not with that.

Neither, indeed, can his Highness, who is but a single Person, expect, whoever should invest him with the sole Command of the Militia, whilst the Army and the Officers thereof keep their Integrity, that he can make any Use thereof, but for publick Ends, and therefore it would be *Onus non bonos*.

3. It is fit his Highness should have an honourable, though not the only Interest, in the Commanding the Militia: Therefore, let him be always fought unto, to join with the Parliament, in the Dispose of the Forces of the Nation.

And, as for those of the other House, let them pass (or so many of them as the Parliament shall think fit) into the Council of State; and, if they have a concurrent Vote with his Highness and the Commons, yet no Negative Vote, their Usefulness may be chiefly in the Vacancy of Parliaments, not to be a Balance upon the Commons; let their Balance be that Reason and Righteousness that is amongst themselves, as to the Things of this World, which is their proper Sphere.

A Relation of the Execution of *James Graham*, late Marquis of *Montrose*, at *Edinburgh*, on *Tuesday* the Twenty-first of *May* Instant. With his last Speech, Carriage, and most remarkable Passages upon the Scaffold. Also a Letter out of *Ireland*, more fully, concerning the Taking of *Clonmell*. *London*, printed by *E. Griffin*, in the *Old-Bailey*. *May* Twenty-eighth, 1650. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

S I R,

NOtwithstanding the great Hubbub this Place is in at the Beheading of *Montrose*, I shall give you a short Account of Affairs:

On *Saturday* last, *Montrose* came hither; he was received at the End of the Town by the Bailiffs, and set upon a high Cart, and tied with a Rope, his Hat being before taken off by the Hangman, and the Hangman riding upon a Filly-horse, with his Bonnet on, and a Staff in his Hand, and thus he was brought up, through the Town; several Persons have been with him, and upon Discourse he told them, that, for Personal Offences, he hath deserved all this, but justifies his Cause; he caused a new Suit to be made for himself, and came Yesterday into the Parliament-house, with a Scarlet Rocket, and a Suit of pure Cloth, all laid with rich Lace, a

Beaver, and a rich Hatband, and Scarlet Silk-stockings; the Chancellor made a large Speech to him, discovering how much formerly he was for the Covenant, and how he hath since broke it; he desired to know, whether he might be free to answer; and being admitted, he told them his Cause was good, and that, he had not only a Commission, but particular Orders for what he had done, from his Majesty, which he was engaged to be a Servant to, and they also had professed to comply with; and upon that Account, however they dealt with him, yet he would own them to be a true Parliament. And he further told them, that if they would take away his Life, the World knew he regarded it not; it was a Debt that must once be paid, and that he was willing, and did much rejoice, that he must go the same Way his Majesty did, and it was the Joy

The Execution of James Graham, &c.

Joy of his Heart, not only to do but to suffer for him. His Sentence was, To be hanged upon a Gallows thirty Feet high, three Hours, at *Edinburgh-crofs*; to have his Head struck off, and hanged upon *Edinburgh Toll-booth*, and his Arms and Legs, to be hanged up in other publick Towns in the Kingdom, as *Glasgow*, &c. and his Body to be buried, at the common Burying-place, in Case his Excommunication from the Kirk were taken off, or else to be buried where those are buried that are hanged. All the Time while Sentence was giving, and also when he was executed, he seemed no Way to be altered, or his Spirit moved, but his Speech was full of Composure, and his Carriage as sweet as ever I saw a Man in all my Days. When they

bid him kneel, he told them he would, he was willing to observe any Posture, that might manifest his Obedience, especially to them who were so near in Conjunction with his Majesty. It is absolutely believed, that he hath gained more by his Death, than ever he did in his Life. The *Scots* are lifting Forces here, and have named their Officers; they intend to make up their Army Twenty-five-thousand, they are very much startled at the Marching of the *English* Army Northwards. By the next you shall hear further from

Edinburgh, May 21,
1650.

Your Servant,

H. P.

Further by another Express from Edinburgh of the same Date, thus :

Yesterday after the Sentence was pronounced against *Montrose*, he said, That tho' he was cried out against for a bloody Man, yet he never committed any Act of Cruelty, nor took away any Man's Life, but in an Honest Way.

After he came to the Place of Execution, having been so used as before, he spoke to this Purpose, to one that was near him: You see what Compliments they put upon me, but I never took more Delight in all my Life, in ri-

dling in a Coach, than I did in this Manner of Passage to this Place.

His late Declaration and the History of his Transactions were tied at his Back, when he was hanged, but he would have nothing to do with the Ministers who stood at the End of the Scaffold.

The Places, where *Montrose's* Quarters are to be set up, are, *Glasgow*, *Sterling*, *Perth* alias *St. Johnson*, and *Aberdeen*.

A Letter out of Ireland, more fully, concerning the Taking of Clonmell.

S I R,
THIS Day we entered *Clonmell*, which was quit by the Enemy the last Night, about Nine of the Clock, after a tedious Storm, which continued four Hours. Our Men kept close to the Breach, which they had entered, all the Time, save only one accidental Retreat in the Storm. We lost in this Service Col. *Cullum*, and some other Officers, with divers private Soldiers, and some others wounded. The Enemy had made many great Preparations within, by a Traverse or Cross-work, and so beat our Men off, as they entered; but afterwards many of them stole out of the Town, and left some few, with the In-

habitants, to make Conditions. In the Morning, our Forces pursued and killed all they could light upon. The Town is a very strong Place, and I hope the Getting of this Garrison will be of good Use for the Gaining of others, which depended upon this. The *English* under *Ormond* and *Inchequeen* are come in, and as many as desired had Passes to go beyond Seas, and the rest have Leave to live quiet at Home. I am

Clonmell, May
10, 1650.

Your affectionate Friend,

W. A.

The

The Continuation of the Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen.

S E C T. V.

A Journey from Vienna in Auſtria to Prague, the Capital of Bohemia.

HAVING got every Thing in Readineſs for our Departure from *Vienna*, and the *Poſtillioni* being arrived at our Inn, we paſſed the *Danube*, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon. The firſt Place we ſtopped at was called *Enzersdorf*, or *Enzerſtorf*, near the Point where a ſmall Rivulet empties itſelf into the *Danube*, not much above a German Mile North of *Vienna*. *Enzersdorf* is a pretty large Village on the Northern Bank of the *Danube*, oppoſite to *Kalenberg*. We could ſee here the Mounts *Kalenberg* and *Piſenberg*, betwixt which, at almoſt an equal Diſtance, *Enzersdorf* ſtands. The Country betwixt this Place and *Vienna* is a fine verdant Plain. After gaining the Northern Bank of the *Danube*, we left a ſmall Village called *Eipoltau*, or *Eypoltau*, a little to the Eaſt; and inſtead of taking the Route of *Wolkersdorf*, in the Poſt-Road to *Olmütz*, turned off to the left. Beſides the Mounts *Kalenberg* and *Piſenberg*, there are two ſmall Towns, or Villages, in their Neighbourhood, likewiſe ſo called.

From *Enzersdorf* we advanced to *Stockerau*, where, upon the Approach of the Evening, we took up our Lodgings. *Stockerau* ſtands near three German Miles almoſt North of *Enzersdorf*, and is a pretty conſiderable Town. According to *Eugippius*, the antient *Aſtura* ſtood upon the Spot at preſent poſſeſſed by *Stockerau*; and, according to the *Notitia*, a Tribune with his Cohort was for ſome Time poſted here; which ſeems to run counter to what has been advanced by *Dr. Brown*. The Words referred to in the *Notitia* are theſe: *Sub Diſpoſitione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Pannoniæ, et Norici Ripenſis, ſuit Tribunus Cohortis Aſturiſ. St. Severinus* is ſaid firſt to have ſtopped at *Aſtura*; and *St. Colman*, or *Coloman*, a Native of *Scotland*, to have ſuffered Martyrdom at *Stockerau*, in the Year 1012, upon the Ground where the Monastery of the *Minorites* was afterwards built. This Saint is believed by the *Auſtrians* to have wrought many Miracles after his Death. *Aſtura* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Quadi*. Between *Enzersdorf* and *Stockerau*, a Traveller has a full View of both Mount *Kalenberg* and Mount

Piſenberg, as he marches on the Northern Bank of the *Danube*. We were informed, that upon Mount *Kalenberg*, a Part of Mount *Cetius*, and about two German Miles almoſt North of *Vienna*, many petrified Fiſh, ſome of which were of ſeveral unknown Species, have been, and ſtill are, found. Theſe are not however diſcovered in ſuch large Quantities now as formerly. Our Expences at *Stockerau* amounted to about eight Florins. The People of the Inn, where we lodged, ſtole from us one of the Bottles of *Tokay* Wine, given us by *Mr. Robinſon*; which did not greatly ſurpriſe us. The Dialect ſpoken at *Stockerau* differs very ſenſibly, as well as the Pronunciation, from that uſed at *Vienna*.

The next Place that ſupplied us with freſh Horſes the Inhabitants called *Mallebern*. This Village conſiſts of about fifty or ſixty Houſes, is two eaſy German Miles from *Stockerau*, and has a pretty Church. We did not ſtay above an Hour at *Mallebern*, as finding Nothing capable of exciting our Curioſity, or detaining us longer there.

From *Mallebern* to *Hollabrun*, the next Poſt-Town, we found the Road very good, and the Miles ſhort. This Town, or Village, is conſiderably larger than the former. The *Golden Crown* is the beſt public Houſe in it, and a tolerable good Inn. Between *Mallebern* and *Hollabrun* we paſſed through two large Villages, but the Names of them we did not learn.

Naudorf, or *Nodorf*, was the next Place that, for about an Half an Hour, we reſted at. It ſeems to be about the ſame Size as *Hollabrun*. Between *Naudorf* and *Hollabrun* we paſſed through a pretty conſiderable Village; but the *Poſtillioni* could not be certain as to its Name. The Country we went through this Poſt appeared very agreeable and delightful.

Our *Poſtillioni* next conducted us to a fine Village, called *Pulckau*, or *Bulckha*, two German Miles from *Naudorf*. This Poſt was good Road throughout, and the whole Tract covered with a beautiful Verdure. The Buildings in *Pulckau* are ſomething elegant, and ſeem to reſemble thoſe of *Vienna*. There are two or

three small Places between *Naudorf* and *Pulkau*, but the Names of them we were not told.

From *Pulkau* we went to *Langau*, or *Langenau*, the last Town in *Austria*, and upon the Borders of *Moravia*. This Post is mountainous and bad, and consists at least of three German Miles. Between *Pulkau* and *Langau*, we met with some Woods of Fir-Trees, and now and then with an *Ilex*, or *Scarlet-Oak*. The Country we passed through this Post, notwithstanding the Road, was pleasant and agreeable enough.

Our next Post was terminated by *Frating*, a Town of *Moravia*, in the Circle of *Znaim*, at a small Distance from the *Taya*, or *Tbaya*, about two German Miles from *Langau*. The People of the Country call this Town, which, as near as we could guess, consists of about two-hundred Houses, *Wrateny*. It has one or two pretty Churches in it, and seems to be of *Slavic* Extraction. The Houses form one long Street, and make a tolerable good Appearance. We did not stay above an Hour here.

The next Place we stopped at, two good German Miles North-West off *Frating*, was denominated *Piesling*, or *Pisling*. *Piesling* is likewise a small Town, or Village, of the Marquisate of *Moravia*, upon the *Taya*, with a Castle, at present in a ruinous Condition, consisting, as we guessed, of about one-hundred and fifty Houses. We were told that there were two Churches here, as well as at *Frating*.

Piesling stands in the Circle of *Znaim*, which is a very pleasant and fertile Tract. Between *Piesling* and *Frating*, we passed through a Village called *Rantzern*, which had a tolerable good Church. The Road between *Rantzern* and *Piesling* is very mountainous.

After having staid about Half, or three Quarters of an Hour at *Piesling*, we continued our Route to *Zlabnitz*, or, as 'tis called by the *Moravians*, *Slawonice*, *Zlabnitz*, or *Slawonice*, is a considerable Town of the Marquisate of *Moravia*, in the Circle of *Iglaw*, two German Miles almost West of *Piesling*, and near the same Distance, in an Eastern Direction, from the Ridge of Mountains separating *Moravia* from *Bohemia*. This Town was built by the *Slavi*, as clearly appears from its Name, and consequently may be looked upon as one of the most antient in *Moravia*. The Country People and some Foreigners, call *Zlabnitz*, *Zlabings*; which is neither the *Moravian* nor *German* Name. But this is not to be wondered at, since the Language of this Part of *Moravia*

is a Composition, made up of the *High Dutch* and *Moravian* Tongues. The *Moravian*, we were told, differs very considerably from the *Bohemian*, *Polish*, and *Sclavonian* Dialects. Before we take our Leave of *Moravia*, we shall beg Leave to give our Readers a short Description of that Province, such as we received, partly from Persons of good Authority here, and partly from a curious Piece scarce to be met with in *England*.

The Marquisate of *Moravia* received its Name from the *Mora*, or *Morava*, a famous River running through it, called by *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the *Marus*. This River has its Source in the Northern Angle of *Moravia*, upon the Borders of *Silesia*; and, after having joined the *Taya* near *Ravensburg*, discharges itself into the *Danube*, upon the Confines of *Hungary*, not far from *Presburg*. *Moravia* is bounded on the West by *Bohemia*; on the North by *Silesia*; on the East by *Hungary*; and on the South by *Austria*, or rather that Part of it divided from *Moravia* by the *Taya*. The Air here is soft and mild; the Region well cultivated, and abounding with all the Necessaries, as well as some of the Elegancies, of Life. It does not only produce great Quantities of Corn, but likewise of Saffron; and Wine also, though of a weaker Kind, such as will not intoxicate those who drink copiously of it. It is also enriched with four different Species of Metals: Gold near *Jamnitz*, *Römerstadt*, *Bergstadt*, and in the Lordships of *Goldenstein* and *Lukow*; Silver near *Polnau*, *Piscopiez*, *Iglaw*, *Bergstadt*, and *Hagenstein*; Iron in the Lordships of *Janovicz* and *Berslein*, as also about *Neustadt*, *Römerstadt*, *Kunstadt*, *Polnau*, *Jaspitz*, *Frana*, *Hochwald*, and several other Places; and lastly Lead, in the mountainous Tract called *Rantzern*, near *Iglaw*. Alum, Vitriol, Jeat, Amber, Agate, Granite, Jasper, Marble, Coal, &c. are likewise produced in *Moravia*.

The *Marcomanni* antiently inhabited *Moravia*, according to * *Pessina*; though that the *Quadi* occupied this Part of antient *Germany*, together with Part of *Austria*, may be inferred from † *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*. But possibly neither of these Opinions may be very remote from Truth, since the *Marcomanni* were considered sometimes as intermixed with the *Quadi*; especially, when with their united Forces these two Nations defended their respective Territories against the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. 'Tis certain, if any Credit is to be

* *Pessin*. Mar. Mora. Lib. 1. C. 2.

† *Tacit.* de Mor. Germ. Prolog. Geogr. Lib. 2.

given to antient History, the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* either formed one * Nation, extending from the *Marus* to the *Cusus*, or *Vagus*, i. e. from the *Morava* to the *Waag*, or had one common Interest and Form of Government, and therefore conjointly opposed all foreign Invaders, particularly the *Romans*. Afterwards having passed the *Waag*, they extended their Dominions as far as *Bregitia*, or *Strigonium*, and the River *Granua*, or *Gran*. They carried on the War against the *Romans*, under *Vigurius* and his Son *Vitrodurus*, as also under *Gabinus* and *Fridegildus*, their Kings, with various Success. But being greatly weakened by their frequent bloody Contests with the *Romans*, *Vandals*, *Goths*, &c. and at last subdued by the *Huns*, they were obliged first to take on in the Service of *Attila*, General of the *Huns*, and afterwards of *Ardericus*, Captain of the *Gepide*. Being afterwards dispersed in different Provinces, the Names of *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* were totally lost, towards the Close of the fifth Century.

After the Extinction of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, the *Slavi* seated themselves here; and, as should seem from *Suidas*, were called *Maravani*, *Marahenses*, or *Moravi*. Of all the *Slavic* Nations the *Moravians* were the first that formed a Kingdom. This Kingdom was of much larger Extent, than the present Marquisate of *Moravia*. According to *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius the Second*, the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Poles* were subject to the King of *Moravia*. But, with regard to the *Hungarians*, this cannot be allowed, since it is absolutely repugnant to the Faith of History; and therefore *Æneas Sylvius* is only to be understood as asserting that a considerable Tract of the Kingdom of *Hungary* antiently appertained to the Kingdom of *Moravia*. This, we apprehend, cannot be denied, as being supported by some Writers of indubitable Authority. Our Readers will not be displeased to see here a List of the antient Kings of *Moravia*, whose Government continued above two-hundred Years.

List of the Kings of Moravia.

I. *Swatoffius*, or *Suathes*, the Son of *Marothus*, or *Moravodus*, who fixed his Residence at *Vesprin*, and presided over a great Part of *Pannonia* and *Moravia*. He was defeated in two Battles by the *Hungarians*, and, being almost intirely driven out of *Pannonia*, took Refuge in the Island of *Schut*, from whence he passed into *Moravia*, and at *Wlehrad* near

the *Morava* built a Palace, where he afterwards resided. He likewise erected several Towers and Redoubts along the *Waag*, in Order to repress the Courses of the *Hungarians*. This we learn from some Authors of good Authority; but *Bonsinius* and *Thurocius* affirm *Swatoffius* to have been drowned in the *Danube*, after the last Overthrow given him by the *Hungarians*. Which of these Notions is the most agreeable to Truth, we must leave our Readers, after having consulted the above-mentioned Authors, to decide. *Swatoffius* began to reign about *An. Dom. 720*.

II. *Samomirus* succeeded his Father *Swatoffius*, according to *Pessina*. History is intirely silent, as to any remarkable Particulars of his Reign.

III. He was succeeded by *Samoslaus*, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

IV. *Lechus*, or *Lech*, ascended the Throne, after the Decease of his Father *Samoslaus*. He was killed in Battle by *Charlemain*.

V. *Hormidorus* reigned after *Lechus*.

VI. *Mogemirus*, the next King of *Moravia*, in vain endeavoured to make himself Master of the Kingdom of *Hungary*. He likewise invaded *Poland*, and took *Cracow*; but, according to some Authors, soon lost it again.

VII. *Bryno*, or *Bruno*, by some called *Prinnina*, came next; but, not being able to quell the seditious Commotions raised by *Mogemirus*, he abdicated the Throne, and was succeeded by the Author of those Commotions, *Mogemirus the Second*.

VIII. *Mogemirus the Second* enjoyed the Sovereignty of *Moravia* for some Time. His Predecessor *Bryno* had a certain District bordering on the *Save* given him by *Lewis Duke of Bavaria*, where he ended his Days in Peace.

IX. *Raczko*, or *Radislaus*, called by some *Rastice*, swayed the Sceptre of *Moravia* after *Mogemirus the Second*. He extended his Conquests as far as *Vesprin*, the antient Seat of the Kings of *Moravia*; but, being afterwards defeated, in a pitched Battle, by the *Hungarians*, he found himself obliged to abandon them. He was at last taken Prisoner by *Lewis King of Germany*, against whom, in Defiance of the Faith of Treaties, he had several Times taken up Arms, had his Eyes put out, and was doomed to perpetual Imprisonment in *Bavaria*. The next Prince that mounted the Throne was

X. *Suatopulcus*, *Suatoplucus*, *Zuentibaldus*, or, as he is called by some, *Swendopoldus*, who

* See *Claver. Germ. Ant. Lib. 3. C. 31.*

was laid under Arrest by *Carolomannus*, the Son of *Lewis*, at *Ratibon*, in 871. But, the Crime alledged against him not being proved, he had his Liberty restored, and was sent back to his Subjects in *Moravia*. However, this proved a Source of many Broils and Animosities between the abovementioned Princes, which at length were removed in the Reign of the Emperor *Arnulphus*. *Suatopalcus* was succeeded by his Son *Suatobogus*, or *Suatobogius*, the last King of *Moravia*.

XI. *Suatobogus*, or *Suatobogius*, was a Prince guilty of the blackest and most enormous Crimes; and was therefore anathematized or excommunicated by Pope *Sergius the Third*, and put to the Ban of the Empire by the Emperor *Lewis the Furth*. Upon which Events, the *Poles*, *Bavarians*, and *Hungarians* broke into his Dominions, and carried all before them. Some Writers affirm, that *Suatobogus*, after having received a signal Defeat, was slain by these Invaders; but others, that, after having lost his Kingdom, he escaped to Mount *Schor*, or *Zobor*, and spent the Remainder of his Days with Anchorets settled there.

An End being thus put to the Kingdom of *Moravia*, the *Bavarians* seized upon that Part of it lying between the *Danube* and the *Taye*, which was afterwards joined to *Austria*. The other Part, which fell into the Hands of the *Poles*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*, was at last adjudged by the Emperor *Otto*, or *Otho the Great*, to St. *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bohemia*, in the Year 937. But neither he nor his Successors obtained the Sovereignty of the whole Country, till the Time of *Udalricus*, and his Son *Brzetislaus the First*, who having overthrown the *Poles*, in a great Battle, *An. Dom.* 1026, wrested from them the *Polish Moravia*, and soon after made himself Master of the other Part appertaining to the *Hungarians*; and, extending the Frontiers to their present Limits, annexed the whole Province to *Bohemia*. *Brzetislaus* had five Sons, *Spitibneus*, *Jaromirus*, or *Jaromir*, *Wratislaus*, *Otto* or *Otho*, and *Conrad*. *Spitibneus*, *Spitigneus*, or *Sbigneus*, lived with his Father, being the Heir apparent to his Dominions; *Jaromir* took holy Orders; *Wratislaus* had assigned him the District of *Olmütz*; *Otto* that of *Brinn*; and *Conrad* that of *Znaim*; *Brzetislaus* in the mean Time reserving to himself and his Successors the Sovereignty both of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. Upon the Decease of his Brother *Spitibneus* without Issue, *Wratislaus* obtained the Crown of *Bohemia*, and ceded

the Territory of *Olmütz* to his Brother *Otto*, annexing at the same Time the District of *Znaim* to that of *Brinn*, in Favour of *Conrad*. About the Year 1086, in the Reign of *Henry the Fourth*, *Moravia* assumed the Title of Marquisate, and the Kings of *Bohemia*, after the Example of *Brzetislaus*, generally divided it, for some Ages, amongst their younger Sons or Relations. This occasioned sometimes bloody Wars between the Kings of *Bohemia* and the Marquesses of *Moravia*, the latter frequently refusing to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the former. Notwithstanding which, *Moravia* was always considered as appertaining to *Bohemia*, after the Reign of *Brzetislaus the First*, and came with that Kingdom into the Possession of the House of *Austria*.

The *Christian* Religion seems to have been first planted in *Moravia* by the Emperor *Charlemain*, who having driven the *Slavi Moravians* from one Side of the *Danube*, and the *Huns* and *Avars* from the other, carried his victorious Arms as far as the *Raab*, and committed the Propagation of *Christianity* here to *Arno*, Archbishop of *Salzburg*, authorized thereto by Pope *Adrian the First*. This is farther confirmed by the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Passau*, in which *Dresserus* relates, that Bishop *Runbarius*, or *Reginarius*, converted the *Moravians* to the Faith of *Christ* in the Year 807; which yet we apprehend is not to be understood of the whole *Moravian* Nation, but only a Part of it, perhaps that bordering upon the *Danube*. After the Death of *Charlemain*, *Urolphus*, Archbishop of *Salzburg*, sent *Adekvinus* and *Methodius*, who were both adorned with the Episcopal Dignity, to instruct the *Moravians* in the Principles of *Christianity*; and perhaps he himself assisted them in that laudable Employment. Afterwards going to *Rome*, to give an Account of the Success of his Endeavours, he met with a most gracious Reception from Pope *Eugenius the Second*, who admonished *Tuttundus* and *Meymarus*, styled by him Dukes of *Hunnia*, or *Avaria*, and *Moravia*, as also the Prelates, Noblesse, Armies, and People of those Countries, to assist *Urolphus* in the Execution of so noble and pious a Design. The Letter wrote on this Occasion by that Pontiff may be seen in *Hundius*, *Gewoldus*, and *Goldschmidtus*.

But the Progress of the Gospel in *Moravia* was greatly obstructed, if not totally stopped, by the Civil Wars between *Bryno* and *Mogemirus*,

mirus, or *Moymarus the Second*, till St. Cyril and St. *Methodius*, coming out of the East, dispelled the thick Clouds of Ethnic Superstition, and again refreshed this Country with the salutary Rays of Evangelical Light; inasmuch that they have been generally esteemed as the genuine Apostles of *Moravia*. This happened in the Reign of *Radislaus*, when St. Cyril, after he had been sent by *Michael* Emperor of the East, and *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, into the *Taurica Chersonesus*, to convert the *Chazari* to the Christian Faith, and, in Order to effect this, had learned the *Slavonian* Tongue, which was spoken by that People, together with his Colleague St. *Methodius*, passed through the *Triballi* and *Bulgarians* into *Moravia*, about the Year 862. The unwearied Labours of these holy Men were attended with such extraordinary Success, that in a very short Time the King, Noblesse, and in Fine the whole Nation of the *Moravians* embraced the Christian Religion; and soon after the Archbishopric of *Welehrad* was founded, the antient Bishopricks restored, and, as is probable, several new ones erected. In the mean Time Pope *Nicholas* hearing how happily the Light of the Gospel diffused itself over *Moravia*, and that the Natives there made Use of the *Slavonian* Tongue, into which, after having formed a new Alphabet for that Purpose, St. Cyril had translated the sacred Writings, in their publick Service, he summoned St. Cyril and St. *Methodius* to *Rome*; but died before their Arrival, in November 867. However, they were treated with great Distinction by his Successor Pope *Adrian the Second*. How St. Cyril justified his Conduct in Relation to the Use of the *Slavonian* Tongue in sacred Matters, and, as it were, extorted from that Pontiff and the Court of *Rome* a Licence to continue the divine Service throughout *Moravia*, &c. in that Language, our curious Readers will be fully and amply informed by the Piece to which we shall here beg Leave to refer them *.

St. Cyril spent the Remainder of his Days at *Rome*, but St. *Methodius*, his Colleague, after having been created Archbishop of *Moravia*, returned Home, in the Reign of *Suatopulcus*, who succeeded *Radislaus*. That Prince afterwards sent this worthy Prelate his Ambassador to *Rome*, as appears from a Letter wrote him by Pope *John the Eighth* in

880, to be met with in *Baronius*. St. *Methodius* had not been long dead, when an End was put to the Kingdom of *Moravia* by the *Poles*, *Bavarians*, and *Hungarians*, as already mentioned. This Revolution occasioned the Abolition of the Archbishopric of *Welehrad*, and the other Cathedral Churches in *Moravia*. The Christian Religion, however, soon after recovered its former Footing here; but after the Death of *Sylvester*, the last Archbishop of *Moravia*, this Province was annexed to the Diocese of *Passau*, or, according to some, to that of *Ratisbon*; of which it continued a Part, till the Time of St. *Adalbertus*, Bishop of *Prague*, to whose Diocese the Church of *Moravia* was joined by Pope *Benedict the Sixth*. This Union remained till after the Year 1060, when, *Severus* being Bishop of *Prague*, by the Approbation, and, as some imagine, at the Instigation of Pope *Alexander the Second*, the *Moravians* had their antient Church restored them, and rendered distinct from that of *Prague*.

The Followers of *John Hus* propagated their Tenets here, in the fifteenth Century; though *John de Praga*, Bishop of *Olmütz*, prevented them from making any very great Progress in *Moravia*. However, the Reformation afterwards gradually so insinuated itself here, that it seems to have spread itself over, at least, the greatest Part of the Country, particularly in the Reigns of *George*, *Wladislaus*, and *Lewis*, Kings of *Bohemia*. The Synod of *Brinn*, being acted by a Spirit quite opposite to the Genius of Popery, granted an universal Toleration, extending to People of all Religions, in 1608. But an End was put to this by the fatal Battle of *Weissenburg*, near *Prague*, in 1620, which gave the Possession of this Marquisate to the House of *Austria*; and enabled the Cardinal *de Dietrichstein*, by his active and indefatigable Zeal for Popery, to re-establish the *Roman-Catholic* Religion in *Moravia*.

Notwithstanding which, many Protestants are still to be met with in this Country. Most of these seem to acknowledge some Sort of Episcopacy, though in several Points, as Predestination, Free-Election, Grace, Regeneration, &c. they are said to approach very near the *Calvinists*. Nay, in Consequence of some other Opinions, we were told, that they maintain the absolute Impeccability of the Regenerate in this Life; and that good

* See the Piece of *Wenceslaus Charles* Count de *Purgstall*, intitled *Germania Austriaca*, already mentioned in the Description of *Moravia*, P. 70, 71, published at *Vienna* in 1701.

Works are not necessary to Justification. But as most of the Relations Travellers meet with, concerning them, come from the *Roman Catholics*, who are their declared Enemies, perhaps our Readers ought to suspend their Belief of the Particulars here mentioned, till we have a full and ample Account of the religious Tenets of the *Moravian* Protestants, from a candid and impartial Person, who has, for some Time, resided amongst them.

Moravia was divided into three Toparchies, by *Brzetislaus the First*, Duke of *Bohemia*; viz. that of *Olmütz*, that of *Brinn*, and that of *Znaim*. But in Process of Time, when the Brothers and Relations of the Dukes, or Kings, of *Bohemia* were branched out into several Families, the Toparchy of *Olmütz*, which was the largest of all, as extending from the Borders of *Silesia* to the Conflux of the *Taya* and the *Moravia*, was divided into two Parts, in the Year 1160, viz. the *Upper* and the *Lower*. *Brzetislaus*, Son to *Otto the Third*, obtained the latter, and *Wladimir*, that Prince's other Son, the former, by the Consent of *Wladislaus*, King of *Bohemia*. Lastly, in the Age of *Wladislaus the Second*, *Moravia* was divided into five Districts, viz. those of *Olmütz*, *Brinn*, *Znaim*, *Iglaw*, and *Hradisch*. The Toparchy, or Circle, of *Olmütz* is circumscribed, on the West by *Bohemia* and the Circle of *Brinn*, on the North by *Silesia*, on the East by *Hungary*, and on the South Parts by the Circle of *Brinn*, and partly by the Circle of *Hradisch*. That of *Brinn* is limited, partly by the other Districts, or Circles, of *Moravia*, and partly by *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Bohemia*. The Circle of *Znaim* is nearly of a pyramidal Figure, and bounded by the Circles of *Brinn* and *Iglaw*, together with the Archduchy of *Austria*. The Circle of *Iglaw* is terminated by those of *Brinn* and *Znaim*, and the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. And lastly, that of *Hradisch* is surrounded by those of *Olmütz* and *Brinn*, and the Kingdom of *Hungary*. It is, at present, divided into the Circles of *Iglaw*, *Znaim*, *Brinn*, *Olmütz*, *Hradisch*, and *Prebau*. The last Circle of which is however considered, by the more accurate *Moravian* Geographers, as Part of that of *Olmütz*. So much for the History and Geography of the Marquissate of *Moravia* in general; which, we hope, will not be considered, by our Readers, as an impertinent Digression. But to resume the Narrative of our Journey from *Vienna* to *Prague*:

We staid one Night at *Zlabnitz*, where we met with very good Accommodations. Our Landlord was a Man of tolerable good Sense and Humour, and acquainted us with several Particulars, relating to the Country in which he lived, that we have taken Care to insert in the above Account. *Zlabnitz* seems to consist, at least, of four-hundred Houses, is walled round, and the Inhabitants appeared something civilized and polite. This Town is pretty well built, and some of its Houses consist of Stone. Between *Piesling* and *Zlabnitz* we saw several very large Woods of Fir-Trees, with which a good Part of the Circles of *Iglaw* and *Znaim* abound. But this is not to be wondered at, since such Sort of Woods are common, both in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*. Though the Weather was excessive cold, we were scarce sensible of it, by Reason of the Stoves with which our Rooms were heated. The principal Places between *Zlabnitz* and *Piesling* are *Zlabaten*, *Mudlau*, and *Khwalitz*, all considerable Villages. *Zlabaten* is in the Post-Road, *Mudlau* at a small Distance from it, upon the *Taya*, and *Khwalitz* in Sight of the Post-Road, scarce Half a German Mile S. E. of *Zlabnitz*. The two former are in the Circle of *Znaim*, and the latter in that of *Iglaw*. Many of the Chimnies here seemed to have something of the Resemblance of a Mitre. Most of the Inhabitants of *Zlabnitz* speak *Latin* with tolerable Fluency. The People of the Inn, where we lodged, stole another of our Bottles of *Tokay* Wine; upon which we came to a Resolution to make sure of the other two the following Night. However, we did not suffer greatly on this Account, since the Wine of the Country was good and cheap enough. Though we regaled ourselves sufficiently at *Zlabnitz*, our whole Expence there, including that incurred by the Servants, did not exceed six Florins.

From *Zlabnitz* we advanced to *Konigseck*, the first Town in *Bohemia*, which terminates a Post that consists of near three German Miles. *Konigseck* seems not to be composed, at most, of above one-hundred and sixty Houses. We found the Tract between *Zlabnitz* and *Konigseck* pretty mountainous and woody, and Part of it covered with Snow. The Women in this Part of *Moravia* appeared to us handsome enough, and the Men robust and well-made. Many of the Hills in this Western District of *Moravia* are covered with Woods, full of various Kinds of wild Beasts, usually

usually produced in such Places. Between *Zlabnitz* and *Konigseck* we met with a Wood of Fir-Trees (and such are many of the Woods, in this Part of *Moravia* at least) which seemed to be of a vast Extent. The Villages, we passed through between the two Places last mentioned, were *Rudoleitz*, *Walterseblag*, and *Dimelschlag*, none of which could be deemed very considerable. The two first stand in the Circle of *Iglaw*. The Mountains separating *Moravia* from the Circles of *Bechin* and *Czastlau* in *Bohemia* were almost intirely covered with Snow. *Dimelschlag*, the last of the abovementioned Places, is not much above Half a German Mile from *Konigseck*, and the first Village in *Bohemia*.

After near an Hour's Stay at *Konigseck*, we set out for *Neubaus*, which was next to supply us with Post-Horses. This is a pretty long Post, but the Road must be allowed good. *Neubaus*, or, as the *Bohemians* call it, *Gindrichu Hradecz*, is a fine City of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Bechin*, about fourteen German Miles, according to the *Austrian* and *Bohemian* Geographers, almost South of *Prague*. But this is to be understood of a right Line drawn from *Neubaus* to *Prague*; since the Distance betwixt those two Cities is much greater, according to the Post-Road, as will manifestly appear from the present Narrative. *Neubaus* is a large Town, and its Buildings neat and elegant, as well as the People that inhabit it. For several Ages it was the Seat of a Prince of the same Name. The Princes of *Neubaus*, or *de Nova Domo*, as they were termed in *Latin*, we find celebrated in the *Bohemian Annals*. They carried a golden Rose in their Shield, and exerted themselves in Defence of Popery against *George of Podiebrad*, King of *Bohemia*. *Adam*, the last of the ancient Family of these Princes, built a noble College for the *Jesuits* in *Neubaus*, which is richly endowed. Upon the Extinction of this Family, *Neubaus*, with the District appertaining to it, fell into the Hands of the Descendents of the Counts *Slavata*. The Castle, in which the Princes of *Neubaus* resided, is a fine Edifice, and a great Ornament to the Town. There are, or very lately were, in this Castle the Effigies of a long Series of the Dukes and Kings of *Bohemia*, most exactly copied from some ancient Portraits of those Princes, that for a long Time adorned the Castle of *Prague*. As the Originals, from whence these Effigies

were taken, have been consumed by Fire, they ought, if now remaining, to be looked upon as a most valuable Curiosity. The Erection of this Castle, according to *Balbinus*, to whom we must beg Leave to refer our curious Readers for a more minute Account of it, and several very remarkable Particulars relating to it, was owing to a certain Matron, who had the Care and Education of some of the Princes of *Neubaus* committed to her. According to the same Author, a Spectre, Apparition, or Ghost, in his Time, walked in the Neighbourhood of this Castle, and even in the Castle itself. It was then, if he may be credited, so well known to all the Citizens of *Neubaus*, as well as the Peasants of the adjacent Villages, that not the least Scruple was entertained amongst them about the Reality of its Appearance. It was believed to be the Ghost of the aforesaid Matron, as it appeared in the Shape, or Form, of a Woman, with a Bunch of Keys hanging at her Girdle, and dressed in White; from whence it was called, by the People abovementioned, the *White Lady*. Several Persons of unexceptionable Authority affirmed to *Balbinus*, that they had seen the *White Lady*, particularly a Rector of the *Clementine* College, who declared, that he once saw her from a Window of the Castle at Noon-Day. She then appeared in the Market-Place all in White, with white Ribbands about her Head, very tall, and with a modest Countenance. He farther added, that, when she saw herself discovered by many People, who pointed at her, she grew less gradually, and at last disappeared. Whatever our Readers may think of this Story, many *Bohemians*, and some of very good Fashion, still believe the Reality of this Apparition. There is in *Neubaus* a fine Forum, or Market-Place, Town-House, and Piazza; as also a Church dedicated to the *Blessed Virgin*, whose Architecture is reckoned admirable. Within a few Minutes after we got out of our Chaises, a Mob of near three-hundred People assembled, in Order to stare upon us. We must not omit observing, that *Konigseck*, as well as *Neubaus*, is in the Circle of *Bechin*.

The next Place we stopped at, our *Postiglioni* called *Samosol*, or *Somsof*. It stands about two German Miles from *Neubaus*, and is a small inconsiderable Village. As we could hear of nothing in this Place worth Seeing, and had spent some Hours in *Neubaus*, within Half an Hour after our Arrival here,

we put ourselves again in Motion, hoping to reach *Tabor*, before the Night surpris'd us.

From *Samofel* we went to *Kofchitz*, a little Village consisting of a few wooden Houses. This Post is about the common Length, but the Road did not intirely please us. As nothing remarkable occurred here, we did not stay above Half an Hour. The Approach of the Night likewise oblig'd us to be thus expeditious, in Order to reach *Tabor* before it was dark.

We arriv'd at *Tabor* in good Time, and without being greatly fatigued. *Tabor*, or *Thabor*, call'd by the *Bohemians* *Hradistie*, is a considerable Town of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Bechin*, about ten German Miles, according to the Computation of the *Austrian* and *Bohemian* Geographers, almost South of *Prague*; but this Distance is too small, as will be clearly evinc'd. It is at present a Place of some Strength, and capable of sustaining a Siege, especially if the Emperor would lay out a little Money upon it. This Town stands upon a Mountain, where the *Hussites* assembled, to the Number of forty-thousand Men, and pitched their Tents, in 1420. As the Situation was suppos'd by them to resemble that of *Tabor*, an antient City of *Palestine*, they gave it the same Name. This Body being joined by *Ziska*, after his Expulsion from *Pilsen*, whom they chose for their General, seiz'd, at his Instigation, upon the Fortrefs of *Hradistie*, demolish'd the Town of *Austa*, and afterwards built Houses upon the Spots of Ground occupied by their Tents, which form'd a handsome Town, consisting of several Streets. This is the Origin of the Town of *Tabor*. The Emperor *Sigismund* adorn'd it with many noble Privileges, and constituted it a royal City. It was besieged ineffectually by the *Austrians* and *Bavarians*, not long after it was built; and by the Emperor *Albert the Second*, in 1438. But it was reduced by Don *Balthasar de Maradas*, for the Emperor *Ferdinand the Second*, in 1621. Notwithstanding *Tabor* is a Place of some Note, we found ourselves oblig'd to lie upon Straw, in a Room one Story high, at which we arriv'd by Means of a Sort of Ladder. We had scarce laid ourselves down to sleep, when the Straw we lay upon took Fire, and, had not the Person who wrote this Account been providentially awake, we, together with the House, and every Body in it, might have

been consumed. He arose immediately, and, descending the Ladder abovemention'd, saw the whole Family, Men and Women, lying together promiscuously in Straw, with a dim Lamp burning by them; who, being presently roused, soon extinguish'd the Fire. Not only the poorer Sort, but many of the middle Families, in this Part of *Bohemia*, as we were told, take up constantly with this Kind of Lodging; which seem'd pretty extraordinary, as *Bohemia* is so civiliz'd a Country. We found Provisions here both scarce and indifferent, particularly Wine; so that our two remaining Bottles of *Tokay* prov'd a seasonable Refreshment to us. According to Advices received here, a Detachment of *Kiewski's* Troops lately made an Incursion into *Silesia*, where they committed great Depredations. Nay, it was said, that a large Body of them was advancing towards the Frontiers of *Bohemia*. Though we found afterwards that this did not prove true, yet, as for the present it gave some Alarm here, we rejoic'd that we had not taken the Route of *Breslau*. We must not omit Observing, that at *Zlabnitz* there was a very large and exceeding fine Map of *Moravia*, which the Landlord did not care for Parting with. Our Expences at *Tabor*, though we liv'd but poorly, and us'd our own Wine, amount'd to above twelve Florins.

After we had taken our Leave of *Tabor*, the *Postiglioni* conducted us to a small Village call'd *Sudomirzitz*. This Post seem'd a long one, but the Road was good. We observ'd between *Neubaus* and this Place a considerable Number of Ponds, or standing Waters, and one of very considerable Extent, which, the *Postiglioni* said, abound'd with a great Variety of elegant and delicious Fish. We did not stay above Half an Hour here.

From *Sudomirzitz* we pursu'd our Journey to *Woiditz*, or *Wotitz*, a considerable Village in the Circle of *Beraun*, where we took in fresh Horses. To the Left, between *Miltschbn* and *Wotitz*, we saw several Mountains cover'd with Snow. The Part of *Bohemia*, we have hitherto travers'd, had the Appearance of a fertile and plentiful Country in general, tho' sometimes Mountains and barren Spots occurred. The People here, as well as in *Moravia*, were very civil and obliging, had an Air of great Probity and Sincerity, and in their Manners and Dispositions seem'd nearly to correspond. We refresh'd ourselves for about Half an Hour, and then set out for *Bisjritz*,

Bisritz, where we proposed next to stop.

Bisritz, or *Bisrutz*, called likewise sometimes *Bystrzice*, is a small Town of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Caurzim*, two short German Miles North of *Wotitz*. Here we dined, and found an Officer, with about fifty *Bohemian* Recruits, who seemed tall robust young Fellows, on his Route to *Prague*. Our *Swiss* Servants accosted them in *High Dutch*, but they answered in *Bohemian*, which he understood not a Word of. This Town appeared to us to consist principally of one pretty long Street, but did not make any considerable Figure. As we could not meet with any Thing substantial here for Dinner, our Expence amounted only to a Florin.

The next Post, which was terminated by *Nesbeck*, we passed the *Sazawa*. *Nesbeck*, *Nesbeck*, or *Dnespeck*, is a small Village of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Caurzim*, upon the *Sazawa*, two long German Leagues almost North of *Bisritz*, in the Post-Road to *Prague*. The Country here, particularly about the Banks of the River, was a fine verdant Plain, and appeared inexpressibly delightful. The *Sazawa*, *Zasawa*, or *Saczawa*, one of the largest Rivers of *Bohemia*, has its Source in *Moravia*, on, or near, the Ridge of Mountains, separating the Circle of *Iglaw* from that of *Czasslau*, and throws itself into the *Moldau*, at no very great Distance from *Nesbeck*. We took up our Lodging here, and lay in the same Manner as at *Tabor*. We observed in one of the Rooms of our Inn a tolerable good Piece of St. *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bohemia*; and in another a small Portrait of that Prince, under which, on the same Sheet of Paper, were printed several Theses, proposed, under the Auspices of the abovementioned Saint, to be defended by a Student of *Prague*, on a certain Day therein specified. Papers of this Kind are common in the Inns and Publick Houses for three or four Posts round *Prague*; as is likewise the Picture of St. *Wenceslaus*, who is always considered as one of the greatest *Bohemian* Saints. The Order of Knights of St. *Wenceslaus* is reckoned one of the most honourable in *Bohemia*. The high Veneration the *Bohemians* have the Memory of this Saint in appears from hence, that scarce any Christian Name is in greater Vogue amongst the *Bohemian*, *Moravian*, and even *Austrian*, Noblesse and Gentry than *Wenceslaus*. Of this Prince *Wenceslaus de Lichtenstein*, Count *Wenceslaus Wallis*, and many other Noblemen, &c. bearing that Name, may be deemed a

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sufficient Proof. The Tract throughout this Post we found mountainous, and full of Woods of Fir-Trees. A most violent Storm or Hurricane, that happened about the Beginning of *February* last, had made a most dreadful Havock amongst these Fir-Trees, which, generally speaking, stood upon some Hill or Eminence; insomuch that many of them were torn up by the Roots, some broke in the Middle, others near the Top, and, lastly, others within a Yard or two of the Ground. This Havock manifested itself for above a German League and a Half together. When our *High Dutch* failed us, the Author of this Narrative made use of his *Latin*, which was of signal Service to us, almost all of the People here, both high and low, having more than a Smattering in that Language, and many of them speaking it with great Elegance and Propriety. We found Provisions here, though none of the best, pretty dear, which may be attributed to the Vicinity of the Place to *Prague*. Notwithstanding we lived very moderately, nay, almost abstemiously, our Landlord favoured us with a Bill, in the Morning, before our Departure, of something above twelve Florins.

From *Nesbeck* we advanced to *Jesnitz*, or, as some call it, *Jessenicz*, a small Village of the Circle of *Caurzim*, two short German Miles almost South of *Prague*. The principal Places between *Bisritz* and *Nesbeck* are *Beneschau*, *Konopischt*, and *Porzitsch*, all on the other Side the *Sazawa*. The last Post, which commenced at *Nesbeck*, consisted of two long German Miles. The Effects of the late Hurricane appeared likewise through this Post, which, in some Parts, was a little hilly, and therefore the more exposed to the Violence of it. We were told, that in *Bohemia* such Hurricanes frequently happen.

It has been just hinted, that the Post between *Jesnitz* and *Prague* is a short one; to which we shall beg to add, that the Road is extremely good. The Ravages, committed by the late Hurricane amongst the Firs, still presented themselves to our View, till we came within a German Mile, as I supposed, of *Prague*. At a small Distance from *Prague*, we passed by a Sort of Obelisk raised in the Highway, with an Inscription upon it, which we did not stay to read; but it was suggested to us, that this had been erected on Occasion of the Murder of one M. *Asfeldt*, on the Spot whereon it stood, in 1706 or 1707. Between *Wotitz* and *Prague*, we met with several large Ponds, like those already mentioned, and

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equally,

equally, as may be presumed, stored with various Kinds of excellent Fish. Upon our Arrival at *Prague*, we passed two Centries before we were admitted into the Town, and had our Baggage examined with pretty great Rigour. Our Readers will find, by perusing what has been already laid down in this Section, that the List of Posts between *Vienna* and *Prague* stands thus :

From *Vienna* to *Enzersdorf*, a short Post, $1\frac{1}{2}$ German Miles.

From *Enzersdorf* to *Stockerau*, a long Post, 3 German Miles.

From *Stockerau* to *Mallebern*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Mallebern* to *Hollabrun*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Hollabrun* to *Naudorf*, or *Nodorf*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Naudorf* to *Pulkau*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Pulkau* or *Bulkha*, to *Langau*, a long Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Langau* or *Languenau*, to *Frating*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Frating* to *Piesling*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Piesling* to *Zlabnitz*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Zlabnitz* to *Konigseck*, a long Post, 3 German Miles.

From *Konigseck* to *Neubaus*, a pretty long Post, 2 good German Miles.

From *Neubaus* to *Somosal* or *Samosal*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Somosal* to *Koschitz*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Koschitz* to *Tabor*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Tabor* to *Sudomirzitz*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Sudomirzitz* to *Wotitz* or *Woiditz*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Wotitz* to *Bisfritz*, one Post, 2 German Miles.

From *Bisfritz* to *Nesbeck* or *Dnespeck*, one Post, 2 long German Miles.

From *Nesbeck* or *Dnespeck* to *Jesnitz* or *Jessenitz*, one Post, $2\frac{1}{2}$ German Miles.

From *Jesnitz* to *Prague*, one Post, 2 short German Miles.

Total 21 Posts, 45 German Miles.

Prague, the Capital of *Bohemia*, called frequently in *Latin* by the *Bohemian* and *Austrian* Writers *Tripolis*, i. e. the *Triple City*, has for-

merly been the Residence of many Kings and Emperors. It received that Denomination from the three Cities of which it consists. These are the *New City*, the *Old City*, and the *Little City*; every one of which, with Regard to its Extent and Number of Inhabitants, may be considered as scarce any Thing inferior to a City of the first Rank. The last of these is separated from the two first by the *Moldau* or *Wltava*, a River that has its Rise in the District of *Krumau*, on or near the Ridge of Mountains separating *Bohemia* from *Bavaria*, and unites its Stream with that of the *Elbe* near *Melnick*, about four German Miles North of *Prague*. The *Little City* stands on the Western Bank of that River, and the others on the Eastern; but they are joined together by a noble Bridge, one of the greatest Curiosities in *Prague*, 35 Foot broad, and 1770 long. This was begun, with great Solemnity, by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, in the Year 1357; but, the Work being frequently interrupted by the bloody Wars that happened in *Bohemia*, was not finished till about Half a Century after. This Bridge supplied the Place of a more antient one, built, after three Years Labour, by *Juditha* or *Gitka*, Wife to King *Wladislaus*, in 1170, and destroyed by an extraordinary Inundation of the *Moldau*, in 1342, whose Waters then rose to a very unusual Height. The Structure, composed of square Stone, is sustained by eighteen prodigious Piles rising out of the Bed of the River, and connected by the Arches under it. Each End of the Bridge is adorned and defended by a fine Tower. One of * these has, about the Middle of its exterior Surface, in much the same Manner that the Statues of the Founders may be seen in *Wadham* and *Oriel* Colleges, *Oxford*, two Stone Figures of *Luther* and his Wife. *Luther* appears in Armour, and his Wife with one of her Hands extended towards his Privities; which was done in Order to ridicule the *Lutherans*, and perhaps the Protestants in general. The Citizens of *Prague*, who are, for the most Part, bigotted *Roman Catholics*, take great Care to shew these Statues of *Luther* and his Wife to all Protestants that come here. This the Author of the present Account collected from our Guide, or, as the *Italians* call that Sort of Servant, *Cicerone*, who took particular Care to shew us the abovementioned Effigies of *Luther* and his Wife, and desired us to view them attentively, assuring us, that no Foreigner, especially if he was a *Catholic*, who

* The Tower here mentioned is that which stands on the End of the Bridge contiguous to the *Old Town*.

knew *Prague*, would believe that he had seen the Capital of *Bohemia*, if he could not give a Description of them.

There are many curious Images or Statues of Saints upon the Bridge over the *Moldau*, which very well deserve to be seen by every curious Traveller, and particularly that of St. *John of Nepomuck*, which consists of Brass, and stands on that Part of the Bridge from whence he was thrown into the River, and drowned, at the Command of *Wenceslaus the Fourth*, surnamed *Piger*. Upon the Spot there is a Cross of Copper or Brass deaurated, which People are continually kissing from Morning till Night, when they offer their Prayers to St. *John Nepomucene*, who is esteemed as one of the principal *Bohemian* Saints. Nay, in *Prague* he seems to be more celebrated than any other. Many Persons there wear his Picture in Miniature on their Breasts, hanging down like the Badge of an Order; and most of the Women have such a Picture, by Way of Ornament, annexed to their Necklaces. Many of these Toys, in different Forms, are brought by *Jews* and others, to the Strangers that come to *Prague*, to be purchased, as one of the Curiosities of the Place. The other Saints, whose Statues are erected on the Bridge, have likewise their Votaries, as well as St. *John Nepomucene*, who may frequently be seen performing their Devotions to them; though those of the latter are by far the most numerous. There is exposed to Sale, in the Book-sellers and Print-shops at *Prague*, a Collection of Prints, or Cuts, representing all the Statues abovementioned on the Bridge over the *Moldau*, with the Title of *MARMOR LOQUENS* prefixed to it.

In the *Moldau* there are two little Islands, on the largest of which, according to our *Cicerone*, stands a Sort of Inn, whither young People sometimes go to divert themselves, called by the People of *Prague*, as he said, *Great and Little Venice*. The Breadth of the *Moldau* here may be easily underflood, from the brief Description of the Bridge already given. *Great Venice* faces the *Little Town*; and *Little Venice* lies in the Middle of the River, opposite to the Northern Extremity of the *New Town*. There are, besides these two Islands, some others, that are smaller, in that Part of the *Moldau* which divides *Little Prague* from the *Old and New Towns*.

The *New City* is larger than the others, touches the River in two Places, and encompasses that Part of the *Old City* which is not washed by the *Moldau*. Both the *Little City*

and the *New City*, on the Land-side, or that Side facing the adjacent Territory, opposite to the River, are surrounded with a Fosse and a Wall, though they are Places of no great Strength. *Prague*, according to *Ricciolus*, stands in 50 Deg. 40 Min. North Latitude, and 37 Deg. 23 Min. Longitude. Its Distance from *Vienna*, according to our Computation, which may be depended upon, is about forty-five German Miles, tho' some of the *Austrian* Geographers will not allow it much to exceed thirty-six.

Some believe that the City, where *Maroboduus*, King of the *Marcomanni*, called, as should seem, by *Ptolemy Marobudus*, resided, stood on a Spot occupied at present by Part of the City of *Prague*. *Bojohæmus*, or *Boviasmus*, is the Name given this City by *Lipsius*. But this seems to have been the Name of a Province, not of a City, as has been very justly observed by *Cluverius*. *Hagecius* thinks that *Maroboduus's* Capital stood upon a Mountain, or Hill, about a German Mile from *Prague*, opposite to the Monastery of *Sbraslau*; but this Situation seems rather to correspond with that of a Castle, placed in the Neighbourhood of this City by *Tacitus*. Others believe that the *Cafurgis* of *Ptolemy* was formerly situated there. But to leave these, and other Conjectures, which must be allowed very precarious, we shall give our Readers a short and succinct Account of the Origin of *Prague*, extracted from the most authentic of the *Bohemian* Historians.

Of the three Cities of which *Prague* consists, the *Little Town* is the most antient. It was built in the Year 723, by *Libussa*, the Daughter of *Cracus* or *Crocus*, the second Prince or Duke of *Bohemia*; and deduced its Name from the *Bohemian* Word *Prab*, which signifies a Gate, or Entry, according to *Hagecius*. But, supposing the *Little City* to have been built by *Libussa*, it must be older than the Year 723, as will hereafter fully appear. The same Author asserts this Part of *Prague* to have been first surrounded with a Wall by *Nezamyslus*, or *Nezamyslius*, the Son of *Libussa*; which, if the former Notion be admitted, is probable enough. Notwithstanding which, *Lupacius* attributes the Foundation of *Prague* to *Mnatha*, the Son of *Nezamyslus*, and the first Erection of a Wall about it to *Wogenus*, the former Prince's Grandson. But these jarring Accounts seem to be reconciled by *Hagecius*, when he affirms, that the *Old Town* was first built by *Mnatha*, about the Year 795, and enlarged, as well as encompassed on the Land-side with a Wall, by *Wogenus*, in the Year

830. *Udalricus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who died in 1037, likewise added many new Buildings to it. However, according to *Balbinus*, as yet *Old Prague* was composed only of wooden Buildings, more resembling Soldiers Tents than Citizens Houses, after the Manner of all the antient Towns erected in the Northern Parts of the World; till *Sobieslaus the First*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who died in 1140, caused all those Houses to be pulled down, and rebuilt of Stone, and, by improving the Symmetry of the Streets, greatly beautified the Place. *Charles the Fourth*, Emperor of the *Romans*, and King of *Bohemia*, annexed *New Prague* to the *Old Town*, called it at first *Carlovnia*, and fortified it with a Ditch and a Wall, about the Year 1348. Lastly, The *Little City* was strengthened in the same Manner, in 1560. Within the Wall of the *New Town* several Eminences are inclosed; and within that of the *Little Town* a pretty noted Hill, called Mount *Petrzin*. The Castle, or Cittadel, denominated the *Wischehrad*, stands upon a high Mountain, and commands, in a great Measure, both the *Old* and *New Town*. It was built, according to *Merianus*, in the Year 683, and at first received various Names, viz. *Pjary*, *Libice*, &c. As the first Dukes of *Bohemia* held their Residence in this Place, it was, for a considerable Time, esteemed the principal Part of the City of *Prague*, but they afterwards removed into the *Old Town*. *Wischehrad*, in the *Bohemian* Tongue, signifies a *Castle*, *Fortress*, or *High Cittadel*. This Place now seems in a mean Condition, scarce any Traces of its former Grandeur at present remaining. Such another Castle commands *Little Prague*; which, for many Ages, has gone under the Appellation of the *Castle of St. Wenceslaus*.

Prague was taken by *Henry the Fowler*, in 930, when that Prince obliged *St. Wenceslaus*, then Duke of *Bohemia*, to pay him an annual Tribute. *Boleslaus*, King of *Poland*, after he had treacherously put out the Eyes of *Boleslaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, whom he invited in a seemingly amicable Manner to *Cracow*, under the Pretence of entering into an Alliance with him, laid Siege also to *Prague*, about the Year 1000, and in two Years Time starved it to a Surrender. However, he could not reduce the *Wischehrad*; which eluded all his Efforts, till *Udalricus*, the Son or Brother of *Boleslaus*, by a singular Stratagem, overthrew the *Polish* Army, in 1004. *Wladislaus the Second*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and *Conrad*, Prince of *Znaim*, having been intirely defeated in a bloody Battle by *Otto*, Prince of *Olmutz*, and several other

Princes of the *Przemyslawian* Family, *Prague* was again besieged by the *Victors*, in 1142; but *Theobaldus*, Brother to *Wladislaus*, bravely defended it, till the Emperor *Conrad* advanced with a powerful Army to its Relief; at whose Approach the Besiegers thought proper to retire. The City sustained no other Damage from this Siege, than what happened to the Churches of *St. Vite* and *St. George*, which were set on Fire by some Flames conveyed to them by the Enemy's Arrows. *John*, King of *Bohemia*, having some Dispute with *Elizabeth*, his Queen, who, with *Charles* her Son, retired to *Melnick*, and suspecting that the Nobility of *Prague* espoused her Interest, he laid Siege to his Capital City, with an Army raised in *Moravia*, A. D. 1319. But *William* of *Habsburg*, the Commandant, defended the Place with great Valour, till the Arrival of *Peter de Rosis*, who came with a formidable Army, to the Succour of the Besieged; and, after he had almost driven the King out of the Field, restored Peace to *Bohemia*. The Citizens of the *Old* and *New Town* joined the *Hussites*, and, after a vigorous Action, entered the *Little Town*, in 1419. Neither could the Emperor *Sigismund*, King of *Bohemia*, attended by *Albert*, Archduke of *Austria*, afterwards Emperor, the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, &c. retake *Prague*, though he assaulted it from four different Quarters at once, with an Army of 140,000 Men. The Besieged having thus, under the Conduct of *Ziska*, repulsed the Emperor, soon made themselves Masters of the *Wischehrad*; which, till then, had been occupied by that Prince's Troops. This City espoused the Interest of *Frederic* Count *Palatine of the Rhine*; but returned to the House of *Austria*, after the fatal Battle of *Weissenberg* near *Prague*, in 1620. The *Saxons* seized upon it, in 1631; but it was soon after recovered by *Wallenstein*, the Imperial General. Lastly, Count *Königsmarck*, the *Swedish* General, making an Irruption out of the *Upper Palatinate* into *Bohemia*, possessed himself of the *Little Town*, and took the Castle appertaining to it at the first Assault, in 1648. But the *Old* and *New Town* repulsed him in every Attack, till the Treaty, then in Agitation, was signed. These are the principal Events, in which *Prague* has been more immediately hitherto concerned.

The City is exceeding populous, containing, according the most approved and authentic Accounts, five-hundred-thousand Souls; of which, if some may be credited, near Fifty-thousand

are Jews. Be that as it will, for at least four-hundred Years past, its Citizens have been extremely numerous, as we may find attested by the best Historians, who have treated of the *Bohemian Affairs*. Nay, we are told by *Matthias Laudā*, a celebrated Writer, who lived at that Time, that in the Year 1419, notwithstanding the Troubles the Kingdom was then involved in, Fifty-thousand idle Men, or more, might have been drawn into the Field in the Day-time, without being misfed, or any sensible Diminution of the Inhabitants. A Thing, which, notwithstanding the Authority of *Lauda*, will to many of our Readers, appear absolutely incredible!

Prague, with its Territory, for above two-hundred Years, made up Part of the Diocese of *Ratisbon*. But at the Desire of *Boleslaus Pius*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and his Sister *Mlada*, then a Nun at *Rome*, by the Consent of St. *Wolfgang*, Bishop of *Ratisbon*, *Ditmar*, a Member of the *Benedictin* Convent at *Magdeburg*, was declared the first Bishop of *Prague*, by Pope *John the Thirteenth*, and consecrated, as his Suffragan, by *Hatto*, or *Robert*, Archbishop of *Mentz*. *Ditmar* was succeeded by St. *Adalbert* in 969, according to *Hagecius*; or, as *Balbinus* will have it, in 979. St. *Adalbert*, or *Wogtiechus*, Nephew to *Boleslaus*, was destroyed by the Pagans, in the mountainous Part of *Prussia*, whither he went, as a Missionary, to propagate the *Christian Religion*, and succeeded by *Theadagus*, who belonged to a Monastery in *Saxony*, A. D. 997. After him came *Helikardus*, *Izo*, and *Severus*; the last of whom, at the Request of the *Moravians*, though his Diocese was already very much diminished, gave his Consent, that a new Bishopric should be erected in *Moravia*. Which was accordingly done, Pope *Alexander the Second* giving a Sanction thereto. *Severus* dying in 1067, *Gerard*, or *Jaromir*, succeeded him, and re-united the Sees of *Olmütz* and *Prague*, the Emperor *Henry* giving his Consent thereto. After *Gerard's* Death, King *Wratislaus* again separated the Diocese of *Olmütz* from that of *Prague*; appointing one *Cosmas* to preside over the latter, in 1091. *Ernest de Pardubitz*, the twentieth Prelate from *Cosmas*, was declared free from all Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and consecrated Archbishop of *Prague*, the next Sunday before *Advent*, 1343, in the usual Manner. This is said to have been foretold by St. *Wolfgang* to *Boleslaus Pius*, near four-hundred Years before it happened. The Bishop of *Prague* was

not only thus dignified by Pope *Clement the Sixth*, at the Desire of *John*, King of *Bohemia*, and his Son *Charles*, but had likewise the Privilege of crowning the King of *Bohemia* transferred to him from the Archbishop of *Mentz*. Nay *Charles*, Successor to the above-mentioned *John*, King of *Bohemia*, obtained of Pope *Urban the Fifth* the Office of perpetual Legate, in the Dioceses of *Ratisbon*, *Bamberg*, *Misnia*, &c. for the Archbishop of *Prague*, in 1365. After the Death of *Conrad*, in 1431, *Prague* was destitute of an Archbishop near Half an Age; the Revenues belonging to the Metropolitan Church there, according to the *Austrian* and *Bohemian* Writers, having been squandered away and dissipated by *Conrad*, whom they scrupled not to accuse of Heresy. Neither could this Archbishopric be put upon its primitive Footing, though attempted by *Wladislaus* and other Kings of *Bohemia*, till the Reign of the Emperor *Ferdinand the First*, of the House of *Austria*, who richly endowed it, restored it to its primitive Lustre, and translated the Bishop of *Vienna*, to the Metropolitan Church of *Prague*, in 1562. We must not here omit Observing, that the Title of Prince was conferred on the Bishop of *Prague*, by King *Wenceslaus*, in 1315, and confirmed to the Archbishop of that City, by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, A. D. 1350. This Title was, however, for a long Time neglected, and, as it were, lost; but the Archbishop, *Zbignæus Berka*, happily recovered it of the Emperor, *Rudolphus the Second*.

Though the Limits we have prescribed ourselves will not permit us to give a minute and particular Description of all the principal Churches and religious Houses, nor even a bare Enumeration of all the others, in *Prague*, yet we think it would be unpardonable to omit a short Account of the following:

1. The Cathedral Church, in the Cittadel, belonging to the *Little City*, was founded by St. *Wenceslaus*, in the Year 935, and dedicated to St. *Vite*. This was occasioned by *Henry*, King of *Germany*, then holding a Diet at *Ratisbon*, who made a Present of an Arm of St. *Vite* to that Prince; which induced him to build a Church in Honour of that Saint, as a proper Place to deposit it in. However, Death prevented him from fully executing his Design; he dying before the Church was finished. Some Authors affirm, that the Church of St. *Vite* was consecrated by *Michael*, Bishop of *Ratisbon*; and others by St. *Wolfgang*, who

who presided over the same Diocese. But these two different Opinions may be rendered consistent, by supposing, that the first Part of this Church, built by *St. Wenceslaus*, was consecrated by the former Prelate, and the whole Edifice, which was probably finished in the Reign of *Boleslaus Pius*, by the Latter. Afterwards, about the Year 1060, *Spithmeus the Second*, surnamed *the Just*, observing that a greater Number of People than the Church could contain crowded to the Tomb of *St. Wenceslaus*, he determined to remedy this Defect. In Order to which he demolished the Chapels, in which *St. Vite* and *St. Adalbert* were worshipped, and erected one magnificent Church for the three Saints, *Vite*, *Adalbert*, and *Wenceslaus*; but Death would not permit him to put the last Hand to it. This afterwards going to Decay, *John*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Ernest*, Archbishop of *Prague*, laid the Foundation of a much more noble and august Church, in 1343, but the whole Fabric was not finished till the 1396. The present Church was built by the Emperor *Ferdinand the First*, in 1555, the former having been burnt, in 1541. It consists of square-cut Stones, compacted in the *Gothic* Taste. Within the Tower of *St. Vite*, which is very lofty, there is a Bell, said to be twenty-two Thousand seven-hundred Pounds Weight. In this Church there is a most sumptuous Mausoleum, in which the Bodies of the Emperors, *Charles the Fourth*, *Ferdinand the First*, *Maximilian the Second*, *Rudolphus the Second*, and the Kings *Ladislaus*, *George of Podiebrad*, &c. are deposited. But the greatest Ornaments of the Church of *St. Vite*, in the Opinion of the *Bohemians*, are the Bodies of *St. Wenceslaus*, *St. Adalbert*, *St. Vite*, and *St. Sigismund*, King of *Burgundy*; all of which are honoured in their respective Sacella, or Chapels. The finest and most grand of these is that of *St. Wenceslaus*, which shines on all Sides with precious Stones, especially *Jasper*. To these may be added the noble and stupendous Tomb of *St. John Nepomucene*, secured by a double Chancel, on which if any Person carelessly treads, he will inevitably, according to the *Bohemians*, soon meet with some remarkable Misfortune, or Disgrace. This, they say, has frequently been proved; so that it passes for an indisputable Truth amongst them. Upon this Tomb there stands the Foot of a Candlestick, of unknown Metal, brought hither from *Milan*, when that Place was laid level with the Ground, by *Frederic Barbarossa*, in 1162, where it had long

been kept as a most invaluable Treasure. In Fine, here is deposited such an Infinity of sacred Relicks, collected from all Parts of the *Christian* World by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, that nothing like it of the Kind is to be met with out of the Walls of *Rome*.

2. The *Strahovian* Church on Mount *Petrzin*, and the Hill or Tract called *Ratzin*, or *Ratshin*, belongs also to the Little Town. This Church may justly be reckoned amongst the Ornaments of *Prague*, and has annexed to it a noble Monastery of the *White Order* of *Præmonstrants*, founded and richly endowed by *Wladislaus the Eleventh*, Duke of *Bohemia*, at the Instigation of *Henry Zdik*, in 1143. Having received some additional Revenues, it was again consecrated by *Albert* Archbishop of *Salzburg*, by the Consent of *Valentine* Bishop of *Prague*, near forty Years after its Foundation. It was laid in Ashes about 1258, but, to the great Surprise and Admiration of the Citizens of *Prague*, rebuilt in a more splendid Manner, at the sole Expence of *John* the Abbot, in about five Years Time. The *Austrian* Writers affirm, that it was destroyed by the *Hussites*, in 1421, and erected again, with the Addition of two *Odææ*, in Honour of the Blessed Virgin *MARY assumed into Heaven*, and *St. ROCH*. Here is deposited the Body of *St. Norbert*, Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, and Patriarch of the *Præmonstratensian* Order, which was brought hither from *Magdeburg*, in 1626.

3. The Church of *St. George*, with a religious House, inhabited by Virgins of the Rule of *St. Benedict*, annexed to it, stands in the Castle of Little *Prague*. This Nunnery is one of the most ancient religious Houses in *Prague*, having been built by *Wratislav the First*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and Father of *St. Wenceslaus*, in the Year 912, according to *Hagecius*. *Conrad* Prince of *Znaim* reduced it to Ashes, in 1142; which obliged the Nuns first to retire to a House upon one of the Banks of the *Moldau*, and from thence to the Church of *St. John Baptist*; where they remained till their former Habitation was capable of receiving them. *Agnes*, the Daughter of King *Wladislaus the First*, the Lady Abbess here, not only adorned this Convent with her Virtues and Sanctity of Life, but likewise greatly enriched it, in the thirteenth Century. The *Hussites* expelled these Ladies a second Time, in 1421; but they afterwards recovered their former Situation: Amongst other Privileges, that these Nuns enjoy, may be ranked two, which are pretty remarkable:

1. Their Abbess is exempt from all Archiepiscopal

copal Jurisdiction, and even Subjection to the *Benedictin* Order; being subject only to the Pope, as having been taken under the immediate Protection of the *Holy See*, by Pope *Eugenius the Third*, in 1145. 2. The same Lady has the sole Right and Privilege of crowning, with her own Hands, the Queen of *Bohemia*. Besides the Crucifix, which the *Bohemians* pretend emits Blood from the Foot of the Cross, when any signal Calamity is to happen to their Country, there are here the Remains of *St. Ludmilla*, the *Blessed Mlada* or *Milada*, and the Founder, on whose Tomb the Title *Blessed* is inscribed.

4. The elegant Church of the *Carmelites*, from whence the Protestants were ejected in 1624, belongs to the Hill or Tract called *Radschibin*, or the upper Part of the *Little Town*.

5. As does the Church of *St. Joseph*, with the *Carmelite* Nunnery appertaining to it.

6. *Wenceslaus the Second*, surnamed the Good, added a religious House appropriated to the *Augustines* to the Church of *St. Thomas*, whose first Prior *Theobaldus*, or *Dipoldus*, was of the royal Family. The Church of *St. Thomas* is a fine Edifice, and famous for the fine Piece of Painting of the great Altar. It stands likewise in the District abovementioned.

7. The Church of *St. Lawrence*, with the religious House inhabited by Virgins of the Order of *St. Dominic* translated to this Place from *Olmutz*, was built by *Elizabeth*, Queen of *Bohemia*, a little before her Death, in 1330.

8. The Church of *Sancta Maria de Victoria*, with the Monastery of the *Servites* adjoining to it, owes its Erection to the Emperor *Ferdinand the Second*, in the Year 1628.

9. The House of the Professors of the Society of *Jesus*, besides a numerous *Gymnasium* consisting of six Schools, has two Churches, one of which is called the *German Church*, the other the *Bohemian*. The *German Church* is famous for the singular Neatness of its Images, and the Remains of *St. Crispus* and *St. Caius* deposited in it; the *Bohemian*, which has a pretty large Parish appertaining to it, goes under the Name of the Church of *St. Wenceslaus*.

10. The two Churches of *St. Martha* and *St. Mary Magdalen* belong to the Order of the *Prædicants*.

11. Of the two Churches appropriated to the Knights of *Malta*, dedicated to the *Blessed Virgin Mary* and *St. Procopius*, the second was erected, at the Persuasion of *St. Procopius* in a Dream, by *Sulislaws* and his Wife *Dobromila*,

and consecrated by *Daniel Bishop of Prague* in the Presence of *Ottocar the First*, King of *Bohemia*, A. D. 1213.

12. The Churches of *St. John the Evangelist* under the Rock, of *St. John* at the Water-side, of *St. Charles Borromeo* in the *Italian Hospital*, of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at the Ferry, and *St. Mary Magdalen* in the Vineyards, are not to be passed over in Silence. Lastly, the Churches of the *Theatines*, dedicated to the *Blessed Mother of GOD*, of the *Barnabites* at *St. Benedict*, and of the *Capuchins*, with their House of *Loretto*, shall conclude our Observations, with Regard to the Places set apart for religious Purposes, not only on Mount *Petrzin*, and the Hill or Tract of *Radschibin*, but in every Part of *Little Prague*.

13. The Parish Church of the *Blessed Virgin assumed into Heaven*, is famous on Account of its Antiquity, being built by some of the *Christian Dukes of Bohemia*, and its Beauty, both within and without. This stands in the *Old Town*.

14. Not far from the former, a Traveller meets with the Church of *St. James*, famous for its Height, as well as for its escaping the Fury of the *Hussites*, by the Bravery of the Butchers who defended it. In Honour of these Butchers, and to perpetuate the Memory of this glorious Event, the *Minorites* erected a Sort of Trophy over the Door of their Convent, adjoining to *St. James's Church*, which likewise owed its Preservation to the Valour of the Butchers, in 1598.

15. The Church of *our Saviour*, which is called the *German Church*, towards the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, was built by the Protestants, who were afterwards dispossessed of it, and succeeded by the Religious of *St. Francis de Paula*. These last adorned it in a most beautiful Manner, after it came into their Hands.

16. The *Blessed Agnes*, Sister of *Wenceslaus the First*, King of *Bohemia*, gave the Hospital at the Bridge, together with the Church of the *Holy Ghost*, to the *Crutched Friars*, who, by the Indulgence of Pope *Innocent the Fourth*, carried a red Star below the Cross, in 1238. These Religious, after the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Saladine*, settled themselves at *St. Peter's Church*, in the Village of *Porzicz* contiguous to *Prague*. There is likewise another Order of the *Crutched Friars*, viz. that of *St. Cyriacus*, instituted in 1256, and confirmed by Pope *Alexander the Fourth*. The General, or Chief, of this Order has resided in *Old Prague*, at the

Holy Cross, ever since the first Institution of it.

17. The two Churches, and Convents, of the *Dominicans*, one of which appertains to the Nuns of *St. Anna*, and the other to the Religious of *St. Giles*, famous for its uncommon Breadth, which they took Possession of in 1625, deserve next to be mentioned. This Order was first settled upon the Spot where the present Academical College of the *Jesuits* stands. The first *Dominicans* that came here were a Colony sent by *St. Hyacinth*, under his Brother, the *Blessed Cesslaus*, in 1222.

18. The Churches of *St. Clement* and our Saviour belong to the *Jesuits*, who have likewise a famous College here. These Fathers were invited to *Prague* by the Emperor *Ferdinand the First*, in the Year 1552. In the former of these Churches the *Jesuits* preach in *High Dutch*; and in the latter, which was built chiefly at the Expence of the Family of *Lobkowitz*, in *Bohemian*.

19. The Churches of the *Blessed Virgin assumed into Heaven*, erected, by *Peregrine Bishop of Prague*, about 1224, and used chiefly by the *Italians*, and that at *St. Eligius*, where the Solemnities of the Goldsmiths are celebrated, occur likewise to a Traveller visiting *Old Prague*. These Churches are smaller than those of *St. Clement* and our Saviour, and likewise belong to the *Jesuits*.

20. Besides the Churches and religious Houses mentioned in the seven last Articles, we meet with the following Places, worthy of Notice, in *Old Prague*. The Churches of *St. Martin*, of the *Benedictines*, of the *Fratres Misericordiae*, of the *Servites*, of the *Carmelites*, of the *Præmonstratenses*, of the Nuns of *Santa Clara*; as also the Churches of the *Blessed Virgin born at the Lake*, *St. Leonard*, *St. Valentine*, *St. Castulus*, *St. Paul* in the Hospital, *St. John Baptist* at the Mills, *St. Stephen the first*, the *Holy Ghost*, which had formerly a Nunnery of the *Benedictin* Order, founded by *Nicolaus Rocknerus*, in 1346, adjoining to it, and *St. Andrew*. The *Bohemians* pretend, that, when this last Church, with every Thing else in it, was reduced to Ashes, by an accidental Fire, in 1338, the venerable Host remained untouched amidst the Flames.

21. The Monastery called *Emmaus*, founded by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, for the *Slavonian* Nation in 1347, and dedicated to *St. Jerom the Dalmatian*, stands in the *New Town*. The Divine Service here is performed in the *Slavonian* Tongue, by Virtue of a Pri-

vilege granted this Monastery, which belongs to the *Benedictines*, by the See of *Rome*.

22. The College of the Regular Canons of *St. Augustin*, in the *New Town*, with the beautiful Church appertaining to it, was begun by the same Prince, about the Year 1351, but not finished before 1377.

23. The Church of *St. Maria ad Nives*, formerly a very grand and stately Edifice, with the Convent of the *Carmelites* adjoining to it, owed its Erection to the abovementioned *Charles the Fourth*, in 1347. In the Place of this, destroyed by the *Hussites*, was afterwards substituted that at present belonging to the *Minor Observantes* of *St. Francis*, who have likewise another Church, called *The Church of the Conception of the immaculate Blessed Virgin*. These Religious are known by the Name of the *Irish Religious*, or the *Irish Franciscans*.

24. The *Jesuits* College, in *New Prague*, is a noble and superb Building, adorned with a Gymnasium of six Schools, and surrounded by three Churches; of which the first, being a grand Structure, is dedicated to *St. Ignatius*, the Founder of the *Jesuits* Order; the second to *St. Francis Xavier*, the Apostle of the *Indians*; and the third, which is the oldest of the three, being built by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth* in 1364, and sometimes assigned to the Academical Doctors of the *Bohemian* Nation, goes under the Denomination of *The Church of the Body of Christ*.

25. The Parochial Church at *St. Henry's*, in the *New Town*, deserves to be viewed by every curious Traveller.

26. The Church of the *Augustines* at *St. Catharine's*, facing a high Tower, was built by *Charles the Fourth*, who founded that religious House for the Virgins of the Rule of *St. Benedict*.

27. The Monastery of *St. Wenceslaus*, inhabited by discalceated Friars, stands likewise in the *New Town*.

28. The same may be said of the Convent of the *Capuchins*, called the Convent of *St. Joseph*.

29. The *Ursuline* Nuns have likewise a religious House here.

30. The *Servites* also have a Monastery in the *New Town*, built and endowed by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, in 1361.

31. Besides which, the Churches of *The Trinity*, *St. Clement*, *St. Peter*, *St. Adalbert*, *St. Elizabeth*, *St. Nicholas*, *St. Michael*, *St. Lazarus*, *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Apollinaris*, and *St. Stephen the Greater*, all in *New Prague*, deserve

deserve to be seen by all Foreigners who make any Stay here.

We must not omit Observing, that the *Hussites* destroyed many Churches in *Prague*, which were never afterwards rebuilt. In the *Wischegrad* only, according to *Balbinus*, they levelled fourteen with the Ground. But, tho' the Violences committed by them were undoubtedly great, yet we question not, but they have been aggravated by the *Austrian* and *Bohemian* Historians.

The Castle or Cittadel of *St. Wenceslaus*, which belongs to the *Little Town*, is seated in the Hill or District of *Radtschin*, and includes within its Walls several noble Buildings. Nay, whether we consider its most commodious Situation, its delightful Prospect, its vast Capaciousness and Extent, or the Salubrity of its Air, it may justly be esteemed as one of the finest, most beautiful, and most august Palaces belonging to the House of *Austria*. It owes its chief Beauty to the Emperor *Ferdinand the Third*, who reduced it to the more elegant Rules of Architecture. Amongst the most remarkable Parts of it may be ranked the vast Parlour, or Hall, of *Wladislaus*, called the *Sala*, or *Hall*, and the *Mathematical House*, which stands in the Royal Gardens. The former is two-hundred twelve Feet long, and sixty broad; and the latter cost the Emperor *Ferdinand the First*, who built it, one-hundred-thousand Florins. The Gardens, in which this is situated, are adorned with many rare and select Trees brought from *Spain*, *Italy*, and even several Parts of *Asia*, in the Reign of *Rudolphus the Second*. One of the principal Curiosities, to be met with in the Castle of *St. Wenceslaus*, is a celebrated equestrian Statue of *St. George*, of Bell-Metal; the Workmanship of which is so exquisitely fine, that the *Bohemians* think it cannot be paralleled. In this Castle the States of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* assemble, on all publick Occasions; and all the Tribunals are held in it. When the Emperor comes to *Prague*, he fixes his Residence here.

The Town-Hall, or Council-House, in *Old Prague*, is eminent for its Bulk; for the Election of *George*, King of *Bohemia*; and for the sumptuous Banquets, and grand Entertainments, given in it, by several Emperors and Kings of *Bohemia*.

The old Town-House, called *Rychta*, is a very proper Place for Boxing-Matches, Wrestling, or any such like Diversions.

The two large Houses or Palaces, where
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some of the Kings of *Bohemia* have formerly resided, one of which, from the Money coined in it, is stiled *Domus Monetaria*, or the *Mint*, the other still retaining the Name of the *Old Palace*, may be considered as some of the Ornaments of *Prague*.

But, in our Opinion, one of the finest Things *Prague* can boast of, is the famous Clock in the Council-House, or Town-Hall, of the *Old City*, already mentioned. This, or rather the Maker of it, deserves a peculiar Encomium. For, besides the *Bohemian*, or *Italian*, and *German* Hours, it presents the whole Face of the Heavens to one's View at once; exhibiting not only the Day, Month, and Year, but likewise the Risings of the Sun and Moon, the new and full Moons, the Eclipses, the Motions of the other Planets, the Signs of the *Zodiac*, the Cycles, and chief Festivals of the Calendar. This curious and most admirable Machine is not to be paralleled in *Germany*, nor, perhaps, in any other Part of the World.

The Custom-House and Toll-Booth at the Bridge will be esteemed by all Persons, who have any Skill in Architecture, as fine and magnificent Buildings.

The *Little Town*, particularly the upper Part of it, or the Hill or District called *Ratzin*, or *Radtschin*, abounds with noble and superb Palaces, more than any other Part of *Prague*. The *Old* and *New Cities*, however, are not void of magnificent Structures. As the Limits of the present Piece will not permit us even to enumerate all the fine Edifices of this Metropolis, we shall content ourselves with mentioning these that follow, which are the principal of those that chiefly engage the Attention of every curious Traveller.

1. The Palace of Count *Czernin* is seated in the Tract abovementioned. There are many Pieces of Painting here, done by the most celebrated Hands of several Nations. This Palace has likewise a noble Gallery, which is generally esteemed as a great Ornament to it.

2. In the same Tract stands the Palace of the Archbishop of *Prague*; which is very magnificent, and well worth Seeing.

3. The Palace of the Prince *de Schwarzenburg*, in the same Part of *Little Prague*, must be allowed a very splendid and superb Edifice.

4. Our Guide shewed us a Palace, in the Hill or District of *Radtschin*, which he called the
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Great Dutchess of *Tusiany's*. This seemed very stately; but we were not within it.

5. Count *Martinitz's* Palace, in the upper Part of the *Little Town*, makes a fine Appearance.

6. That of Count *Thun*, in the *Little Town*, is an elegant and magnificent Structure.

7. That of Count *Waldstein*, in the same Town, is admired by most Foreigners.

8. The same may be said of that of the Prince de *Lichtenstein*, in the same Town.

9. The Palace of Count *Martzin*, in *Little Prague*, is generally allowed to be a fine Structure.

10. That of the Count de *Collowrath*, in the same Town, is not inferior to many of the preceding.

11. That of Count *Wratissau*, in the same Town, is a stately and superb Edifice.

12. That of the Prince de *Furstenburg*, in the same Town, is a splendid and magnificent Palace.

13. The noble Palace of Count *Gallas* stands in the *Old City*.

14. As does that of Count *Kinski*, which ought to be seen by all the Strangers that come to *Prague*.

15. The fine Palace of the Prince de *Piccolomini* stands likewise in *Old Prague*; but our Guide informed us, that he had a Seat much surpassing this, about two German Miles out of Town.

16. The last Palace, we shall take Notice of, is that of Count *Schafgotsch*; which ought to be viewed by every curious Foreigner, that visits this Metropolis.

According to the Author of an antient Chronicon, cited by *Balbinus*, *Prague* must have been a very antient Seat of Literature, since he asserts that the Muses were banished that Place, about the Year 1248. *Wenceslaus*, King of *Poland* and *Bohemia*, near fifty Years afterwards, at the Persuasion of *Tobias Bechinus*, Bishop of *Prague*, declared his Resolution of re-inflating them in their Power and Authority here; but, as he was opposed herein by the Magistracy and Noblesse, that salutary Design could not be put in Execution. But the Emperor *Charles the Fourth* founded an University at *Prague*, in 1347, settling large Revenues upon it, and granting it the same Privileges as those enjoyed by

the Universities of *Paris* and *Bologna*; which was confirmed by the Popes *Clement the Sixth*, *Urban the Fifth*, *Boniface the Ninth*, *Innocent the Seventh*, and *Nicholas the Fifth*. As the Clergy of *Prague* contributed much to enrich this University, the Archbishop of the City was appointed the perpetual Chancellor of it. The Year following, viz. 1348, it was divided into four Nations, viz. the *Bohemians*, which comprehended the *Moravians*, *Hungarians*, and *Sclavonians*, the *Poles*, the *Bavarians*, and *Saxons*. Four Faculties were likewise instituted here, viz. Theology, Law, Phisic, and Philosophy. The first Professors of which were M. *Hermannus de Vintswik*, M. *Fridmannus de Praga*, M. *Vigtoldus de Osnaburgo*, M. *Henricus de Sicha*, M. *Jenikus de Praga*, M. *Nicolaus de Moravia*, M. *Dytherus de Widena*, and M. *Henricus Volerus*. The Emperor *Charles the Fourth* also erected a large and noble College for these, called the *Caroline College*; and appointed them to succeed to the Prebends of the royal Church of *All-Saints*, belonging to the Castle or Palace already mentioned, founded by him in 1342, according to their Seniority. Besides the *Caroline College*, that Prince built two others in *Prague*, according to *Hagecius*. Amongst other Colleges, here were likewise formerly the *Collegium Cesareum*, or the College of King *Wenceslaus*, who founded it in 1399; *Queen's College*, founded by *Hedwig*, Queen of *Poland*, for the *Lithuanians*, lately converted to the *Christian Faith*, in 1397; the College of St. *Wenceslaus*, founded long before the Year 1407, for the *Bohemian Nation*, but then richly endowed by *Wenceslaus de Chotlow*, Minister of the royal Church, or Chapel of *All-Saints*, who was therefore considered as its Founder; the College of the *Blessed Virgin Mary*, erected for the Use of the same Nation, by *John Reczeko de Ledecz*, chief Magistrate of the *Old City*, in 1438; the *Collegium Nazarethum*, or *Nazareth College*, founded by one *Crux*, a Sort of Factor, in 1412, near the Church called *Bethlehem*, sacred to the Apostles St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*; and lastly, the College of the Apostles, or the College of *Lauda*, built by M. *Matthias Lauda de Chlumczan* in 1407, according to *Hagecius*, or, as *Balbinus* will have it, in 1451.

The Number of Students at *Prague* is not near so considerable now as it was in the Time of *John Hus*, if any Credit may be given

given to the *Austrian* and *Bohemian* Historians. *Hus*, being in great Favour with the Queen, by her Means obtained of King *Wenceslaus* a Decree, which gave the *Bohemians* the same Privileges in the University of *Prague*, that the *French* enjoyed in the University of *Paris*. This so incensed the *German* Students and Professors, that, in about eight Days Time, Forty-thousand of them are said to have abandoned *Prague*. The Universities of *Leipsick*, *Ingolstadt*, and *Rostoch*, according to the *Bohemian* Writers, owed their Origin to this Secession. *Hagecius* asserts, that, before this fatal Accident, which happened about the Year 1408, there were at least forty-four Thousand Foreigners, who studied in *Prague*; whereas the highest Accounts, we received of the Number of Students at present seated here, did not make them to amount to Ten-thousand, even including the Boys instructed in Grammar and Rhetoric. Nay, some Accounts reduced them to little more than Half that Number. We were told that the Scholars had frequent Skirmishes and Engagements with the *Jews*, to whom they bear a mortal Aversion; and that One-thousand of them had lately taken on in the Emperor's Service. The Emperor *Ferdinand* the Third united the Academies, founded by his Predecessors *Charles* the Fourth and *Ferdinand* the First, in the *Clementine* College of the *Jesuits*; so that at present the Principles of Theology and Philosophy are explained in the latter, and those of Law and Physic in the former. This College, frequently called the *Carolino-Ferdinandean* College, is extremely noble, stately, and grand, and possessed by the *Jesuits*, to whose Care the Education of Youth here is chiefly committed. The Doctors in all Faculties are created, and take their Degrees, and all solemn Acts of the University, as in our Convocation and Senate Houses at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, are performed in this College. We were told, that the Quarrels between the Scholars, who are divided into *Humanists* and *Facultists*, as our Guide informed us, and the *Jews* were sometimes attended with such fatal Consequences, that the Imperial Troops in Garrison found themselves obliged to interpose.

Prague being a Place of no great Strength, and of a very large Extent, requires a Garrison of at least thirty-thousand Men to defend it, if attacked by a numerous and well-disciplined Army. The Walls may be easily

scaled, except defended by a sufficient Body of Troops, by Soldiers endued with a common Degree of Resolution; neither can the *Wischebrad*, the only Part of *Prague* capable of making any tolerable Resistance, hold out long against a powerful Enemy. The Garrison of *Prague*, at present commanded by General *Ogilvy*, of *Scotch* Extraction, is said to consist only of a single Battalion of regular Troops, though upon any Emergency a Body of Militia might easily be thrown into the Town. Our Guide informed us, that Col. *Montgomery* and Col. *Mackawly*, the first a *Scotchman* and the latter an *Irishman*, two Officers in the Emperor's Service, resided here; but we did not see either of them. Some skilful Engineers, after viewing the Place, are said to have declared, that *Prague*, though possessed by a numerous Garrison, can never be so fortified as to make a very long Defence against a much superior Force.

The noble College of the *Jesuits*, already mentioned, has a fine Library; where, as we were informed, the Works of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and some of the other first Reformers are deposited. But these, as we likewise learned, are not to be looked into by any, except some few of the senior Fathers. The College is exceeding large, both with regard to the Extent of its Buildings, and its Foundation. The Number of Fathers belonging to it, according to some authentic Accounts we received, amounts to between two and three-hundred, including those employed in the Missions. We were two or three Times to see this College, and were always received by the Fathers with great Affability and Politeness.

Some of the Churches here are adorned with tolerable good Paintings, though, in our Opinion, none of them can be deemed exquisitely fine. The best we saw was one representing the *Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, in the Church of the *Capuchins*, in the Hill or Tract called *Radtschin*; and some in the Church of the *Crutched Friars*, in *Old Prague*, done by *Rayner* a *German*. The Church of the *Carmelites* of *St. Gallus* has likewise some internal Decorations of this Kind, which deserve to be seen.

In several of the Churches, where the Bodies of Saints are deposited, may be seen hanging up printed Papers, with the Theses defended by some of the Students of *Prague*,

under the Auspices of some Saint, and Cuts or Devices, representing the Subjects of these Theſes, or that Saint, upon them. To omit others that might be produced, we ſaw one in the Church of *St. Vite*, where *St. John Nepomucene*, who was the Saint of the Piece, had the moſt pompous Titles given him. The Saint generally uſed on theſe Occaſions, in *Prague*, is the famous *St. John Nepomucene*, Canon of *St. Vite*, and Confeſſor to the Queen of *Wenceſlaus the Fourth*, who ordered him to be drowned in the *Moldau*, becauſe he would not diſcover the Particulars of her Confeſſion. The Theſes in this Paper were propoſed to be defended by one *Paulus Woloczka*, a learned *Bohemian* Youth, as is therein inſinuated. Papers of this Kind may likewiſe frequently be met with in the public Houſes of the Villages and Towns for eight or ten *German* Miles round *Prague*, as has been already obſerved.

Amongſt other Places, we viſited the Convent of the *Iriſh Franciſcans*, who received us with great Civility and Reſpect. They have a good Library, keep their Rooms exceeding neat, and live in a very comfortable Manner.

Dr. Smith, to whom we were recommended by *Mr. Robinſon*, has exceeding good Practice here. He is much eſteemed by People of all Ranks and Degrees, and is Phyſician to moſt of the noble Families in *Prague*. He ſeems to have great Skill, and to be very eminent, in his Profeſſion. We were greatly obliged to him for the kind Reception he gave us, and for the many curious Particulars relating to *Prague*, and the great Families in it, that he communicated to us. Theſe it would be too tedious at preſent to recite, neither will the Limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves permit it. One Thing, however, that he related of General *Mercy*, who now commands the Imperial Army in *Italy*, with whom he had the Honour to be very intimately acquainted, we cannot paſs over in Silence. That General, though now far advanced in Years, is ſtill extremely choleric; and whenever he falls into a Paſſion, which frequently happens, he loſes his Sight, and is affected with an Apoplectic Diſorder, as long as it continues. This is more or leſs violent, in Proportion to the Intenſeneſs or Exceſs of the Fit of Choler he labours under. This Weakneſs ſometimes has been attended with no ſmall Inconveniencies; but,

in other Reſpects, he has the Character of an able and experienced General.

Prague being the Capital of *Bohemia*, before we reſume our March, it will be proper to ſay ſomething of the Kingdom in which it ſtands.

Bohemia, called by the *Germans* *Boheim*, is bounded on the Eaſt by *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, on the South by *Auſtria*, on the Weſt by the *Upper Palatinate* and *Voigtland*, and on the North by *Miſnia* and *Luſatia*. It is almoſt of an oval Figure, and in a Manner circumscribed by the *Hercynian* Foreſt, ſo celebrated amongſt the Antients. Its greateſt Length, excluſive of the County of *Glatz*, is about thirty-eight *German* Miles, its Breadth about thirty-four, and its Circumference above an hundred ſuch Miles. Its Air is ſalubrious, though, by Reaſon of the Northern Winds, pretty cold. The Soil produces all Things neceſſary to the Support of human Life, except Wine and Oyl, in vaſt Abundance. The Crops of Wheat, Barley, and Hops here are, for the moſt Part, exceeding copious; and no ſmall Quantity of Gold, Silver, Tin, Copper, Lead, Iron, Mercury, Sulphur, and Alum comes out of the *Bohemian* Mountains. The Rivers and ſtanding Waters abound with Fiſh, the Woods with wild Beaſts, and Game of various Kinds, &c. Gems likewiſe of different Sorts, as Amethyſts, Emeralds, Topazes, Sapphires, &c. are dug out of the Bowels of the Earth in *Bohemia*. Saffron alſo and other Aromatic Herbs, to the great Advantage of the Inhabitants, are found to flouriſh here.

The Emperor *Charles the Fourth* divided *Bohemia* into twelve Circles, or Provinces. Theſe were the Circles of *Caurzim*, *Piſen*, *Leitmeritz*, *Konigſgratz*, *Rakonitz*, *Chrudim*, *Praſchin*, *Slaney* or *Schlan*, *Buntzlau* or *Bunzelz*, *Saatz*, *Czaſlau*, and *Bechin*. To which King *Wladislaus* ſeems to have added thoſe of *Podbrd* and *Witawa*. In the Years 1569 and 1579, *Prague* was rendered independent on the Governors of the Circle of *Caurzim*; but had no particular Diſtrict assigned it. Some Geographers add to the Circles or Provinces above-mentioned the Diſtricts of *Egra* and *Elbogen*, and the County of *Glatz*; the laſt of which has, for a long Time, been looked upon as a Part of *Sileſia*. Our Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here a brief Deſcription of the above-mentioned Circles, which will give them a better Geographical Idea of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Caurzim*, ſo denominated from its principal City, is ſaid to have been formerly

formerly subject to its own Dukes, and to have been a considerable State. It is bounded on the North by the *Elbe*, on the East by the Circle of *Czasslau*, on the South by that of *Bechin*, and on the West by that of *Whava*. This fine Territory abounds with Salmon, and with Woods, out of which vast Quantities of Timber are carried down the *Moldau* and the *Sazawa* to *Prague*. The City of *Caurzim* is supposed to have been built by *Czech*, the Founder of the *Bohemian* Nation, soon after his Arrival in these Parts, and consequently to be the oldest in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Koniggratz* is larger than any of the rest. It is limited on the North by the *Cerconossian* Mountains and the great *Silesian* Woods, on the East by the County of *Glatz*, on the South by the Circle of *Chrudim*, and on the West by that of *Bunztlau*. It deduces its Name from that of its principal City; and abounds with Fish, Venison, and Pheasants. It is also reckoned to produce the best Horses in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Chrudim*, so called from *Chrudim* its chief City, is terminated on the North by the last Circle, on the East and South by *Moravia*, and on the West by the Circle of *Czasslau*. This Circle, which is none of the largest, is said to abound with Fish-Ponds and standing Waters more than any of the others.

The Circle of *Czasslau*, which assumes its Name from the City of *Czasslau*, is surrounded on the North by the Circle of *Koniggratz*, on the East by that of *Chrudim*, on the South by that of *Bechin* and *Moravia*, and on the West by that of *Caurzim*. It is said to produce a good Quantity of Silver, which is of considerable Advantage to the Emperor.

The Circle of *Bechin* is bounded on the North by the Circles of *Whava* and *Caurzim*, on the East by that of *Czasslau* and *Moravia*, on the West by that of *Prachin*, and on the South by *Austria*. It receives its Name from *Bechin*, the capital City, about twelve German Miles from *Prague*.

The Circle of *Whava*, so called from the *Whava* or the *Moldau*, on the North and East is contiguous to the Circle of *Caurzim*, on the South to that of *Bechin*, and on the West partly to that of *Podbrd*, and partly to that of *Prachin*. This is the least of all the *Bohemian* Circles or Provinces, and is washed by the *Moldau* or the *Whava*.

The Circle of *Podbrd*, so denominated from the *Brdian* Mountains, at the Foot of which it

is situated, on the North is adjacent to the Circles of *Slaney* and *Rakonitz*, on the East to those of *Caurzim* and *Whava*, on the South to that of *Prachin*, and on the West to that of *Pilsen*. It abounds with Iron, and is famous for the vast Numbers of Stags it produces, which far excel those to be met with in any of the other Circles.

The Circle of *Prachin*, so denominated from the antient Castle of *Prachin* or *Prachn*, that now lies buried in its own Ruins, on the North is joined to the District or Circle of *Podbrd*, on the East to those of *Whava* and *Bechin*, on the South to *Austria*, and on the West to the Circle of *Pilsen*. This District is said to abound with Gems, and a particular Species of small Shell-fish, that produces the Pearl called *Union*. It is remarkable, that, though these Pearls are found in great Numbers, not any two of them are alike; from which Circumstance their Name seems to be derived.

The Circle of *Pilsen*, so called from its primary City, on the South is connected with *Bavaria*, on the West with the *Palatinate* and the District of *Egra*, on the North with the Circles of *Saatz* and *Rakonitz*, and on the East with those of *Podbrd* and *Prachin*. This Province consists chiefly of spacious Pastures, and abounds with Sheep more than any other Part of *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Saatz*, so denominated from the City of *Saatz*, the chief Town in it, has for its Northern Limit *Misia* and the Circle of *Leitmeritz*, for its Eastern the Circles of *Slaney* and *Rakonitz*, for its Southern that of *Pilsen*, and for its Western that of *Elbogen*. This Province produces the best Hops in *Bohemia*, and its Crops of Wheat equal those of the Circle of *Slaney* itself.

The Circle of *Rakonitz* is bounded on the East by the Districts of *Slaney* and *Podbrd*, on the South by those of *Podbrd* and *Pilsen*, on the West by that of *Saatz*, and on the North by those of *Saatz* and *Slaney*. This Province is full of Woods and Mountains, and is of the least Extent of any, except that of *Whava*, in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Slaney*, or *Schlani*, which some call the Granary of *Prague*, is limited on the South by the Circle of *Rakonitz*, on the West by that of *Saatz*, on the North by that of *Leitmeritz*, and on the East by that of *Caurzim*. It is commonly called *Slansko*, from the royal City of *Slaney*, *Schlani*, or *Slana*, and *Zrzitsko*, from Mount *Zrzit*, or *Zrzito*, which is situated in it. The Appellation just mentioned

tioned may be considered as a Proof of its great and surprizing Fertility.

The Circle of *Leitmeritz* is of a pyramidal Figure, and seated, for the most Part, at the Foot of the *Montes Sudetes*. Its Limit on the East is the Circle of *Bunzlau* and *Lusatia*, on the West *Misnia* and the Circle of *Saatz*, on the South *Misnia* and *Lusatia*, and on the North the Circles of *Rakonitz* and *Bunzlau*. This Province is famous for its Baths, and its Mines of Tin, from which the Emperor reaps considerable Advantage.

The Circle of *Bunzlau*, or *Buntzel*, touches on the East the Circle of *Koniggratz*, on the South that of *Caurzim*, on the West that of *Leitmeritz*, and on the North *Silesia* and *Lusatia*. It receives its Name from *Alt Bunzlau*, or *Old Buntzel*, the chief City seated in it, and is famous for the great Number of Gems it produces. It is one of the largest Provinces in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Elbogen*, or *Elenbogen*, called by the *Bohemians* *Leket*, is in a Manner surrounded by *Voigtland*, and the Circle of *Saatz*. *Elbogen*, or *Elenbogen*, is its German Name.

The Circle, or District of *Egra*, so called from *Egra*, its principal City, has its Limits defined by *Voigtland*, the Circles of *Saatz* and *Pilsen*, and the *Upper Palatinate*. The County of *Glatz*, as already observed, has, for a long Time, belonged to *Silesia*.

But notwithstanding this Division of the Provinces of *Bohemia*, observed by the more accurate *Bohemian* and *Austrian* Geographers, the Country we are now upon is generally considered at present as divided into the twelve following Circles: *Caurzim*, *Pilsen*, *Leitmeritz*, *Koniggratz*, *Rakonitz*, *Chrudim*, *Prachin*, *Bunzlau* or *Buntzel*, *Beraun*, *Saatz*, *Bechin*, and *Czasslau*. These Geographers make the District of *Slaney* or *Schlan* to be a Part of the Circle of *Rakonitz*, and the Provinces of *Podbrd* and *Witawa* to compose the Circle of *Beraun*. The District of *Egra*, according to them, belongs to the *Upper Palatinate*, and that of *Elbogen* to the Circle of *Saatz*. And let this suffice for a general Geographical Description of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The first Migration of the *Boii* from *Gallia Comata* to this Country, a considerable Part of which was then covered with the *Hercynian Forest*, under the Conduct of *Sigovefus*, Ne-

phew to their King *Ambigatus*, happened, according to *Livy* *, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, about six-hundred Years before the Commencement of the *Christian* Aera. The Tract they possessed was from them called *Boio-ham*, or *Boioheim*, i. e. *The Habitation, House, or Seat, of the Boii*; which by Contraction became *Boheim*, the present German Name. This is countenanced by *Ptolemy* †, who calls the *Bæmi* a great Nation, and places them near the *Quadi*, making their Territories to extend from the *Hercynian Forest* to the *Danube*; and by *Tacitus* ‡, when he fixes the *Boii* at the *Hercynian Forest*, and affirms, that the Name of the Region they inhabited was called in his Time *Boiemus*, or *Boiem*. The Testimonies of *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* receive likewise some Accession of Strength from *Strabo* §, to whom, for farther Satisfaction on this Head, we beg Leave to refer our curious and inquisitive Readers.

It is probable that, before the abovementioned Migration of the *Boii*, some small Colonies of the *Geltes* were dispersed over this Tract. But who they were, or how they came here, we cannot determine, for Want of sufficient Light from antient History which supplies us with no Particulars at all relating to them.

About six-hundred Years after the Settlement of the *Boii* in these Parts, the *Marcomanni*, a People of *Germany*, having either expelled or subdued the former Inhabitants, seated themselves here according to *Tacitus* §; which is confirmed by *Velleius* **, *Rufus* ††, and *Strabo* ‡‡. It likewise seems to appear from *Tacitus* §§, that the *Hermunduri* occupied one Part of *Bohemia*.

The *Marcomanni* did not keep Possession of *Bohemia* so long as their Predecessors the *Boii*. That Nation, together with several others, seated on the *Elbe* and the *Danube*, were in a Manner swallowed up at once by an Inundation of the *Huns*, who came into these Parts from *Scythia*, under their Leader *Attila*, about A. D. 440, inasmuch that we find no Mention made of the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, or *Hermunduri*, by any Writer after that Period. Perhaps these Nations, in Order to avoid the Fury and Barbarity of the *Huns*, took Refuge in *Noricum*, and other neighbouring Countries, and left the Region, called *Bohemia*, in a Manner destitute of People; which, if it be allow-

* *T. Liv.* Dec. i. Lib. 5. *Vell. Pat.* Lib. ii. de Mor. German. § *Strab.* apud *Cluver.* in *Germ.*

** *Vell. Pat.* Lib. ii.

†† *Ruf.* in *Epit.*

† *Ptol.* Geogr. Lib. ii. Cap. ii.

‡ *Tacit.* ubi sup.

§ *Strab.* Lib. vii.

§§ *Tacit.* ubi sup.

ed, will account for *Czech's* finding this Tract, upon his Arrival here, almost desolate and uninhabited. He was a *Scythian*, born in *Illyricum*, or, as it is now denominated, *Croatia*; and, either through Dislike of his own Country, or by Reason of a Murther he had committed, or for some other Cause, came into these Parts at the Head of a vast Colony of *Scythians*, in Company with his Brother *Lech*. *Czech* settled in *Bohemia*, and *Lech* in *Poland*. Some Writers however maintain, that *Czech* came directly from *Sarmatia*, the original Country of the *Scythians*; after having traversed the Territories of the *Getae* and *Daci*, into *Bohemia*; but, with * *Hagecius*, *Dubracius*, *Aeneas Sylvius*, and many others †, we are inclined to embrace the former Opinion. With Regard to the Time of this Migration, Authors are not agreed; † some placing it *A. D.* 12, 278, 407, 451, 454, 457, 496, 550; and others *A. D.* 583, 600, 611, 639, 644, &c. But, from *Procopius*, and *Paulus Diaconus* ‖, it seems probable, that *Czech* entered *Bohemia*, some Time between the Years 548 and 595. According to *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and others, the *Vendi* or *Venedi*, a Tribe of *Scythians*, advanced into *Bohemia*, long before the Time of § *Czech*; which probably induced that Leader to settle in the same Country. Be that as it will, he must have behaved himself extremely well amongst the People he conducted hither; since they dropped their ancient Name, and stiled themselves *Czechites* or *Czechians*, which is the Appellation the *Bohemians* go by, amongst themselves, even at this Day.

Czech, the first Duke of *Bohemia*, was an Idolater, as were all his Successors to the Year 864. *Radislavus*, King of *Moravia*, then invited *Borzivoius*, Duke of *Bohemia*, to *Welschrad*, in Order to draw him into a Confederacy against *Lewis*, King of *Germany*. He there met with *St. Cyril*, and *St. Methodius*, who converted him to the *Christian* Faith. This established the *Christian* Religion in *Bohemia*, where it had been, before, but faintly introduced. *Wenceslaus*, *Borzivoius's* Grandson, lived so holy a Life, that, after his Death, he was honoured with the Title of *St. Wenceslaus*,

and is at this Day looked upon as one of the principal *Bohemian* Saints. He was declared the first King of *Bohemia*, by the Emperor *Henry the Fowler*, in 935, and was inhumanly murdered by his Brother *Boleslaus*, in 938. The Title of King did not however descend to his Successors. But *Wratislavus* the Second received that Title and the royal Diadem from the Emperor *Henry the Fourth* in 1086, and was crowned by *Jaromir*, Bishop of *Prague*, assisted by the Archbishop of *Triers*, and *Benno*, Bishop of *Misnia*. In the Year 1162, the Emperor *Frederic the First* declared Duke *Wladislavus* the Second King of *Bohemia*; but his Successors were not adorned with that Title till 1266, when the Emperor *Frederic the Second* not only conferred it upon *Przemislavus*, but likewise extended it to all his Successors. The Crown was however elective, at least for some Time, since after the Assassination of *Wenceslaus the Third*, the last of the *Przemislavian* Family, in 1306, the *Bohemian* Nobility elected *Rudolph*, Archduke of *Austria*, Son to the Emperor *Albert the First*, King of *Bohemia*, in Opposition to *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, who was the other Candidate for that Crown. The Throne was afterwards filled by Princes of several Families till the Year 1527, when *Ferdinand the First*, Archduke of *Austria*, ascended to it; and since that Time *Bohemia* has made up Part of the Hereditary Dominions of the august House of *Austria*.

We must not omit Observing here, that the Crown of *Bohemia* is rendered more illustrious by the Electoral Dignity added to it, as well as the Office of Chief Cup-bearer of the Empire. This appears from the *Golden Bull* of the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, which greatly distinguishes the Prince that wears it, and confers several singular Prerogatives upon him. The principal of which are, that he shall always sit on the right Hand of the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, whenever either of them appears at the Head of the Imperial Court, or the Diet of the Empire, immediately after the Archbishop of *Mentz*, or *Cologn*; and that, at the Election of an Emperor, the Elector of *Mentz* shall call his Vote as soon as the Electors of *Triers* and *Cologn* have given theirs, as being the first of the Laic Electors. The King of

* *Hagec. Chron. Bobem. ad Ann. 644. Dubrav. Hist. Bobem. Lib. i. Aen. Sylv. de Bobem. Gest. Cap. xiii.* † *Pisacesius, Codicillus, Welfslavinus, Vaporiis, Reusnerus, Matthias a Sudetis, Spanden-berg. Car. Cuthen Chybraeus, &c.* ‡ *Rhenan. Rer. Ger. Nov.-ant. Lib. i. Balbin. Miscel. Bobem. Dec. I. Lib. ii. Cap. 9. Velfer. Hagec. ad Ann. 644. Calvis. &c.* § *Procop. de Bell. Gotb. Lib. viii. Paul. Diacon. de Gest. Longobard. Lib. vii. Cap. 4.* ¶ *Balbin. Miscel. Bob. Dec. I. Lib. ii. Cap. 6. Dubrav. Hist. Bobem. Lib. i.*

Bohemia may, as chief Cup-bearer of the Empire, if he pleases, claim the Privilege of first giving the Cup to the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*; though he is by no Means obliged to do this. In all Processions, the King of *Bohemia* is also, by the *Golden Bull*, to be preceded by none, but the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*.

The Weather was excessively cold whilst we were at *Prague*; though milder in this Climate, than might have been expected, the Spring being pretty far advanced. All this Time we staid upon Mount *Petrzin*, and the Hill or Tract called *Radtschin*, from whence we had a noble View of the City of *Prague*, we found the Air extremely sharp. The same Night we saw an *Italian* Opera, which continued till near twelve o'Clock; but the Scenes were nothing near so fine and magnificent as those exhibited in *Italy*. The Author of this Narrative was so affected by the cold Weather here, that he was confined to his Bed a Day or two by a Rheumatic Disorder, and could scarce get into the Chaise, when we set out for *Saxony*. In fine, *Bohemia* has a sharp and piercing Air, its Atmosphere being loaded with cold moist Vapours, and does not at all agree with many Foreigners, especially at certain Seasons of the Year.

As *Bohemia* is a very fertile Country, it is no Wonder that there should be so vast a Supply of all Kinds of Provisions continually brought into *Prague*, and that the Market there should be one of the finest and most plentiful in the World. Venison, Fowl, both wild and tame, Fish, and all Kinds of Butchers Meat are very cheap, though not near so cheap as in *Hungary*. Amongst the vast Variety of Provisions, with which the Citizens of *Prague* are constantly furnished, the Thighs of Frogs, at certain Seasons of the Year, find a Place. They are then brought in very large Jars, and seldom fail, as we were informed, of being soon bought up. Though it has been already hinted, that Wine is not so common in *Bohemia* as in many other Parts of *Germany*, yet we ought to observe, that this Liquor is far from being scarce here. But, in its fine Qualities, it does not come up to the *Austrian* Wine, much less to that of *Hungary*.

Our Guide informed us, that some of the *Bohemian* Nobility were immensely rich, and had very overgrown Estates. He said, that the Prince de *Lichtenstein* had five hundred-thousand Florins per Ann. the Count de *Czernin* Three-hundred-thousand, the Prince de *Schwarzenburg* Five-hundred-thousand, the Count de *Gal-*

las Three-hundred-thousand, and the Count de *Czernin*'s younger Brother Two-hundred-thousand. Several Heads of noble Families, according to him, are Proprietors of Tracts of Land six or seven German Miles in Extent. In the *Little Town*, if he may be depended upon, they generally speak *High Dutch*; but in the *Old* and *New Towns* chiefly *Bohemian*. The extensive Language, of which the *Bohemian*, *Polish*, and *Moravian* are Dialects, is called *Ratz*. 'Tis the old *Slavonian*, and is at present spoken in a good Part of *Hungary*, *Slavonia*, *Croatia*, *Ratzia*, *Servia*, *Dalmatia*, *Carniola*, &c. The *Poles* and *Moravians*, as is said, understand the *Bohemians* perfectly well; but the latter, we were assured, do not so well understand the former. Nay the *Moravian* Dialect, if any Dependence may be had upon the same Authority, differs very considerably from those used both in *Poland* and *Bohemia*. The *Jews* here have long Beards, wear Ruffs, Hats covered with coloured Silk; and have some other Peculiarities in their Habit, in Order to distinguish them from the other Inhabitants. Not only the Students but the Citizens of *Prague* have a great Aversion to them. They are intirely addicted to Trade, and deal chiefly in the Jewels which are the Produce of this Country. As they bring a good Deal of Cash into the Emperor's Coffers, they have, for a long Time, been protected, and even encouraged, by the House of *Austria*.

Though the greatest Part of the *Bohemians* are *Roman-Catholics*, and even Bigots, yet there are many secret Protestants amongst them. Nay, we were told that many *Hussites* might still be found here, who have the *Hussite* Liturgy and Confession of Faith. But, as this Intelligence came from *Roman-Catholics*, who are seldom disposed to give a true Representation of those they differ from, perhaps these *Aetholics*, as their Adversaries sometimes affect to call them, when discoursing with Protestants, are all of them either *Lutherans* or *Reformed*. Be that as it will, we saw none of them, and therefore can say Nothing, of our own Knowledge, concerning them.

Before we conclude our imperfect Description of the City of *Prague*, it will be proper to inform our Readers, that many of the Particulars it contains were related to us by our Guide, and therefore depend intirely on his Authority. However, as he seemed to us an honest Man, and could have no End to serve in imposing on us, we ourselves are very well satisfied as to the Truth of them. 'Tis true, he seemed

not a little inclined to Bigotry; but, as the abovementioned Particulars bear no Relation to Religion, this will not in the least affect their Credibility. Besides, as he talked and understood *Latin* tolerably well, had a good Share of common Sense, was versed in the History of *Bohemia*, appeared to be well acquainted with every Thing in this City, and was even a Native of it, we see no Reason to doubt his Veracity on this Occasion. Amongst the fine Monuments in the Church of St. *Vite*, may be reckoned that of Count *Schlick*, erected in the Year 1723. At the Tomb of St. *John Nepomucens* here, on which is this Inscription, *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus, Canonicus hujus Ecclesiæ, et Reginæ Joannæ Confessarius*, there are generally an infinite Number of People performing their Devotions. In this Church there is a *Madona* with two *Jesus*'s, one in each Arm, which we remember not elsewhere to have met with; as likewise a very good Head of our Saviour. We were told, that the Number of Churches in this City amounts to an Hundred and seven. All, or, at least, the

greatest Part of the rich Furniture of the Imperial Palace here has been removed to *Vienna*, if our Guide deserves any Credit. That Quarter, inhabited by the *Jews*, goes under the Name of the *Jews Town*. Prince *de Lichtenstein*, besides his Palace in *Vienna* and *Prague*, already mentioned, has a noble Country-Seat at *Crumau* in *Moravia*, where he frequently resides. It stands in the Circle of *Znaim*, and has a very considerable Tract of Land appertaining to it. As the Author of this Narrative conversed with our Guide altogether in *Latin*, he sometimes found it a difficult Matter to express the modern Terms made Use of in the *Bohemian* Language; especially, as these related to Customs, Posts, Offices, Places, &c. to which we have nothing in *England* that intirely corresponds. An inaccurate Expression, therefore, or such a one as does not clearly enough exhibit the Idea it is intended to convey, may now and then possibly occur; though we hope, these will prove so rare, that they will be easily pardoned by all our candid and ingenious Readers.

[*To be continued.*]

A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of *Mustapha*, Prince of *Turky*, eldest Son of *Mahomet*, present Emperor of the *Turks*. Together with an Account of the Marriage of his Daughter to his great Favourite *Mussaip*, at *Adrianople*, as it was sent in a Letter to a Person of Honour. By Mr. *Coke*, Secretary of the *Turky* Company; being in Company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Sir *John Finch*. Licensed, *January 10, 1675-6*. *Roger L'Estrange*. London: Printed by *J. C.* for *William Crook*, at the *Green Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*. 1676. Folio, containing eight Pages.

S I R,
THESE last five Months I have spent in *Adrianople*; it is pleasantly situated on the Rising Top of an easy Hill, which to the South and West gives the Prospect of a large Plain, where the Eye is not

lost, but bounded with the Mountains of *Hæmus*; on the North and East are small Hills. It is watered with three Rivers (the chiefest *Hebrus*) which, often uniting and separating their Streams, make many Islands, capable of what the most refined Luxury could plant, or build;

build ; but Spring-gardens and Walks, adorned with Ladies and Gallants, are Things unknown to us *Barbarians*.

I have now told you all that is good ; for this airy Pleasure of the Eye is lost in so many solid Inconveniencies, that I never was yet, in any City, more uneasy, nay, more insupportable ; the Buildings, except a Mosque or two, so mean and contemptible, that they would disgrace a poor Village ; the Water bad, Wine worse, the Streets and all Avenues to the City so crouded with Carts, Dunghills, and Carriage, that nothing can be more troublesome, or offensive, to the Sight and Scent : In a Word, what the Riches and Invention of Mankind did contribute to make *Rome* delightful and glorious, the Stupidity and Sordidness of these People have outvied in the Reverse, making this Place the Metropolis of Filth and Inconvenience.

Our Arrival here was on the Tenth of *May* ; on the Fifteenth began the Festivals for the Circumcision of the young Prince. In a large Piazza, or rather Field, before the Seraglio, were pitched the Tents of the Grand Signior, Visier, and other great Men, which made a Side and Half of the Square ; another Side and Half was taken up with Lamps hung upon Ropes, and fastened to Poles, disposed into several Figures of Ships, Buildings, and Woods, &c. which were changed every Night ; others, as they use in *Egypt* at their Rejoicing, when they cut the *Nile*. The fourth Side was the Seraglio, where the Women had the Convenience of Seeing through Lattices.

The Show begun in the Afternoon, the Morning being spent in Entertainments. The Grand Signior, sitting in an elevated Place by his Tent, much like a Summer-house in our Gardens, which overlooked all, received the Presents brought him by the *Bashaws*, and all the Officers of the Empire, and all the Arts of *Constantinople*. These were not left to the Liberty and Generosity of the Presenter ; but they were taxed what they should give, and an Officer appointed to survey the Quality of them ; which, if not approved, was returned, and perhaps augmented ; for, in this Country, it is no ill Manners to look a Gift-horse in the Mouth.

The Mechanicks and some of the Soldiery were every Day entertained in a great Tent with a *Turkish* Feast ; afterwards were antick Dances in several Habits, Singing and Dancing

with most obscene Gesticulations, Jack-pudding, and Punchinello's Representations ; Wrestling, Rope-dancing, Feats of Activity and Strength ; all these promiscuously in the Area of the Square. Had there been but a Noise, Rabble, and abominable Pig's-head, nothing could have been an exacter Scene of *Bartholomew-fair*.

At Night, a Row of Poles, about a Man's Height, were stuck in the Ground ; on the Top were Hoops of Iron, in which burnt Pine-wood, with a brisk and lively Flame, which, with the Lamps, gave a delightful and magnificent Prospect.

About an Hour in the Night began the Fire-works, which were plentiful, and not amiss ; though, I think, those I have seen at *Rome* surpass them : One Sort, indeed, I never saw, which was a great Basin, like a Mortar-piece, fixed into the Ground, and filled with Wild-fire, which sent out a violent Stream of Fire, with a hideous Noise, a great Height : It was an Object equally terrible and delightful. These were the constant Diversifications, all the Time of the Solemnity.

The Twenty-fifth, the Mufti, Visier, and all the *Bashaws* and great Officers, with the Janisaries walking before, and the *Chiaux* on Horseback, attended the Prince, who was so adorned, or over-laden with Jewels, both himself and his Horse, that one might say, he carried the Value of an Empire about him.

The Twenty-seventh, which was *Mahomet's* Birth-day, he accompanied his Father to the Mosque ; here was no solemn Cavalcade, only the Grand Signior's own Retinue ; and, though it was less in Number far than the Cavalcade, yet adjusted neater, and Court-like, the Grand Signior's Footmen and Pages being very rich in Clothes and Jewels.

This Evening, the Prince was circumcised in the Arms of his Father ; he is about eleven Years old, of a good Aspect, his Name *Mustapha*. About Two-thousand others were cut at this Solemnity, who had Money and a Quilt from the Grand Signior. It was done publicly in the Tents, and any one, *Turk* or *Christian*, admitted to see them.

June the Fifth, this Solemnity was concluded with Horse-races. After ten Days Repose, began the Feasts for the Marriage of the Grand Signior's Daughter, of about seven Years old, unto the *Mussaïp*, or Favourite, who, by the *Testerdar*, or Lord-Treasurer (who

(who was the Compeer) in a solemn Show, sent his Presents to her, thirty Mules laden with Sugar-plums and Sweet-meats; Figures of several Sorts of Birds and Beasts, of Sugar, so ill-favourably represented, that they could not be said to break the Law against Making Images, though the Solemnity of the Time had not dispensed with it; fifty-six Men, each with five more Vests of Cloth of Gold, Sattin, &c. then her Jewels, several Suits very rich; five led Horses, with rich Furniture of Pearls and precious Stone; and, at last, Coaches with Slaves.

On the Nineteenth of *June*, was the Vicer, &c. in a solemn Cavalcade, to accompany the Presents the Grand Signior gave her; eighty-six Mules laden with rich Household-stuff, very rich Habits for her, and Jewels of all Sorts; twelve Coaches with Slaves, and six-and-thirty Black Eunuchs.

And, the Twenty-third, was the last Cavalcade of all the great Men, to attend her from the Seraglio to her Husband's House; they were in a close Coach plated with Silver, attended with five-and-twenty others. At last came the Hassaki, or Queen-regent's Coach, attended with ten more; to every one of these Coaches were two Black Eunuchs. In a great Court-yard of the Mussaïp's Palace, were repeated all the Sports and Fire-works that were before, at which the Grand Signior was a constant Spectator. Besides, there was a Rope fastened to a high Steeple, whence several Men came flying down; one having a Boy tied to his Back with a Drum, the Rope broke; but, being near the Ground, and falling on another Man, they had none of them any considerable Hurt. The most remarkable was a Man that walked upon a Rope, fastened to the same Steeple, forward and backward; and another Man, that, upon a high loose Rope, hanging by his Hand, his Body extended, swung himself over twelve Times, without Stop, or Touching any Thing.

But too much of these Trifles, though the Grand Signior was much delighted with them, and made them be continued many more Days than were intended. He took that Fancy to a Gypsy-boy, that swung and danced, as he hath him in the Degree of a Favourite, being taken into the Seraglio, and presented by the Great Bakhaws.

The Mussaïp, that hath married the Grand

Signior's Daughter, is a Man that meddles in no Business, nor is thought to be much capable of it; for, being Chimacham in the Vicer's Absence, he shewed no great Abilities. The Grand Signior takes him for a constant Companion in all his Divertissements, and hath a strong Affection to him, which Time does not impair, but rather augment, he being a Prince most constant where he fixes. You would think this Marriage would make him happy, but it is quite contrary; for it not only cuts him off in his Pleasures, to which he is indulgent, he being forced to discharge all his Women, even his own Sisters; but it ruins his Fortune, both by the Expence in maintaining her, while she lives, and, should she die, he must refund to the Treasury all he hath had with her, besides four Millions (according to common Report) of Dollars, which is her Dote; which he is so far from an Ability of, that he cannot pay his present Debts: She hath good Proofs of his Abilities another Way, he having, it is said, two-and-thirty Children.

To our own private Affairs, his Excellency my Lord Ambassador, Sir *John Finch*, had all Satisfaction, and hath obtained very advantageous Additions to our Capitulations; but, they being Things Mercantile, and, though not beyond, yet beneath your Knowledge, I shall not particularise.

We had a very hot Plague; my Lord Ambassador retired to a Village, but it soon arrived there; so he lived in his Tents till the Sickness got among the Servants, of whom five died: Then he returned to the Village. Mr. *North* and I stuck to the City, where, though in our Street only two Houses were free, besides our own, and the two adjoining had five sick on the one, and two on the other Side, yet, God be praised, we and our Servants passed well along the Road; and here it is not much less: Sir *Thomas Baines*, my Lord Ambassador's Companion, that attended him in his Chamber, three Days after our Arrival, was taken, and in three more died; he is the only *Englishman* that hath been visited. His Excellency hath retired upon this, a little Way out of Town, for some Time.

*Dated from Pera, the 9th
of October, 1675.*

A brief Account of many memorable Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, sometime Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, who departed this Life the twenty-first Day of *December*, 1683; giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majesty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours, he used, to bring in the King into *England*, unto his just Rights, in Peace and Safety; with his Majesty's grateful Acknowledgments of these his Kindnesses to him, in preferring him to several eminent Places of Honour and Trust; together with his great Patience under the Loss of the same. Also, his twice Imprisonment in the *Tower*, and his witty Answer to one of the Popish Lords upon his Imprisonment; his Releasement; and several Plots and Sham-Plots of the Papists, used to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Protestant Religion, and their Disappointments. Of his Arrival in *Holland*, and his kind Entertainment there. Together with his Sickness, and worthy Speeches a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer worthy of the Perusal of all Persons. Printed for *J. Conyers*, in *Duck-Lane*. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

IT is not my Presumption, in this Sheet, to write the Life of this great Statesman, but to give the Reader a brief Account of some remarkable Passages in the same, for the Satisfaction of the meaner Sort, that cannot purchase large Volumes.

Anthony, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Baron *Ashley* of *Wimbourn*, and Lord *Cooper* of *Paulet*, was descended from the honourable and ancient Family of the *Coopers* of *Wimbourn*, *St. Giles's*, in the County of *Dorset*.

We shall, in the first Place (laying aside all his other Virtues) treat of the Loyalty of this noble Peer, in the Words of the late

Author; saith he, Could we have taken a View of the Inside of this noble Peer, we might have seen his Heart full of Loyalty to his Prince, Love to his Country, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion; the Settlement of which can only secure us from the Attempts of his Majesty's, and his People's Enemies. With what admirable Policy did he influence and manage the Councils in the late Times, in what he was concerned in, during the *Interregnum*, towards his Majesty's Interest, and with what admirable Subtlety did he turn the Stream of their Counsels; and with unwearied Diligence did he tug at the Helm of State, till he had brought in his great Master, the

the King, into his Kingdoms again, in Prosperity and Safety, to the Joy of all good Subjects?

His House was a Sanctuary for distressed Loyalists, and his Correspondency with the King: Friends, though closely managed, as the Necessity of those Times required, are not unknown to those that were the principal Managers of his Majesty's Affairs at that Time: This made the late Usurper, *Oliver Cromwell*, so jealous of him, whose arbitrary Government he withstood to the utmost of his Power. And we find that Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* was accused before the Rump Parliament, in the Year 1659, for keeping Intelligence with the King, and having provided Forces in *Dorsetshire*, to join with Sir *George Booth*, in attempting to bring in our noble King, that now is, to his rightful Throne; and also his Concurrence with General *Monk*, in that important Juncture, if we remember that his Regiment was one of the first that declared for a free Parliament, and General *Monk*, in March 1659, so zealous was he in putting all his Strength to turn the great Wheel of State.

And, at the Time of his Majesty's Restoration, as a most signal Testimony of his Majesty's good Opinion of his former Actions, he was advanced to be one of the first Rank in his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council, and was placed above his royal Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, even General *Monk* himself, whom the King used to call his political Father: And, three Days after his Majesty's Coronation, he was created Baron *Ashley of Wimbourne St. Giles's*, and also Lord *Cooper of Paulet*; and, at last, another Mark of royal Favour, in the Year 1672, he was made Earl of *Shaftsbury*; for his wise Administration in his Majesty's Affairs, he was made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and, some Time after that, made Lord High-chancellor of *England*, about the Beginning of the Year 1672, which Place he executed with the greatest Judgment and Equity imaginable.

Thus having briefly traced this great Minister of State, in these mighty Employments under his great and good Master, the King, I shall take some Notice of his Relinquishment of that high Employment, and what happened to him since.

About November, 1673, his Majesty was pleased to send for the Lord Chancellor to *Whitehall*, where he resigned the Great Seal of *England* to his Majesty, and was dismissed from being Treasurer of the *Exchequer*: In the Afternoon of the same Day, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was visited by Prince *Rupert*, with other great Lords, at *Exeter House*, where they gave his Lordship Thanks, for his faithful and honourable Discharge of that great Employment. Thus this great Minister of State, to the universal Satisfaction of all good Men, being raised to that high Degree of Interest in his Master's Favour, without a Murmur, laid all his Honour at his Majesty's Feet, and was observed not to abate of the Chearfulness of his Temper, upon the Loss of all these temporal and honourable Employments. I shall conclude this Part of his Life, with a Character that a late Author gave of him:

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- His choice Sagacity
 ' Straight solv'd the Knot that subtle Lawyers ty'd,
 ' And, through all Fogs, discern'd the oppressed Side;
 ' Banish'd Delays, and so this noble Peer
 ' Became a Star of Honour in our Sphere:
 ' A needful *Atlas* of our State.

On the Sixteenth of February, 1676, this Earl was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, by the Order of the House of Lords; there were, at the same Time, committed several other Lords, for maintaining, That the then Parliament was dissolved, and ought not to sit any longer; where he continued Prisoner about a Year's Time, and, after submitting himself to his Majesty and the Parliament, he was discharged, by acknowledging his Fault. A little after his Release, this Parliament was prorogued, and after dissolved. Now was the wicked Plot of the Jesuits and Papists discovered by the great Fidelity of Dr. *Oates*, which convinced both King, Lords, and Commons, and all the Nation in general, of a damnable, treasonable, Popish Design, to murder our King, with the rest of the Nobility and Gentry, and to reduce the Protestant Church to *Romish* Idolatry, and the State to a Catholick Slavery.

On the Seventh of *March*, 1678, another Parliament met at *Westminster*; this Parliament did, like noble Patriots, endeavour to give a Check to the bloody Popish Designs a Foot, and passed many excellent Votes for that Purpose; many Members acquitted themselves, in their Speeches, like Men of high Sense of the Miseries the Nation was like to be involved in; this House carried up their Impeachments to the House of Lords, against the Lord *Powis*, *Stafford*, *Arundel*, Lord *Peters*, Lord *Bellasis*, for High-Treason, and other high Crimes: But I shall forbear Mentioning any farther, only instance how this noble Peer was struck at in that hellish Design: I shall refer the Reader to what hath been already published in Print, only note two or three Things of some Persons, that made Attempts on the Life of this noble Peer; first, by *Dangerfield*, who had a great Sum offered him, to have murdered the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, on whom the Rage of the bloody *Romish* Party was now so great, that they left no base and unwarrantable Action unattempted, to rob him of his Life; some were hired to stab or pistol him; others to swear Treason against him; or any other Way the Devil put in their Heads. Another Design against this noble Peer, was to have been acted by a Woman, called *Madam Cellier*, a Popish Midwife; who attempted that cursed Design, under the Pretence of a Visit to the Earl, and under Pretence of her paying her Thanks for Favours received through his Means; but she had a consecrated Dagger under the Skirt of her Gown, ready to have expressed her Gratitude, by opening the Veins of this Protestant Peer's Heart.

Is then loyal Innocency, and Protestant Integrity, Armour of Proof against Poisons, Pistols, and Poniards? No; the Catholick Gallantry stops not here, but pursues this noble Peer with Forgery of his Hand, and other little Sham-plots: What base and villainous Acts the bloody Papists used, to destroy the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, by many Endeavours to have stabbed him, as hath been depose by many Persons, to whom the Parliament, as well as the Nation, have given Belief? I shall instance one more of their mischievous Practices in this Kind: There was a Gentleman, who was a Commander of

a Regiment of Horse in the late King's Army, and lost all for his Sake, and his present Majesty's, writ to this noble Peer about a Remedy against the Gout, which he used to be afflicted with very much; this Letter was intercepted, and (the Person then living in the *French* King's Dominions) after adding to it an Account, That the Writer was able to furnish the Earl with forty-thousand Soldiers from *France*, to oppose the Duke of *York*'s Interest; it was then conveyed to some of the *French* King's Ministers, who, they suppose, would send a Copy hither; but, by a strange Providence, the Original was returned into the Gentleman's own Hands.

Nor were they yet wanting in throwing Dirt, and slandering this noble Peer in his Reputation, which Faculty they are famous at; for now a Packet of base Libels and treasonable Reflexions were, by the Penny-post, sent to a Printer, and Copies of the same dispersed about the Parts of *Westminster*. All of venomous and malicious Slanders and Imputations, tending to the Taking away the Life of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and divers other Peers of honourable Account; but the Printer, detesting such a Design, published an Invitation to any Person that would discover the Author or Publisher of that infamous Libel. And now we are got into such a Bog of Plots, Sham-plots, Perjurers, Subornations, as the Histories of no Age can parallel: In *October*, during the Sessions of the last Parliament, it is remarkable, that *Francisco de Faria*, Interpreter to the *Portuguese* Ambassador, amongst other Matters relating to the Plot, gave Information to the Bar of the House, that he was tempted to kill the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, by throwing a Hand-grenado into his Coach, as he passed the Road into the Country. But, to sum up all, several Methods, that were invented to be executed against the Life of this Peer, were innumerable, by these jesuited Crew, who set all their Inventions and Engines on Work, to make away the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; he was the Beam in their Eye, and the Clog that hindered the Motion of their cursed Designs: What have they not attempted to make him distasteful to the King, through the Foulness of their Treasons on him? As was made appear before the King and Coun-

cil in *October* 1681, that *Fitzgerald* told Mr. *Haines*, that he the said *Fitzgerald* possessed his Majesty, and had given it under his Hand and Seal, that the late Plot was a Presbyterian Plot, and invented by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, on Purpose to extirpate the Royal Family, and to dethrone his present Majesty, and turn *England* into a Commonwealth, or else to set the Crown upon the Earl's own Head, with more such wicked and treasonable Matter; a further Account you may have in his Trial.

But a new Parliament was summoned to appear at *Oxford*, where Things of as high Nature were agitated, as ever came before the Consideration of a Parliament, no less than the Preservation of the King's Majesty's Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Good of the People of *England*; all which now was invaded by the bloody Designs of the Papists, but, being very hot about the Business of *Fitzbarris*, and Things of the like Nature, it pleased his Majesty to dissolve them.

Some Time after *Fitzbarris* was tried and executed, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was again committed to the *Tower of London*; the Circumstances of his Examination, and Acquittal, would take too much Room here to be recited. To finish this tragical Story, only I cannot omit, that, on the Fifteenth of *August*, 1681, Mrs. *Fitzbarris* gave a Deposition on Oath, that her Husband, a little before his Execution, not only told her, what great Offers he had made him, if he would have charged that treasonable and infamous Libel (which he was executed afterwards for) on this noble Peer and the Lord *Howard*; and that he advised her to do it to save his Life; though he protested, at the same Time, that they were wholly innocent; she likewise deposed, that a certain Gentleman assured her, that she should have what Money she pleased, if she would accuse the Earl and the Lord *Howard*, as the Authors of the said Libel; but they having tampered with so many, on Account of this baffled Design, that it was impossible but their Consult must take Wind, especially when we consider, they were a People, that, either to supply their Necessities, or to feed their Ambition, or, more probably, thought irresistible Fatality, had blabbed and discovered

the Secrets of Holy Mother, and had spoke so unseasonably in her Tip, that they had spoiled her Game: What Security could these *Romish* Sophisters have, but that their coked Vessel would prove leaky again? I shall give one memorable Passage, said to have passed between the Earl, and one of the Popish Lords, soon after his Commitment; the Story is this: Meeting, accidentally, with one of the Popish Lords, he was asked by him, What his Lordship did there, and that he little thought to have his good Company? To which the Earl of *Shaftsbury* replied, That he had lately been sick of an Ague, and was come there to take some Jesuits Powder. It was said, during the whole Time of his Lordship being in the *Tower*, he remained very chearful, beyond what could have been expected from a Person labouring under such extreme Pains and Diseases. During the Earl's Imprisonment, many made it their Business to detract and vilify him; and it was their Mode to drink his Health at an Hem-penstring, and call him *Tony Tapskin*, and King of *Poland*. After the Earl's Trial, it is reported he arrested one *Baines*, one of the Witnesses for a Conspiracy, also several others; but, being not suffered to have his Trial against them in *London* and *Middlesex*, he remitted the same till another Opportunity. Thus have we given a brief Account of the most remarkable Things relating to this great Peer, to this Time; after which he lived very private at his House in *Aldersgate-street*, till the Beginning of the Month of *November*, when, it is reported, he left *England*, and landed at *Brill* in *Holland*, where he was nobly entertained by the States, and, as some say, hath put into their Stock a considerable Sum of Money.

But, amongst the rest, let us take Cognizance of his Deportment, in the Time of his seeming Affliction; he was little or nothing dismayed at the contrary Current, which opposed the Stream of his aspiring Mind, which was a generous and magnanimous Spirit in him; for, indeed, he was as much befriended by unexpected Favours Abroad, as afflicted by domestick Troubles in his own native Soil; his Reception in *Holland* was, unquestionably, very kind, as doubtless was appertinent to a Person of his Parts. It is not to be doubted, but the many Transactions, hap-

pening in his Time, had recorded him there, as well as in other Countries, for a Politician, and so was he received by them. His Depoartment there was such, that he obliged all that came near him, indulged all that knew him, and, at his Death, left no Man without an Obligation of a *Memento*. It was much to be taken Notice of, that, during the Time of his Illness, he rather seemed to be of better Composure in Mind, than ordinary, as seeming to embrace his Malady with a Kind of Welcome, that might transmute his Soul into that endless Happines, which he had been so long labouring for; he seemed to covet after that continual Blessing, which alone makes happy, and rejoiced at his approaching Change. O happy is that Man, who, like an undaunted Champion, can boldly look upon the pale Messenger of grim Death without Terror, when no Astonishment comes to amaze the drooping Senses; but, on the Contrary, if filled with Comfort, at the perfect Assurance of a better State, by the Help and Assistance of a blessed Change; no Peace like a quiet Mind, no Comfort like the Peace of Conscience, nor no Conquest like the Victory over Sin: Thrice happy is that Man, whom the Thoughts of Death cannot terrify; then let us all labour so to live here, that we may assure ourselves of an Inheritance hereafter, that shall furnish our Souls with Joys everlasting, that have no End. But when he perceived, that his fatal Hour was most certainly ap-

proaching, with a most heavenly Frame, he prepared himself to meet with that unwelcome Messenger, taking great and particular Care of his menial Servants, that will imprint a Memorial in their now bleeding Hearts; so having settled Affairs in his House, according to his own Mind and Will, he recommended his Soul to him that gave it, in the following Words and Manner:

‘ O most gracious and merciful Lord God, who, out of thy infinite Mercy and Goodness, hast preserved and protected me through an Ocean of Trouble and Perplexity, yea, and brought me out of a Labyrinth of Danger, which, without thine Assistance, I could never have waded through; and now, since by thy Mercy I am made sensible of thy unspeakable Love to me in this my last Hour, I beseech thee, with an unfeigned Desire, to have Mercy upon my immortal Soul, and let thine Angel conduct it to the Throne of thine everlasting Happines. Lord preserve and keep my sovereign Liege, *Charles the Second*, King of the Land of my Nativity, and protect that poor Nation, now in a tottering Condition, from the Yoke and Burthen of Popish Tyranny, that the Gospel may flourish in the Dominions thereof. Lord strengthen me in this Hour of Tribulation, that I may chearfully pass through the dark Passage, which leads to thy never fading Light. *Amen.*

A Speech of a Fellow-Commoner of England, to his Fellow-Commoners of the Convention. Printed in the Year 1689. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

THE present Providence deserves our most serious Thoughts, and truly, Sir, I cannot but say, that we are extremely obliged to the great Goodness and Valour of the Prince of *Orange*, who, with such Hazard and Expence, has brought us so seasonable and eminent a Deliverance from Popery, and, I hope, from arbitrary Power also. Sir, we cannot give

him too much, unless we give him more than our own (the Crown I mean) we have been of a long Time taught, that is not the Gift or Work of Subjects; sovereign Princes have made bold with one another, but I am of Opinion, whatever Malice may suggest against his Highness, he has too noble a Soul to be guilty of such an Attempt; he came not hither for Greatness, he has it of his own, and brought it with him, and values being *Optimus*

more than *Maximus*, which is the best Way of joining that Imperial Stile together *Optimus Maximus*: I say, I am confident it is more than he will judge proper to receive, and that he will think it more for his Glory to reduce the Monarchy to its just and legal Establishment, than to be King himself, and to secure us against Popery, than to lead us into the Errors of it, of which the most pestilentious are Deposing Princes, and Breaking Faith with Hereticks.

Mr. *Speaker*, The Prince is too great a Disciple both of Religion and Honour, not to be satisfied with our doing what is agreeable to them, and let us not press him out of his own Sentiments, which have been the greatest and most heroick, that have appeared in this latter Age of the World, lest, whilst we have taken Arms to redress Grievances, we do not draw greater upon ourselves, and that as well from Abroad as at Home.

For, Sir, when we believe Catholick Princes to have Zeal so unreasonably fierce, and unsafe to other People, we cannot at the same Time think they will tamely suffer a Catholick King to be kept out of his Kingdom, for little more than being so; and I am afraid that this Procedure may precipitate *Ireland* unto Extremities; and, if it should follow the King to *France*, all sober sensible Men know, of what ill Consequence a Revolt to that Crown may be to this Kingdom; we shall then, instead of invading *France*, find Difficulties to preserve our own Country; nor, for what I see, are we sure of being at Peace here: The Tide is mightily abated since the King's Going from *Rocheſter*; those, that wished his Humiliation in the Government, will by no Means hear of his Exclusion and Perdition, from the Crown; they either believe the Fault none of his, or not of Weight enough to justify so extraordinary an Example; Kings must see and hear by the Eyes and Ears of others, which makes it their Misfortune, rather than their Crime, that they do amiss. We are also of a Church that has been singular for her Honour and Defence to Kings, and, if we have any for her, we ought to tread tenderly in this Point; and, that we may be just, two Things compel us to it for our own Sake.

The First is, That the most of Things that made the King's Government so obnoxious have already been done in this; we have had a dispensing Power exercised both at *Exeter* and

at *London*; we have had free Quarter constrained almost in all Places where the *Dutch* Army has marched; we have, in great Part, a Popish Army too, though that was one of the most crying Offences we objected to the King, and from which we drew the most popular Notions of our Insecurity; the very Money, that is now receiving, was asked with Armies on Foot, and all Men will conclude, there was no Refusing a Proposal so seconded; and, how far our famous Petition of Right may be concerned in this, the Gentlemen of the Law must determine: But, I dare say, this very Loan could not escape this Censure under a lawful Prince, and, under our present Circumstances, we cannot reasonably think the Case better.

Nor is this all, the Second Reason of our Caution is, The little Truth, that at last appears in those many Stories, that, above any Charge, seemed to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from his Majesty, and to dissolve that Tie of Affection and Duty they had to him, as his Subjects. Such as, the Alarms we had here of a *French* Invasion; the King's Selling the Kingdom for five Millions Sterling; the *Irish* killing Man, Woman, and Child upon the Roads; the *French* embarked for the West, but met and sunk by the *Dutch*; the forty thousand new-fashioned Knives of Slaughter; the Queen's Back-door for Bringing to Bed a supposititious Child; her Cuffing the Earl of *Craven* and the Princess *Anne*, with forty more of that Stamp, which Time hath proved as malicious as false; how much they have influenced to this present great Change, is not unworthy of our just Thoughts and Answer, and, in my Opinion, it calls upon us as loudly for a speedy Reparation.

Mr. *Speaker*, These are the Things that have driven the King out of *England*; and, if it can be proved that the Prince of *Wales* is an Impostor and that there was a League with *France* to cut off Protestants, I think Nothing has befallen him, too hard Measure for him: But, truly Sir, it is upon no other Terms that the People of *England* will part with their King, or with any Patience think of the Usage he has got upon that Supposition. But it is objected that some of those that were in Arms are in Apprehension, lest their Estates and Lives should be at the Mercy of the King, in case he returns; I think that the King will be so far from expecting, and the Nation from yielding

yielding to it, that they must not only be all pardoned, but those Lords and Gentlemen, that have been the noble Assertors of our *English* Liberties at this Juncture, must be posted in the greatest Places of Honour and Trust. I hope the King himself will see it his Interest to leave off little and parasitical Favourites, and be willing, that such be employed in all his Affairs, as his People can confide in, and, as will use their Preferments for the Honour of their Prince, and the Good of his Subjects.

Mr. *Speaker*, The Objection against the King's Return, upon the Account of having deserted his Kingdoms, by going into *France*, I am astonished at it, since it is plain, he did not voluntarily desert us, as the Queen of *Sweden* did her Kingdom, but was attacked from Abroad, and deserted at Home: Consequently, Sir, that cannot be in good Morality, as well as Law, a Demise, Forfeiture, Surrender, or Abdication of the Crown of *England*.

Mr. *Speaker*, I fear, that, if I have not tired your Patience, I have been, at least, ordinary long for some Members of a contrary Judgment, who sit in this Convention, and, therefore, I shall add this humble Caution, that our Convention consider well their Power, which, I do conceive, is too scanty to make a new King, though it may call Home that to whom we have most, if not all of us, sworn Allegiance: Nay, let me say further, if our Case were so desperate that no Remedy would serve but Creating a new King, our Convention has not enough of our Fellow Subjects for the rest to be concluded by: When Things are transacted, according to the known Laws and ancient Customs, the usual Deputies may deliver and state the Intentions of the People; but, when so many and great Alterations must be made in the Building, that is to be for the

common Convenience, every Man thinketh himself worthy to be consulted, as well as the greatest Architect, when he is to dwell in the House. Parliaments, that are called by Kings, cannot make Kings, and a Convention not called by a King, and as narrow-bottomed as a Parliament, is yet less nor a Parliament, because it wants the Sanction, a Parliament has; if then it seems a Solecism, that a Meeting, less than a Parliament, can make a King, without whom a Parliament cannot be, What shall we think of this Convention's making a King of him that makes the Convention? Can you act lawfully upon an unlawful Call, or an unlawful Convention make him a lawful King? We are taught by an *English* Proverb, *That no Stream rises higher than its Fountain*. How is it possible for them to give Authority to govern that have none, but what they receive from him, who, by our Law, can have none, to give? Sir, This is neither more nor less than for his Highness to make himself King by a Medium of his own, a Thing as much below him to do, as it is above us to think of; therefore, if we must go to this Work, let us call in more Heads to our Assistance; but I rather advise, and humbly move, that we pray the Prince, who has been our Deliverer, to be our Arbitrator, to give Limits to Prerogative and our Liberty, to secure us that are the Protestant Subjects in our Religion, and to shew the King what Sort of Liberty he only ought to expect for his *Roman* Catholick Subjects; I say, let us beseech him to call back the King for these great Ends, the Accomplishing of which will make both King and Kingdom happy, and the great Prince of *Orange* renowned in all the Histories of *Europe*, as well as in our Annals.

A Philosophical Essay, treating of the most probable Cause of that grand Mystery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea. *London*, Printed by T. M. for T. Passinger, at the *Three Bibles*, on the Middle of *London-Bridge*, 1673. *Quarto*, containing eighteen Pages.

To the learned and judicious Sir John Marſham, of Whoornes-Place in Kent, Knight and Baronet, one of the Six Clerks of his Majeſty's High-Court of Chancery.

S I R,

WHEN the Sun opens the Curtains of the Eaſt, and gilds and enamels the Fringes of the Firmament with his early Beams, the leſſer Lights reſign themſelves up to his, and muſſe themſelves up in their own Obſcurity, as being vanquiſhed with an Exceſs of Splendor; ſo the meaner and pettier Cenſures ſhall look faint and dim, if you, that are the great Luminary in the Orb of Learning, ſhall ſhed a propitious Beam and Influence upon this crude Eſſay, which will not only reſcue it from the Virulency of Detraction, but ſo foment and improve it, that it will bourge on and flouriſh under your Protection: So that, though it owe its Birth to my Pen, it will intitle its Verdure and Perfection to your candid Acceptance of it; now it is offered up to yours, from the Hands of him, who is,

S I R,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Thomas Philipot.

THERE is a huge Variety of Opinions, that intitle themſelves to have unwound the Cauſe of this Grand Myſtery of Nature, *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea*; but they are erected upon untenable Principles, and ſo intwined and complicated, that I may ſay of them, as *Florus* did of the mountainous Inhabitants of the *Alps*, *Pluris erat invenire quam vincere*; it is a greater Difficulty to trace out and unravel them, than to ſubvert or diſmantle them.

The Firſt Opinion is,

Of *Leonardus Leſſius*, who affirms, that the Motion of Reciprocation or Replication, commonly ſtiled, *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea*, intitles its primitive and original Cauſality, to the ſupernatural Guidance and Managery of an Angel; but if the Strength of Man be ſeen in his Reaſon, and the Strength of Reaſon evidenced in his Judgment, and the Strength of Judgment manifeſted in his Knowledge, all theſe three, by this frail Opinion, muſt be deſtroyed; for, who will ever attempt by a noble Winnowing and induſtrious Purſuit and Inqueſt after the

more eminent but cloudy and abſtruſe Cauſes of Nature, to unlock the Myſteries of them, which are laid up in her gloomy Cabinet, when he can affirm, that their Operation owes its original Emanation, or Efflux, to the ſupernatural Conduct of an Angel, and this at laſt will become the common Sanctuary to ſhelter a univerſal Ignorance? Indeed, I do not deny, but the Hand of God's ſpecial Providence is ſometimes ſtretched out and extended to ſupport Nature, when ſhe is feeble and faint in her Operations, or elſe to knit and twiſt extraordinary Cauſes with extraordinary Effects, when ſhe is not able to perfect and perform this Union, and then only when ſhe is defective either in her Strength or in her Light; but to do it always, and aſſert that theſe extraordinary Efforts of God's ſpecial Providence are viſibly manifeſted at all Times, and in all Seaſons, is to ravel and diſcompoſe the Chain of Second Cauſes, whoſe Operations are ſtill interwoven with the Concourse and Concomitance of the Firſt. But the Irregularity of this Opinion will further appear by this Queſtion, Why have not the *Baltick*, *Euxine*, and *Caspian* Seas this Flux and Reflux of Waters, by this angelical Motion; ſince they

are as capable of it, as other Parts of the Ocean abroad, that daily receive it? Besides, it is absurd to imagine that Seas, divided by such vast Intervals, should at one and the same Instant swell into Tides, and fall into Ebbings, by the Transport and Managery of one single Angel, and yet these Waters, being equally moved, should produce such different Fluxes and Refluxes. And now, I hope, by this Time, wise Men will laugh at this Opinion, not in Applause, but Contempt of the Vanity of it.

The Second Opinion is,

That of our Countryman *Lydiat*, who avers, *That the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* owes its primitive Efficiency to subterraneous Fires, fed and fomented by a Stock either of sulphurous or else of bituminous Matter; but this Position of his meets with so many ruinous and destructive Difficulties, that it is almost impossible to reconcile it to Truth; for it is by all agreed, *That the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* is periodical in its Revolution, and so determined, fixed, and certain: But, if this Opinion of his should be assented to, where there is not this Collection of sulphurous and bituminous Matter (as on the Coast of *Norway*, and other Places) there would be no Tides at all. Besides, where this Stock of combustible Matter is wholly wasted and impaired, *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea* must wholly cease. But then, *Secondly*, Why should not the *Dead-Sea* in *Palestine*, or the *Lake Asphaltites*, that has such an eminent Congestion of Bitumen transfused through the Bowels of it, be capable of prodigious Tides? But this, we know, is contradicted by all Experience. *Thirdly*, Why should not the *Baltick Sea*, that is replenished with many bituminous Particles, as appears from the Generation of *Amber*, which most do conclude to be a Coagulum or Concretion of Salt, Sulphur, and Bitumen, and which is frequently found upon the Coast of *Liesland*, *Cearland*, and *Prussia*, have these Tides and Ebbings, which every one knows to be contrary to all Observation? *Fourthly*, Why do not the Tides upon the Coasts of *Sicily* and *Naples* swell to a very important Height, since both their circumambient Shores abound with such a copious Quantity of Sulphur? But this we know is evidently false, the Sea not swell-

ling upon those Coasts to a Diameter of above three or four Feet, when it is at the highest. But, last of all, if you ask *Lydiat*, what superior Cause produces these subterraneous Fires, he will tell you, that it is the Reflexion of the Beams of the Sun upon the convex Superficies of the Sea. To this I answer, That, by the Consent of many eminent Philosophers, the Rays of the Sun never operate by Penetration upon that watery Body above fifteen Cubits, and so impossible, where the Sea is of any considerable Depth, to produce these subterraneous Fires. And thus, I think, I have sufficiently disarmed his Opinion.

The Third Opinion is,

That *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea* is caused by some prodigious Eddies and Whirlpools, that suck and transport the Sea from the North to the South; and from the South to the North; that there is such a vast Whirlpool upon the Coast of *Norway*, is most certain, which is by Mariners stiled, *The Navel of the Sea*: But, that there is such an one in the Southern Hemisphere to refund back the Sea by a Motion of Replication, no Observations either of *Ramusius*, *Linschoten*, or the more curious *De Leat* have ever discovered to us, whose Searches and Inquisitions into the Mysteries of the *East-Indian* and *West-Indian* Seas were never yet cavilled or quarrelled at: Besides, if there were any such in those Parts, upon the reciprocal Return of the Southern Waters toward the North, that Multitude of angry Circles, which discompose, by reason of that voluminous Whirlpool, the Face of the *Norwegian* Sea, would every twenty-four Hours disband, and be smooth, as the Aspect of Peace, and even as the Margin of a Pool, when it is not disordered into Wrinkles by the rough Breath of a ruder Tempest. But this is contradictory to the daily Observation of the Inhabitants that confine upon the Fringes of this stupendous Whirlpool.

Thus, I think likewise, this Opinion, that is supported by such feeble Crutches, is at last overturned.

The Fourth Opinion.

But, as some have found out a Navel, so *Kepler* hath found out the Lungs of the Sea;
for

for he asseveres the Terrestrial Globe to be but one great Animal, and that the *Flux and Reflux of the Sea* does proceed from the Syttle and Diaffole, or the Contraction and Expansion of its spacious Lungs. But then I ask, *First*, Whether does this Motion result, either from Air, or some Spirit? Or, *Secondly*, Does it issue either from a sensitive or rational Soul? And, *Thirdly*, I enquire upon what Coast these prodigious Lungs are situated? And, until the Abettors of this wild Opinion, if there be any such, do give some satisfactory Answers to these Queries, this Opinion is demolished by a bare Negation of it.

The Fifth Opinion is,

Of *Picus Mirandula*, that this Increase and Decrease of Water is caused *per mutuas & benevolas aquarum allicientias*; that is, by a Motion of Aggregation or sympathetical Connexion, by which Water does vigorously endeavour to unite and combine with Water. But, if this were granted, Streams would seek to intertwine with Streams, and Lakes twilt with Lakes, till, at last, long before this, the World must have suffered under the angry Baptism of a publick Deluge. *Secondly*, Where there is this Motion of Aggregation or Connexion, the Tides would swell to an important Height, as in the *Caspian*, *Euxine*, and *Baltick* Seas, where all Geographers, that have displayed to us the Topography of those Places, have discovered to us, that a Multitude of huge Rivers do daily disembogue themselves: And, on the other Side, those Seas that do not swell with the additional Supplies of very few or no Rivers, as the *Norwegian* Ocean, and others, would have very little or no Tides at all; both which are evidently false, and repugnant to daily Observation: Therefore this Opinion of his, established upon such frail Principles, does easily shrink and languish into its own Ruin.

The Sixth Opinion,

Does aver, that the Sea does intitle the Causality of its *Flux and Reflux* to some Currents that either set from East to West, or from North to South: But, if this were assented to, the *Red-Sea*, the *Euxine Sea*, and the *Baltick Sea*, would improve themselves to a huge Increase of Tides, considering all three

are fed by a Communication of perpetual Currents: But this is manifestly false, for the *Red Sea* and *Euxine* have little or no Tides, and the *Baltick Sea* none at all. Therefore I wave this Opinion as altogether erroneous.

The Seventh Opinion,

Intitles the Motion of the Earth to be the Cause of the Motion of the Sea: Those, who abet this Opinion, affirm three Things.

First, That the Earth and Sea have but one Center, to render the whole Globe more regularly and uniformly orbicular, and so more apt for that Motion they are designed to receive.

Secondly, They assert, that every Part and Particle of this spherical Body is so tied and threaded together by a magnetical Union, that is is impossible that the least Atom should flart out of its natural Situation, being fastened and fettered to its Station, by so inexpugnable a Magnetism.

Thirdly, That its Motion is circular; now the Flux and Reflux of the Sea is *motus transversus*, or a Motion of Reciprocation and Rejection, like Water that is justled, and thrown from Side to Side, in a Pail or Bowl; now, if it should move circularly, every Part would move so evenly and magnetically, that there would be no Flux or Reflux of the Sea at all. *Secondly*, since the *Euxine*, *Baltick* and *Caspian* Seas are such considerable Parts of this globous Body, they must move equally with it, if it move at all; and then why have they not the same Flux and Reflux, as other Seas have, since they have the same Aptitude, or natural intrinsic Capacity, to receive this Motion, as other Seas have? But that they have not Flux or Reflux at all is demonstratively true. But whether this Opinion be so or no, I refer to the Scrutiny of the judicious Reader: Indeed, I could wish that those, who defend the Motion of the Earth, would produce more vigorous Arguments to fortify and secure their Thesis, merely to subvert the Pope's Infallibility; one of whom, not many Years since, by a signal Determination and Definition, *ex Cathedra*, blasted it for impious and heretical, and condemned the obstinate Assertors of it, to his truest Purgatory, the Inquisition.

The Eighth Opinion is,

That the Sun is the sole, primary, and efficient Cause of this Flux and Reflux; that the Sun is a partial, concurrent, or concomitant Cause, I affirm; but that it is the Sole and Principal, I deny, and that upon these Foundations; for, if it should be, the Tides, in the vast Wildernes of the Northern Seas, would upon the *Apogæum*, or Recess of the Sun, shrink and contract themselves, for Want of his vigorous Excitation to a considerable Decrease; and again, upon his *Perigæum*, or nearest Approach, swell to an important Magnitude, both which are evidently false; for it is generally observed, that about the Autumnal *Æquinox*, and sometimes after, the Tides, in those Seas abovesaid, are improved and increased to an extraordinary Height; and on the Contrary, about the Summer Solstice, they suffer a sensible and visible Diminution and Decrease, rather than any Augmentation; both which were absurd to imagine, if the Sun was the sole efficient Cause.

Secondly, Why should not the *Caspian*, *Euxine*, and *Baltick* Seas be capable of this Motion, since they are also exposed to the Impressions of the Sun, either perpendicular, or by Vibration, when he is in, or near his *Perigæum*; but this they have not, is evident; and therefore, the Sun is not the prime, sole, and efficient Cause of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea.

The Ninth Opinion is,

That the Moon is the principal Cause of this Marine Motion; that it is a subservient, concurrent, and concomitant Cause, I shall grant, but that it is the sole Efficient, I shall never affirm, for if it were, it would universally and equally move all Seas, especially when they are under its *Perigæum*, and then the *Baltick*, *Euxine*, and *Caspian* Seas would be capable of this Flux and Reflux likewise, but that they are not is apparently evident; I know, it is objected, that the Moon hath a principal Efficiency in the Flowings of the Sea, because it is observed, that when she is in her Sextile, and in her Full, Shell-fish do swell and increase to an unusual Bulk and Corpulency: But to this I answer, that this is produced not by any direct Causality of the Moon, but only by Accident; for those great Tides,

which intervene at those Times, transport with them a large Quantity of Mud and Sullage, which treasure up a fat slimy unctuous Juice, which Shell-fish greedily sucking in, by the Supply of so luscious an Aliment, enlarge themselves to that Dimension they arrive at, at those Seasons.

The Tenth Opinion,

Which I adhere to, is, that there is a vitriolated, volatile, or Armoniack Salt or Spirit, that is wrapped up in the Bowels of the Sea, and lies there clasped up and imprisoned in the Embraces of the fixed and nitrous Salt, which upon its Excitation, by the Agitation of the Superficies of the Sea, and the Opening of it, by the combined and complicated Impressions of the Sun and Moon, dislodges from its Inclosure, and shoots itself up to the watery Margin, and drags along with it, that Heap of Waters we stile the Flux (though I do not deny, but that it is something aided and assisted in this Operation by an *Elater* or Spring of Air, that being rescued from its Compression and Confinement, ascends up with it) and upon closing and contracting its Face upon the Recess of those two great Luminaries, shrinks back again, and with it pulls along that Mass of Waters, it before had elevated, and this produces the Reflux. And this Opinion is supported by three Experiments: The *First* is, That of *Zuingerus*, a modern Chymist, cited by *Fromondus*, in his Book of Meteors, who observed that some Sort of Chymical Oil of Vitriol did ascend and descend in Times proportionate and adequate to the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. The *Second* is, that of *Athanasius Kircherus*, in his *Mundus Subterraneus*, who there discovers to us, that an Infusion of Sal Armonick, lodged in an open Vessel, and placed obliquely to receive the Influence of the Moon, when she was in her Sextile, did increase and decrease, as if it held an equal Correspondence, by an uninterrupted Chain of Atoms, with the Flowings and Ebbings of the Marine Waters. The *Third* is that of *Greatrick's* Glasses, upon whose Sides if you beat with important Onsets, they resist their Impression, but break it at the Top, and it flies in Pieces with much Violence and Tumult; and the Reason is, because the Armoniack or volatile Salt, that lay imprisoned, and cloistered up, in the Claspings and Circumscription

Scripture of the nitrous or fixed Salt, finding itself infranchised and redeemed from the strict Inclosures of those two rigid Adversaries, falls out, with an impetuous Eagerness, and that Eruption occasions that Disorder and Concussion.

But I know it will be objected, Why have not the *Euxine*, *Baltick* and *Caspian* Seas their Flux and Reflux likewise, since it is probable their Waters imprisoned as great a Stock of vitriolated, volatile, or Armoniack Salt, as other Seas are intrusted with, that have the Vicissitudes? To this I answer, That it is as probable they have not; but suppose they had, yet its volatile Spirit is checked and depressed by that Multitude of vast and deep Rivers, that perpetually disgorge themselves into those Seas above-said; and it is likewise possible, that there is a considerable Quantity of Sulphur, Bitumen, fixed and nitrous Salt, conducted along with their Currents, whose fixing Quality may improve the Depression of the Vitriolated and Armoniack Particles, and so benumb their Volatility, that it is almost impossible for the united Influences of the Sun and Moon, to excite their so stupified Vigour. But if it be enquired how it happens, since so

many capacious Streams disembody themselves into those Seas, that the neighbouring Territories do not suffer under a constant Inundation? I answer, that the Water that is treasured up in the Cells and Caverns of the Earth, which it is probable, here are more than ordinary copious, intice and allure back the Marine Waters, *Per Motum Nexus*, by a Motion of Adherence, Aggregation, Union and Connexion, and so by a continual Circulation, reimburse, and new-stock the Rivers, with additional Streams which are daily paid, in so profuse a Tribute, to the vast Exchequer of their watery Sovereign.

And thus have I as compendiously as might be wound up this Essay; yet I am not so confident to believe, but that Posterity may by new Discoveries, and Scrutinies, for Arts are not yet in their Solstice, nor Knowledge in its Zenith, improve it to greater Advantage of the Publick, than could be expected from this faint Result of my Pen; in the Interim I shall desire the Reader, to acquiesce in that amicable and ingenuous Determination of the Poet, — *Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti: Si non, his utere mecum.*

Brief Notes on the Creed of St. *Athanasius*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

‘ **W** hosever will be saved, before all Things, it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.’

A good Life is of absolute Necessity to Salvation; but a right Belief in these Points, that have been always controverted in the Churches of God, is in no Degree necessary, much less necessary before all Things. He, that leads a profane or vicious Life, sins against a plain acknowledged Rule, and the express unquestioned Words and Letter of the Divine Law, and the Dictates of natural Conscience; he wilfully refuses to advert to these Monitors, and, therefore, can no Way palliate or excuse his Wickedness. But he that errs in a Question of Faith, after having used reasonable Diligence to be rightly informed, is in no Fault at all; his Error is pure

Ignorance: Not a culpable Ignorance; for how can it be culpable, not to know that, of which a Man is ignorant, after a diligent and impartial Inquiry?

‘ Which Faith, except a Man keep whole and undefiled, without Doubt he shall perish everlastingly.’

By keeping this Faith whole and undefiled, must be meant, if any Thing be meant, that a Man should believe and profess it, without Adding to it, or Taking from it. If we take from it, we do not keep it whole; if we add aught to it, we do not keep it undefiled; and either Way we shall perish everlastingly.

First, for Adding. What if an honest plain Man, because he is a Christian and a Protestant, should think it necessary to add this Article to the *Athanasian* Creed: ‘ I believe the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments,

‘ to be a divine, infallible, and compleat Rule, both for Faith and Manners?’ I hope no Protestant would think a Man should be damned for such Addition: And, if so, then this Creed of *Athanasius* is at least an unnecessary Rule of Faith.

Then, for Taking aught from this Creed; the whole *Greek Church* (diffused through so many Provinces) rejects, as heretical, that Period of it, *The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son*; contending, that the Holy Spirit is from the Father only. Which, also, they clearly and demonstratively prove, as we shall see in its proper Place. And, for the Menace here of *Athanasius*, That they shall perish everlastingly, they laugh at it, and say, He was drunk when he made this Creed, *Gennad. Schol. A. Bp. of Constantinople.*

‘ And the Catholick Faith is this,’

Catholick Faith is as much as to say in plain English, The Faith of the whole Church. Now in what Age was this, which here follows, the Faith of the whole Church? Not in the Age of *Athanasius* himself; who for this Faith, and for seditious Practices, was banished from *Alexandria in Egypt*, where he was Bishop, no less than four Times; whereof the first was by *Constantine the Great*. He was also condemned in his own Life-time by six Councils, as an Heretick and seditious Person: Of these Councils, that at *Milan* consisted of three-hundred Bishops; and that at *Ariminum* of five-hundred and fifty, the greatest Convention of Bishops that ever was. This Consent of the Churches of God, against him and his Doctrine, occasioned that famous Proverb, *Athanasius against all the World, and all the World against Athanasius.*

For the Times before and after, the curious Reader may see *Chr. Sandius's Ecclesiastical History*; in which the learned Author gives a large Account, by what, and whose Means, the *Athanasian* and *Trinitarian* Faith did at length prevail, against the antient Belief of but one God, or but One who is God. Therefore *quære*, With what Forehead, the Author of this Creed calls this, the Catholick Faith, or, Faith of the whole Church? When it is certain, it has been so in no Age, and least of all in the Author's.

‘ The Catholick Faith is this, That we worship one God in Trinity; and, Trinity in Unity.’

He means here, that we must so worship the one true God, as to remember he is three

Persons; and so worship the three Persons, as to bear in Mind, that they are but one Substance, or Godhead, or God. So the Author explains himself in the three next Articles, which are these:

‘ Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance; for there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost; but the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one.’ Therefore, all these Articles make indeed but one Article, which is this: ‘ The one true God is three distinct Persons; and three distinct Persons (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are the one true God.’

Plainly, as if a Man should say, *Peter, James, and John*, being three Persons, are one Man; and one Man is these three distinct Persons, *Peter, James, and John*. Is it not now a ridiculous Attempt, as well as a barbarous Indignity, to go about thus to make Asses of all Mankind, under Pretence of teaching them a Creed, and Things divine, to despoil them of their Reason, the Image of God, and the Character of our Nature? But let us, in two Words, examine the Parts of this monstrous Proposition, as it is laid down in the Creed itself.

‘ Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.’

But how can we not confound the Persons, that have, they say, but one numerical Substance? And how can we but divide the Substance, which we find in three distinct divided Persons?

‘ There is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost.’

Then the Son is not the Father, nor is the Father the Son, nor the Holy Ghost either of them: I shall not need to prove this Consequence, not only because it is evident, but because it is acknowledged by the Trinitarians. But, if the Father is not the Son, and yet is, by Confession of all, the one true God, then the Son is not the one true God, because he is not the Father: The Reason is self-evident, for, How can the Son be the one true God, if he is not he who is the one true God? After the same Manner it may be proved, that, on the *Athanasian* Principles, neither the Father, nor Holy Spirit are, or can be God, or the one true God; for neither of them is the Son, who is the one true God, according to *Athanasius*, and all Trinitarians: For they all say,

the

the Father is the one true God, the Son is the one true God, and the Holy Ghost is the one true God. Which is a threefold Contradiction, because there is but one true God, and one of these Persons is not the other. But, if it be a Contradiction, it is certainly false; for every Contradiction, being made up of Inconsistencies, destroys itself, and is its own Confutation.

‘The Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal.’

The Meaning of the last Clause is, That the Glory and Majesty of the Son and Holy Spirit is equal to the Glory and Majesty of the Father; or, the Son and Holy Spirit are equally glorious and majestic with God the Father.

Therefore I ask, Whether the Glory and Majesty, with which the Son and Spirit are glorious and majestic, be the same in Number (that is, the very same) with which the Father is glorious and majestic; or only the same for Kind and Degree? If it be not the same in Number, then the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, is not, as this Creed teaches, all one; and they are not one and the same God: For two infinite and distinct Glories, and Majesties, make two Gods, and three make three Gods; as every one sees, and, to say true, the Trinitarians themselves confess. It remains therefore that, they say, the Glory and Majesty of the Son and Spirit is the same in Number, and not for Kind and Degree only, with that of the Father: But then it follows, that the Glory and Majesty of these Persons is neither equal nor coeternal. Not equal; for it is the same, which Equals never are: Nor coeternal, for this also plainly intimates, that that they are distinct; for, How coeternal, if not distinct? Do we say, a Thing is coeternal or contemporary with itself? Therefore, this Article also doth impugn and destroy itself. Besides, if the Glory and Majesty of the three Persons be numerically the same, then so are all their other Attributes: From whence it follows, that there is not any real Difference between the three Persons, and they are only three several Names of God; which is the Heresy of the *Sabellians*.

In the next Place, this Creed teaches, that ‘the Father is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Son is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Holy Spirit is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal,

‘almighty: Also, that each of these Persons ‘by himself is God and Lord; so that the ‘Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy ‘Ghost is God: Yet there are not three Gods ‘or Lords, nor three Incomprehensibles, nor ‘three Almighties, nor three Eternals or Uncreate.’

Now if, in Imitation of this, a Man should have a Mind to say: ‘The Father is a Person, ‘the Son is a Person, and the Holy Ghost is a ‘Person; yet not three Persons, but one Person.’ I would know, why this were not as good Grammar and Arithmetick, as when *Athanasius* says, The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, yet not three Gods, but one God: Or, when he says, The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Ghost uncreated, yet not three Uncreated, but one Uncreated; and so of the rest?

Doth not a Man contradict himself, when the Term or Terms, in his Negation, are the same with those in his Affirmation? If not, then it may be true, that, ‘The Father is a ‘Person, the Son is a Person, the Holy Ghost ‘is a Person, yet there are not three Persons, ‘but one Person: For all the Fault here is only this, that, in the last Clause, the Term Person is denied to belong to more than one, when, in the first, it had been affirmed of no fewer than three. For the same Reason, it must be a Contradiction to say, ‘The Father ‘is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost ‘is God, yet there are not three Gods, but ‘one God:’ For the Term God is at last denied to belong to more than one, though, in the first Clause, it was affirmed of three. Will they say, that in these Words, There are not three Gods, but one God, the Term God is not denied to belong to more than one, or is not appropriated to one? If so, then there are not three Persons, but one Person; and again, there are not three Men, but one Man: Then I say, these Propositions do not deny the Terms Person and Man to belong to more than one, or appropriate them to one only; which yet every Body confesses they do.

But here is a numerical, or arithmetical, as well as grammatical Contradiction. For, in saying, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; yet not three Gods, but one God: A Man first distinctly numbers three Gods; and then, in summing them up, brutishly says, Not three Gods, but one God.

To these Things it will, perhaps, be answered, that when we say, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; or thus, The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; the Term God is used personally: But, when it is said, There are not three Gods, but one God; the Term God is used essentially, and therefore comprehends the whole three Persons; so that there is neither a grammatical, nor arithmetical Contradiction. But this Remedy is worse, if possible, than the Disease; for it owns that there are three personal Gods, though there is but one essential God; and that, otherways, the Propositions, of which we are speaking, would imply all the aforesaid Contradictions. This Remedy, I say, is worse than the Disease; for, 1. Three personal Gods, and one essential God, make four Gods, if the essential God be not the same with the personal Gods; and, though he is the same with them, yet, since they are not the same with one another, but distinct, it follows, that there are three Gods, that is, three personal Gods. 2. It introduces two Sorts of true Gods, three personal, and one essential. But the Christian Religion knows and owns but one true and most high God, of any Sort. And I would know of the Trinitarians, whether they dare say, in express Words, There are two Sorts of true Gods?

‘For like as we are compelled by the Christian Verity, to acknowledge every Person by himself to be Lord and God, &c.’

By the Christian Verity, I suppose is meant, the sacred Books which contain the Christian Religion; that is, the Books of the Old and New Testaments. But do these Books, and does this Verity compel us to the Acknowledgment of three Persons, each of which is, by himself, supreme God and Lord, and yet, all of them together, but one God? Doth, I say, the Holy Scripture compel us to this contradictory Acknowledgment? Is there any Text alledged from Scripture, which all the Unitarians, and some or other of the most learned Trinitarians, do not easily interpret in such Sense, that the Unity of God is preserved; and, no more than one Person, even the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, acknowledged to be God? See the *History of the Unitarians*. But, if there is no Text of Scripture, but what is, in the Opinion of some or other of their own learned Men, fairly capable of a

Sense contrary to the Faith delivered in this Creed, then we are not compelled to acknowledge this Faith. And the Truth is, the Contest between the Unitarians and Trinitarians is not, as is commonly thought, a Clash of Reason with Scripture: But it lieth here, Whether, when the Holy Scriptures may be understood as teaching only one God, or but one who is God, which agrees with the rest of Scripture, and with natural Reason; we must, notwithstanding, prefer an Interpretation of it that is absurd, and contrary to itself, to Reason, and to the rest of Scripture, such as the Trinitarian Interpretation, expressed in this Creed, appears to be? In a Word, the Question only is, Whether we ought to interpret Holy Scripture when it speaks of God, according to Reason, or not; that is, like Fools, or like wise Men?

‘The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten.’

Here, and in the next Period, *Athanasius* is got into his Altitudes, or Profundities, which you will. Here it is, that the Ignorant think they are taught the inmost Secrets of Theological Knowledge; but *High* and *Low* are not more contrary, than the Things which are here affirmed as equal Truths.

If the Creed-maker had spoke here of the Generation of the Son by the Divine Power on the Virgin *Mary*, it would have been true, that ‘the Son is neither made, nor created, but begotten;’ but then the first Part of the Article would be false, ‘That the Son is of the Father alone;’ for he, that has a Father and a Mother, is of both: But, since he speaks of the (pretended) eternal Generation, the latter Part of the Article is false, and inconsistent with the first Part of it. Every Novice in Grammar or proper Speaking knows, that *Begotten*, when it is distinguished from *Made* and *Created*, always supposes two Parents, a Mother, as well as a Father: It is, therefore, a Contradiction to say, ‘The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten;’ for, if he is begotten, he cannot be of the Father alone; and, if he is of the Father alone, he is not begotten, but either made, or created.

‘The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.’

The first Fault here is, That the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, and from the

the Son: To which Herefy the Greek Church have ever opposed those clear Words, *John* xv. 26. *When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.*

Secondly, He saith here, That the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeding; he adds, shortly after, That 'he, who will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.' Therefore, surely, *Begotten* and *Proceeding* differ very much, and very clearly; else it is an harsh Sentence, That we shall be damned, if we do not conceive, besides all other inconceivable Mysteries of this Creed, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeds. Yet, after all, it is now confessed, by the most learned Trinitarians, that *Begotten* and *Proceeding* differ nothing at all; and that it is rightly said, 'The Son proceeds from the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is generated of both,' directly contrary to this Creed. It follows, that *Athanasius* has damned the whole World, for not Distinguishing, where no Distinction can be made, at least with any Certainty. And, perhaps, this damning Humour of his has justly provoked some to write him, not *S. Athanasius*, but, drawing the *S* a little nearer, *Sathanasius*.

'So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.'

In Consistence with what goes before, he should have said, Two Fathers, two Sons, and three Holy Ghosts, or Spirits. For the second Person is the Son of the first, and the third proceeds (which is nothing else but is generated) from the first and second; which makes two Fathers, and two Sons; and all three of them are Holy Spirits; for the Father is an Holy Spirit, and so is the Son, no less than the third Person. But this is not the first Time, in this Creed, that *Athanasius* has discovered he could not count.

'In this Trinity, none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another.'

Yet the Son himself saith, *John* xiv. 28. *My Father is greater than I.* And, for the other Clause, 'None is afore, or after other,' it is just as true, as that there is no Difference between *afore*, and *after*. I ask, Whether the Son doth not, as he is a Son, derive both Life and Godhead from the Father? All Tri-

nitarians agree, he does; grounding themselves on the *Nicene* Creed, which expressly calls the Son 'God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made.' But, if the Father gave to the Son Life and Godhead, he must have both, before he could communicate or give either of them to the Son, and consequently was before the Son was. No Effect is so early as its Cause; for, if it were, it should not have needed, or had that for its Cause. No Proposition in *Euclid* is more certain or evident than this.

'The right Faith is, That we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man.'

Then the Lord Christ is two Persons; for, as he is God, he is the second Person of the (pretended) Trinity; and, as he is Man (a perfect Man, as this Creed afterwards speaks) he is also a Person; for a rational Soul, vitally united to an human Body, is a Person, if there be any such Thing as a Person upon Earth; nay, it is the only Thing upon Earth, that is a Person. Let the *Athanasians*, therefore, either say, that the Lord Christ is two Persons; which is the Herefy of *Nestorius*, condemned in a General Council; or, that he is not a Man, contrary to *1 Tim.* ii. 5. *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ;* or, that he is not God, which is the Truth.

'Who, although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ; one, not by Conversion of the Godhead into Flesh, but by Taking of the Manhood into God; one, not by Confusion of Substance, but by Unity of Person.'

But, because these Words, 'One, by Taking of the Manhood into God, not by Conversion of the Godhead into Flesh;' and again, 'One, not by Confusion of Substance, but by Unity of Person,' cannot readily be understood by themselves, therefore the Creed-maker explains them, in this following Article: 'For, as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ.' That is, As a Soul, united vitally to a Body, maketh one Person, called Man, without Confounding the two Substances of Soul and Body; for the Soul remains what it was, and so also does the Body; so God the Son, being united to a reasonable Soul and Body, doth, together with them, make one Person, called Christ, without Confounding the Substances of the

Divinity, or Humanity; for the Divinity remains, without the least Change, what it was, and so doth the Humanity, or reasonable Soul and Body. This is the only Offer at Sense, that is to be found in this whole Creed; but so far from explicating, that it farther perplexes the Difficulty of the (pretended) Incarnation; as will appear by these two Considerations:

1. In the personal Union of a Soul with a Body, the Union is between two finite Things; but, in the (pretended) personal Union of God to Man, and Man to God, the Union is between Finite and Infinite; which, on the Principles of the Trinitarians, is impossible. For we must either suppose, that Finite and Infinite are commensurate, that is, equal; which every one knows is false; or that the Finite is united but to some Part of the Infinite, and is disjoined from the rest; which all Trinitarians deny and abhor.

You will say, If they admit neither of these, How do they shew the Possibility of the Incarnation, or Union of God and Man? They tell you, God indeed is infinite, and every reasonable Soul and Body, even that of Christ, is finite; yet the whole God and whole Man are united; because, as the whole Eternity of God doth co-exist to a Moment of Time, so the whole Immensity of God is in every Mathematical Point of Space. The very Truth is, they cannot otherwise defend the Incarnation, or personal Union of an infinite God to a finite Man; but, withal, it must be owned, that then the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation do infer, imply, and suppose all the Contradictions, that Mr. *Johnson* has objected to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in that little golden Tract so deservedly esteemed by all. His whole Book and all his Demonstrations are founded on these two Suppositions: That a longer Time doth not all of it co-exist to a shorter; nor is a greater Extension confipated or contained in a less, much less in a Mathematical Point. Therefore all his Book, and all, that he hath so well said and argued, in the Preface, concerning the Authority and Judicature of Reason in Matters of Religion, equally and effectually destroys the Doctrines of the Trinity and Transubstantiation. If the Reader would have an excellent Book, let him procure that. But Oh! were the Press as free for the Unitarians, as it is for other Pro-

testants, How easily would they make it appear, that the Follies and Contradictions, so justly charged on the Transubstantiation, are neither, for Number, Consequence, nor Clearness, any way comparable to those implied in the *Athanasian* Creed! And that the Trinity hath the same, and no other Foundation with the Transubstantiation! So that we must of Necessity admit both, or neither. If the Church is to interpret Scripture for us, we must admit both; but, if Reason, we can admit neither; and this, I think, the Trinitarians will not deny.

But, *secondly*, in the (pretended) Incarnation or Union of God with Man, the Union cannot be personal, as it is between the Soul and Body; it cannot, I mean, be such an Union, as to make but one Person. The Union of the Soul and Body may be properly personal, that is, may constitute or make one Person, because it is not the Union of two Persons, but only of one Person, the Soul, to a Thing otherwise without Life, Reason, Memory, or Free-will. The Body is but, as it were, the Garment of the Soul, and is wholly acted by it, and depending on it: But, in the (pretended) Union of God with a Man, there are two distinct and very different Lives, Memories, Reasons, and Free-wills; which utterly destroys a personal Union; for that supposes but one Life, one Reason, one Memory, one Free-will. For, if these Things, which constitute a Person, are found more than once, there is no longer one Person, but two, and consequently no personal Union, in the Sense of which we are speaking.

'This is the Catholick Faith; which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.'

By Believing, *Athanasius* doth not mean bare Believing, but he includeth also therein Profession; for he saith a little before: 'The right Faith is, That we believe and confess, &c.' So that a Man cannot be saved, unless he believes and professes, as this Creed directs him.

First, For Believing: What if a Man cannot believe it? Are we obliged, under the Penalty of the Loss of Salvation, to believe it, whether we can, or no? Doth God require of any Man an impossible Condition, in order to Salvation?

Secondly, As to Professing, under Pain of Damnation: What if it be against a Man's Conscience

Conscience to profess it? The Scripture saith, *Whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin*; if therefore a Man profess against his Conscience, he sins; and if, notwithstanding this, a Man must either profess, or be damned, then God requires some Men to sin in order to their Salvation: But this we are sure is false, and therefore that the Menace in the Article is vain.

And now I appeal to all Men, that have any Freedom of Judgment remaining: Whether this Creed is fit to be retained in any Christian, much less Protestant and Reformed Church? Since it subverts the Foundations, not only of Christianity, but of all Religion, that is to say, Reason and Revelation: There being no Principle in Reason and Scripture more evident, than that *God is One*; or, that there is one Almighty, only Wise and Good Person, or Father of all. If we cannot be sure of this, then Religion and Christianity are built upon Fancy only, and have no solid Foundation.

This Creed may be professed by the *Roman* Political Church, because it gives Countenance to their absurd Transubstantiation, and cunning Traditions added to Scripture; as those Doctrines do to the Gaining of Veneration, and consequently Dominion and Riches to their Clergy: But, in a Reformed Church, where the Scripture is held to be a compleat Rule of Faith and Manners, and also to be clear and plain in all Things necessary to Salvation, even to the meanest Understanding, that reads it or hears it with Sobriety and Attention; such a Confession of Faith is, I think, intolerable, as being utterly inconsistent with those Principles, and reducing us back to the *Roman* Bondage.

Besides, Nothing has been or is more scandalous to *Jews* and *Mahometans*, than this Creed, the chief Article of whose Religion is, that there is *One only God*. The

Evidence of which Principle is such in Nature as well as Scripture, that it has propagated *Mahometism* among greater Numbers, than at this Day own *Christianity*; for the Sake of that one Truth, so many Nations have swallowed all the Errors and Follies of the *Alchoran*, or that of *Mahomet*; as, on the other Hand, *Christianity* has been rejected and detested among them, on the Account of the *Christians Three Persons, who are severally and each of them God*.

But the Mischiefs of this Creed do not stay here, it is levelled not only against the true Faith, but is also destructive of that Love and Charity, which is the Spirit and Life of Christianity; and, without which, Faith is but a lifeless Body. For, as if it would effectually inspire all its Believers, with a Spirit of Judging, Damning, and Uncharitableness; it pronounces the Sentence of eternal Damnation, in the Beginning, Middle, and Conclusion, upon all that do not both believe and profess this Faith, and keep it whole and undefiled; that is, upon the whole *Greek* Church, and other Churches in the *East*; and upon at least Five Parts of Six of all that profess *Christianity* in the World, whose Understandings cannot possibly reach to the Sense and Coherence, which some pretend to find in this Creed.

Thus the *Christian* Religion is destroyed, in both the essential Parts of it, Faith and Love. Hence have proceeded many and endless Controversies, bitter Animosities, cruel Persecutions, Wars among *Christians*; and, at length, the more fierce and violent, the more deceitful and sophistical Part, have attained their tyrannical Domination over their Opposers; and have introduced and settled, a *Christianity* shall I call it, or, a *Superstition*, or a *Polity*, quite contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of our Blessed Lord, and of his Apostles.

A Description of the most glorious and most magnificent Arches erected at the *Hague*, for the Reception of *William the Third*, King of *Great-Britain*. With all the Motto's and *Latin* Inscriptions that were written upon every one of the said Arches. Translated into *English* from the *Dutch*. *London*: Printed for *F. S.* and are to be sold by *Richard Baldwin*, at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1691. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

HIS Majesty *William the Third* of *Great-Britain*, having made his Voyage into *Holland*, and being arrived at the *Hague*, the most Noble and most High the Estates of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, as well as the Honourable Magistrates of the *Hague*, gave Orders to prepare for a Reception correspondent to the Majesty of so glorious and so excellent a Monarch. To which Purpose their High and Mighty Lordships, among other Things, have erected one triumphal Arch, and the Magistrates two more, to be set, one in the Piazza, called *Buyton-Hoff*, the other in the publick Piazza, and the Third in the Market-place of the *Hague*; the Figure and Structure of which, together with the *Latin* Inscriptions which adorn them, are as follow.

That which was set up at the *Buyton-Hoff* was a triumphal Arch, of a most curious *Italian* Architecture, the Order compounded *Doric*, having three open Gates, that of the Middle being the highest of all, supported backwards and forwards upon eight Pillars, underneath upon large Basements, separated from the Body of the Work.

Upon every one of those Basements, stand two of the said Pillars, with a Cupolo of eight Faces upon the said Overture: In the Middle of which Cupolo appears a Pedestal, upon which is represented his Majesty on Horseback, both Figures costly gilded. To the Horses, on each Side are tied two Slaves, or Statues, of a Brass Colour, prostrate and groveling, and the whole Work is coloured, as if it were of Free-stone; between the Pillars, and upon

each Side, inward and outward, the Spaces are filled with Pictures, comprehending some Historical Representation, and Hieroglyphical Figure, relating to the Life and glorious Actions of his Majesty. At the Frontispiece of that stately Arch, and upon the fore-mentioned Pillars, as well backwards as forwards, and at each Side are placed in the same Order eight Statues of both Sexes together, to the Height and Bigness of the Life. In that Part of the Arch, which faceth the End of the Town, upon a very high Pedestal, set above all, on both Sides of the round Pieces that cover the Work, is erected a *Neptune*, lying down with his Trident in his Hand, with this Motto underneath:

Triumphet in Undis. Let him triumph upon the Seas.

At the other Side of the Arch that looks towards the Street, commonly called *Cingel*, upon a like Pedestal, a Plough-man with a Spade in his Hand, with this Motto underneath,

Attingat Solium Jovis. Let him reach to Jupiter's Throne.

Round about the Cupolo is written the following Inscription:

‘ Pio, Felici, Inclyto, Guilielmo tertio, triumphanti Patriæ patri, Gubernatori, *P.C.I.P.*
‘ Restauratori Belgii scederati, Liberatori Angliæ, Servatori Scotiæ, Pacificatori Hiberniæ,
‘ reduci.

To the pious, happy, renowned *William the Third*, the triumphant Father of his Country, Governor, Stadtholder, and Restorer of the *United Netherlands*, *England's Liberator*, *Scotland's Preserver*, *Ireland's Pacificator*, now returned.

Upon the Frontispiece, underneath the Statues above-mentioned on the Side of the *Buytan-hoff*, are these following Inscriptions :

In the first Place,

‘ *Post maximas res domi forisque gestas, arcissimum cum Principibus icto foedere, suorum vindex, Defensor oppressorum.*

After great Things done at Home and Abroad, as having made a strict League with the Princes, the Revenger of his Subjects Wrongs, and Defender of the Oppressed.

Under that, and upon a large Picture, there is a little Table upon which are represented several armed Men, fighting a Dragon, with this Motto,

Uniti fortius obstant. Being united they make a stronger Opposition.

In the second hollow Seat this Motto,

‘ *Mare transvectus liberat Britanniam, & late dominantibus ornatus Scepbris, in Patriam publica cum lætitia receptus est.*

Being passed beyond Sea, he has rescued *Great-Britain*, and being adorned with Scepters of a vast extended Power, he has been received in his own Country with all the Demonstrations of publick Joy.

In the Table underneath is represented a Balance with the two Scales, in one of which are several Crowns, and in the other a Sword, the Sword out-weighing the Crowns, with these Words,

Premia non æquant. Rewards are not answerable to Merit.

In the third hollow Seat, this Motto,

‘ *Lugente Patria, mœrente Europa, afflicta antiquissima Nassoviorum stirpe, Heroum, Imperatorum, Principum secunda.*

Our Country mourning and bewailing, *Europe* in Tears, the most ancient Family of *Nassau*, fertile and producing Heroes, Emperors, and Princes afflicted.

In a Table underneath is represented a Phoenix burning, with this Sentence:

Præluet posthuma proles. Born after his Father's Death, shines so much the more.

In the fourth hollow Nich,

‘ *Gulielmum posthumum, Britannorum A-rausionensiumque tertium, Patriæ spem, Reipublicæ palladium.*

William born after his Father's Death, the Third of *Great-Britain*, and of *Orange*, the Hope of his own Country, and the Support of the Commonwealth.

In a Table underneath is represented a Scepter and three Crowns with this Motto,

Tenues ornant diademata cunæ. Tender Age an Ornament to Diadems.

On the Back-side of the said Arch, towards the Palace, are also four hollow Niches in the Frontispiece, with the following Inscriptions :

In the first hollow Nich,

‘ *Fatum, Europæ favens, dedit de Cœlo, futuram portendens Majestatem, admodum puerum exemplar constituit.*

Fate, favourable to *Europe*, has bestowed him from Heaven, and portending his future Majesty fixed him for an Example, when he was but very young.

As on the other Side, above a large Picture, there is a little Table, upon which is represented a young Eagle flying upwards against the Rising of the Sun, with this Motto, *Tener adversis enititur alis.* Young and tender as he is, he strives with all the Force of his Wings against the Wind.

In the Second, ‘ *Qui juventute strenuè transacta, funestis jactata bellis ac disidiis in tanto rerum discrimine.* Who having spent his Youth in many Hardships, tossed with funest Wars and Seditions, in so much Hazard, vanquished all before him.

In the Table underneath is represented a Castle upon a Hill, at the Foot of which is a Javelin planted, from which spring up two Branches of Lawrel, with these Words, *Conversa Triumphos portendit.* Darted forth it prefigures Triumphs.

In the Third, ‘ *Nutantis Belgii, qua Mari, qua Terra admotus, in pristinum decus gu-*

‘bernaculi, gloriam, aras & focos asseruit.’ The Netherlands tottering, and he made Chief Commander by Sea and Land, has re-established the Government in its first Lustre, conserved our Religion, and secured the People.

In the Table underneath is a Boat with some armed Men in it, who row it forward, with this Inscription, *Alter erit Tethys*. There will be another *Tethys*.

In the Fourth hollow Seat, ‘*Meritis famam superantibus Trophæis, Principiatis Regibus editæ, felicibus junctis hymenæis.*’ His merited Triumphs surmounting Fame itself, more glorious still by happy Marriage with a Princess, born of Royal Ancestors.

In the Table underneath, are an Unicorn and a Lion, going Side by Side, the Unicorn thrusting with his Horn a Heap of Serpents and Vipers, with these Words, *Virusque fugant viresque repellunt*; They drive away the Venom and repel the Force of it.

On the one Side of the Pedestal, where is the King on Horseback, are these Words written, *Populi Salus*. The People’s Welfare. *Procerum decus*. The Glory of the States.

Within the Arch’s Cieling are four different Historical Representations, in four Tables separated one from another, and each of them has an Inscription: That of the first Table is, *Refert Saturnia Regna*. He reviveth the golden Age.

In the second Table, *Novos orbes nova Sceptra paramus*. We are preparing for new Worlds and new Scepters.

In the Third, *Superare & parcere vestrum est*. Your Part it is to overcome and to forgive.

In the Fourth, *Cætera transibunt*. All other Things are transitory.

The Arch itself is adorned both before and behind, and at the Top of the afore-mentioned Overtures, you see the Arms of *England*, and the Supporters withal; and of the large Overture, both behind and before, the Arms of *Holland*, and two flying Fames at each Side of them, blowing their Trumpets.

The Description of the Arch in the Publick Piazza.

This triumphal Arch is, as the other, of a

very fine and stately Architecture, with Pillars coloured like Marble, red and white, and the rest of the Body of the Work of Marble, black and white; the Basis and the Chapter gilded with four great Pictures, two behind, and two before, set between the fore-mentioned Pillars, drawn in lively Colours; the two that are foremost, representing a Battle of the *Romans* by Sea and Land; and the two that are behind, one representing War, and the other Peace: War, with a flaming World, near which, several Persons represented, some dead, and some alive, make Justice lie down in Distress. Peace, with a World, upon which Justice and Peace standing, embrace one another, and by them is the God *Pan*, and his Companions, making themselves merry with some Fruits of the Earth. At the upper Part of the Arch in the Middle, is a Pedestal, upon which is the King on Horseback, as big as the Life, Brafs-like, with this Motto,

Regi Triumphanti.

To the Triumphant King.

Above the King on Horseback are erected two Wreaths, crossing and covering his Head, adorned with Green, and above it a royal Crown, with the Scepters, and a Cross underneath.

On each Side of the Arch are two Squares, wherein are set, both behind and before, transparent Pictures, wrought upon Silk, which were lighted in the Evening, and shewed on one Side a Cloud, and a Pillar of Fire on the other, the Corners being adorned with Green. At the gilded Frize of the Arch, are written these Words:

Soloque Saloque,

By Land and Sea.

In reprimenda tyrannide & restituenda sæculi felicitate;

In repressing Tyranny, and restoring the Felicity of the Age.

And on each Side of the aforesaid Frize are these Inscriptions:

On the Right, *Heroibus priori*. To him that excels the Heroes.

And on the Left Side, *Antiquis Majori*. To him who is greater than any of the Antients.

On

On each Side of the forementioned Pedestal, upon which is the King on Horseback, are two gilded Armour, and two covered with Silver, adorned with Feathers, and some Trophies besides; *England's* Coat of Arms before, and the King's Cypher behind.

The said Arch has on every Side two Wings, in which are represented the Histories of *Hercules*, *Perseus*, *Phaeton*, and *Andromeda's* Deliverance, with four Escutcheons of the four Kingdoms, *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

Underneath, round about the said Arch, are these Words: Before, *Sceptis exercitibus, classibus votis*. Behind, *Augusto, armato, parato, recepto*. Which must be read thus: *Augusto Sceptis, Armato exercitibus, Parato classibus, Recepto votis*.

Honoured with Scepters, armed with Armies, provided with Fleets, and received with Acclamations.

On each Side of the Arch are two Pictures, one representing *Europe* Distressed, and the other, *Neptune* Ravishing, with this Motto: *Eripe raptori miseram*; Snatch the Wretched from the Ravisher. The other, *Mea jura tueri, Defend my Right*.

Above the Door of the Arch these Words are written, *Haga posuit Coss. decreto*. The Town of the *Hague* has erected this Arch by the Decree of the Magistrates.

The Description of the stately Arch erected at the Great Market-place.

This Arch is the highest of all, without any Pillars in Relief. However, it is filled with very large Pictures of a greyish Colour, of which, two, that are upon the Door, are drawn upon Silk, to be transparent by Torch-light in the Evening. Upon that Arch is a Rainbow, with three Crowns, seeming to hang in the Air. There is besides upon that Arch a Sphere, and upon it a Flying Fame with her Trumpet, and the Horse *Pegasus* running by her, and some Trophies on every Corner of each Side. On the Backside of the said Arch is seen the Imperial Coat of Arms of *Nassau*, that of the Emperor *Adolphus* of the Family of *Nassau*, with the eight Quarters on every Side. Round about the fore-mentioned Arch are these following Inscriptions:

Nobilium Primo, Ducum Maximo, Posthumo Gulielmo tertio, Cœlitus dato. To the First of Noble Heroes, to the greatest of Generals *William the Third*, a *Posthumus*, the Gift of Heaven. Above the Pictures on the Backside, *Victoriis, Trophæis, Fortissimo Imperatori, Cautissimo Gubernatori, destinatis*. Erected to the Victories and Trophies designed for a most strenuous Leader, and prudent Commander.

Underneath at the Bottom of the Arch upon one Side, *Quatuor Regnorum Regi, fœderati Belgii Gubernatori, Gulielmo tertio, Virtute & Triumphis fulgenti*. For *William the Third*, King of four Kingdoms, Governor of the United-Provinces, shining with Virtues and Triumphs.

On the other Side, *Grati animi & letitiæ publicæ signum hoc erexit Haga Comitit*. The *Hague* has erected this as a Testimony of public Joy and Gratitude.

On each Side of the Arch are two Wings, composing together a half Circle, and in each of those Wings are seven Pictures, representing the Battles and Victories of the precedent Princes of *Orange* by Sea and Land, each Picture having its Motto: Upon the First of the Right Wing, *Patientia læsa furor fit*. Patience exasperated turns to Fury.

Upon the Second, *Res poscit opem & conspirat amicis*. The Matter requires Aid, and friendly Confederacy.

Upon the Third, *Per tela, per undas*, Through Darts and Waves.

Upon the Fourth, *Audentes Deus ipse juvat*. God himself assists the Courageous.

Upon the Fifth, *Tantas dedit Unio vires*. Such is the Force of Union.

Upon the Sixth, *Aquilas & mœnia cepit*. Nor Walls nor Armies can resist him.

Upon the Seventh, *Celsas superas Virtute carinas*. Your Valour masters the tallest Navies.

Upon the First of the Left Wing, *Repetenda quiescunt arma Virum*. Armies laid aside are again to be taken in Hand.

Upon the Second, *Non uno Virtus contenta Triumpho*. Valour not satisfied with a single Triumph.

Upon the Third, *Crescunt numero crescente Trophæa*. Number increasing, the Trophies increase.

Upon the Fourth, *Cæorum replebant funera campos*. The Funerals of the Dead filled up the Fields.

Upon the Fifth, *Ultra Garamantas & Indes*. Farther than the *Garamantes* and the *Indies*.

Upon the Sixth, *Fortis promissa Juventas*. The Promises of a courageous Youth.

Upon the Seventh, *Deos in praelia confert*. He consults the Gods before he goes to Battle.

In the Middle of every one of those Wings are two Pyramids, one at each Side upon their Pedestals, which support a Picture with this Inscription: Upon that of the Right Hand, *Hanc accipe Magne Coronam*. Great Hero, accept this Crown. Upon that of the Left Hand, *Thure tuo redolent aræ*. Your Incense perfumes the Altar.

The same Pyramids have each in the Front three transparent Pictures, comprehending either a Hieroglyphical Figure, or some Trophy or Cypher, being adorned on the Sides with Green, upon one of those Pyramids. The King and the Queen upon the other are set to the Bigness of the Life.

Upon that of the King is this Inscription, *Quis gratior appulit oris?* Whoe'er arrived more welcome to our Shore?

Upon that of the Queen, *Reprimit & refigit*. She represses and re-establishes.

Upon the Border of the Wings are, in their Order, the first four Princes of *Orange* between two Trophies.

Under the Effigies of *William the First*, *Patriæ Liberatori*. To his Country's Liberator.

Under that of Prince *Maurice*, *Gloriæ Vincit*. To Glory's Vindicator.

Under that of Prince *Frederick Henry*, *Libertatis Assertori*. To our Liberty's Defender.

Under that of Prince *William the Second*, *Publicæ felicitatis Statori*. To the Conserver of our Public Felicity.

Above the Opening of the Arch before is the Escutcheon of the *Hague*, with these Words underneath, *Hic Incunabula Divum*. Behold the Cradles of the Gods.

Before the Town-House of the *Hague* are seven Pictures transparent for a Light. In the highest Range are placed in the Middle the Representations of the King and Queen; and on each Side two Hieroglyphical Figures, one representing a Lion with this Motto, *Placidum venerantur, & horrent infestum*. They venerate the Moderate, and abhor the Tyrant.

On the other an Unicorn thrusting with his Horn some Serpents, with this Inscription, *Nil passa Veneni*. Enduring nothing venomous.

At the Order underneath it contains three Symbols more: The First representing a Crane sitting upon her Nest, and clapping her Wings at the Rising Sun, with these Words, *Recreatur ab ortu*. Revived by the Rising Sun.

The Second represents *Atlas* upholding the World upon his Shoulders, and stooping under the Weight, and resting upon a Mountain, with this Inscription, *In te Domus inclinata recumbit*. Upon thee the falling Mansion leans.

The Third represents a Crane resting in her Nest, and clapping her Wings at the Rising Sun, with this Motto, *Vidit & exultavit*. She saw and rejoiced.

By the Town-House in the publick Place of Execution, is a Tree like a Maypole, surrounded with Arms in four Rows one above another for Torch-light.

The Arch of the Bridge, commonly called the *Loosduyn*, has been coloured with a Representation of a Man and a Woman at an Altar, upon which is the King's Effigies with a Staff in his Hand, upon which Staff his Majesty's Name is written, with a Crown, and these Words underneath, *Io Triumphator*. All hail Triumpher.

Upon the two Pillars of the said Arch of the Bridge, are these following Inscriptions, *Ob Civis servatos, & Hostes fugatos*. For Citizens preserved, and Enemies put to Flight.

The other Side of the Arch, *Ob Liberata Regna, & Restitutas Provincias*. For the Kingdoms rescued, and Provinces restored.

Behind are two Ovals besides, in one of which is represented a Lawrel, and underneath the Word *Victoria*, To Victory.

On the other an Orange-Tree with the Word *Clementia*, To Clemency.

I add here for the Conclusion, that in the Middle of the Pond of the Palace was erected a great Scaffold, upon which was set down the Cypher of his Majesty's Name, with a Royal Crown above, which was shewn by Torch-light, without mentioning many other curious and artful Lights, in several other Places; besides the Firing of thirty great Guns that were planted by the said Pond, and frequently discharged as Occasion and the Design required.

A Qvip for an vpstart Courtier : Or, a quaint Dispute between Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches. Wherein is plainly set downe the Disorders in all Estates and Trades. *London :* Imprinted by *John Wolfe*, and are to bee sold at his Shop at *Poules Chayne*, 1592. In black Letter, Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages.

To the Right Worshipfull *Thomas Burnabie*, Esquier, *Robert Greene* wisheth Hartes Ease and Heauens Blisse.

S I R,

AFTER I had ended this Quippe for an vpstart Courtier, containyng a quaint Dispute betweene Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches ; wherein, vnder a Dreame, I shadowed the Abuses, that Pride had bred in Englande : How it had infected the Court with aspiring Enuie, the Citie with griping Couetousnesse, and the Countrey with Contempte and Disdaine : How, since Men placed their Delights in proud Lookes and braue Alyre, Hospitality was left off, Neighbourhood was exciled, Conscience was fliest at, and Charitie lay frozen in the Streets : How vpstart Gentlemen, for the Maintainance of that their Falbers neuer lookt after, raised Rents, rackte their Tenants, and imposed great Fines ; I stood in a Muse to whome I shoulde dedicate my Labours, knowing I shoulde bee bitten by many, sitbens I had toucht many, and therefore neede some woorthye Patrone, vnder whose Winges I might shroud my selfe from Goodman Findefault. At last I cald to Mind your Worship, and thought you the fittest of all my Friends, both for the Duetie that I owe, and the worshipfull Qualities you are indued withall ; as also for that all Northamptonshire reports, how you are a Father of the Poore, a Supporter of auntient Hospitalitie, an Enimie to Pride, and, to be short, a Maintayner of Cloth-breeches, I meane, of the old and woorthye Customes of the Gentilitie and Yeomanrie of Englande. Induced by these Reasons, I humbly present this Pamphlet to your Worship, only craving you wil accept it as courtiously, as I present it ductifully, and then I haue the End of my Desire ; and so, resting in Hope of your fauourable Acceptance, I humbly take my Leauo.

Your ductifull, adopted Sonne,

ROBERT GREENE.

To the Gentlemen Readers, Health.

Gentle Gentlemen,

I HOPE, Cloth-breeches shall find you gentle Censors of this homely Apologie of his auntient Prerogatiues, sith, though he speakes against Veluet-breeches, which you weare, yet he twits not the Weede, but the Vice ; not the Apparell when tis worthily worn, but the vnworthie Person that weares it, who, sprang of a Pe-
fant,

fant, will vse any sinister Meanes to clime to Preferment, being then so proude, as the Poppe forgets, like the Mule, that an Ass was his Father. For auntient Gentility and Yeomanrie Cloth-breeches attempteth this Quarrell, and hopes of their Favour; for Vpstarts he is halfe caresles; and the more, bicause he knowes, whatsoeuer some thincke priuately, they will bee no publike Carpers, least, by kicking where they are toucht, they bewray their gald Backs to the World, and, by starting vp to find Fault, proue themselves Vpstarts and Fools. So, then, poore Cloth-breeches sets downe his Rest on the Courtesie of gentle Gentlemen and bold Yeomen, that they will suffer him to take no Wrong. But suppose the Worst, that hee should bee fround at, and that such Occupations, as hee hath vpon Conscience discarded from the Iury, should commence an Action of Vnkindnesse against him, heele proue it not to hold Plea, bicause all the Debate was but a Dreame. And so, hoping all Men will merrilie take it, he stands sollemnlie leaning on his Pike Staffe, till he heare what you conceaue of him for being so peremptorie: If well, he sweares to crack his Hose at the Knees to quite your Courtesie: If hardly, he hath vowed, that whatsoeuer he dreames, neuer to blab it again; and so he wisheth me humbly to bid you Farewell.

IT was iust at that Time, when the Cuckould's Quirrester began to bewray *Aprill* Gentlemen, with his neuer chaunged Notes, that I, damped with a melancholy Humor, went into ye Fields to cheere vp my Wits with the fresh Aire; where solitarie seeking to solace my selfe, I fell in a Dreame, and in that drowsie Slomber I wandered into a Vale, all tapistred with sweet and choice Flowres; there grew many Simples, whose Vertues taught Men to be subtil, and to think Nature, by her Weeds, warnd Men to be wary, and by their secret Properties, to check wanton and sensuall Imperfections. Amongst the rest, there was the yellow Daffadil, a Flowre fit for gelous Dottrels, who through the Bewty of their honest Wiues, grow suspicious, and so proue themselves, in the End, cuckould Heretikes; there buded out the checkerd (Paunfie) or party coloured Harts Ease, an Herbe sildome seene, either of such Men as are wedded to Shrewes, or of such Women that haue hasty Husbands; yet ther it grew, and as I stept to gather it, it slipt from me like *Tantalus* Fruit, that failes their Maister. At last, woondring at this secret Qualitie, I learned that none can wear it, be they Kinges, but such as desire no more then they are borne to, nor haue their Wishe aboue their Fortunes. Vpon a Banke bording by, grewe Womens Weedes, Fenell I meane for Flatterers, fit generally for that Sexe, sith while they are Maidens, they wishe wantonly; while they are Wiues, they will wilfully;

while they are Widowes, they would willingly; and yet all these proud Desires are but close Dissemblings. Neere adioyning, sprouted out the Courtiers Comfort, Time: An Herb that many stumble on, and yet ouerslip, whose rancke Sauor, and thick Leaues, haue this peculiar Property, to make a Snaille, if the tast of the Sappe, as swift as a Swallow, yet ioyned with this Preiudice, that if she clime too hastily, she falls too suddenly. Mee thought I saw diuers yong Courtiers tread vpon it with high Disdain, but as they past away, an Adder, lurking there, bit them by the Heeles that they wept; and then I might perceiue certaine Clownes in clownd Shoone gather it, and eat of it with Greedinesse; which no sooner was sunke into their Mawes, but they were metamorphosed, and lookt as proudly, though Pefants, as if they had been borne to be Princes Companions.

Amongst the rest of these Changlings whome the Tast of Time had thus altered, there was some that listd their Heades so hie, as if they had beene bred to look no lower then Stars; they thought *Noli altum sapere* was rather the Saying of a Foole, then the Censure of a Philosopher, and therefore stretch themselves on their Tiptoes, as if they had beene a Kindred to the Lord Tiptoft, and began to disdain their Equals, scorne their Inferiours, and euen their Betters, forgetting now that Time had taught them to say Masse, how before they had playde the Clarks Part to say Amen to the Priest. Tush, then they were not so little as Gentlemen,

men, and their owne Concept was the Her-
ralde to blason their Descente from an olde
Houſe, whoſe great Grandfathers would haue
bin glad of a new Cottage to hide their Heades
in. Yet, as the Peacocke wrapt in the Pride
of his beautilous Feathers is knowne to be but
a Dunghill Birde by his foule Feete; ſo,
though the high Lookes, and coſtly Suts, argue
to the Eies of the World they were Caualliers
of great Worſhip, yet the churliſh Illiberalitie
of their Mindes bewraide their Fathers were
not about three Poundes in the Kinges Bookes
at a Subſidie; but, as theſe vpſtart Change-
lings went ſtrouting, like *Philopolimarchides* the
Bragart in *Plautus*, they lookte ſo proudlye at
the ſame, that they ſtumbled on a Bed of Rue
that grewe at the Bottoome of the Banke where
the Time was planted, which, fall'n vpon the
Dew of ſo bitter an Herbe, taught them that
ſuch proud Peacockes as ouer haſtily out run
their Fortunes; at laſt, to ſpeedily, fall to
Repentaunce; and yet ſome of them ſmild
and ſaid, Rue was called Herbe Grace, which
though they ſcorned in their Youth they might
weare in their Age, and it was neuer too late
to ſay *Miferere*. As thus I ſtood muſinge at
this Time borne broad, they vaniſht away like
Cadmus Copſimates, that ſprang vp of Vipers
Teeth; ſo that, caſting mine Eie aſide after
them, I ſaw where a Crew of all Eſtates were
gathering Flowres, what Kind they were of
I knewe not, but pretious I geſte them, in
that they pluckt them with Greedineſs, ſo that
I drew towards them to be Partaker of their
Profits; coming neerer, I might ſee the Weede
they ſo wrangled for was a little daper Flowre,
like a Ground Hunnifuckle, called Thrift,
praized generally of all, but praetiſed for Diſ-
tillation but of few; amongſt the Crue that
ſeemed couetous of this Herbe, ther was a
Troope of old Graiberds in Veluet, Sattin, and
Woorſted Iacketts, that ſtooped as nimbly to
pluck it vp by the Rootes, as if their Joynts
had bene ſupled in the Oile of Miſers Skins;
they ſpared no Labour and Pains to get and
gather, and what they got they gaue to cer-
taine yong Boies and Girls that ſtood behinde
them, with their Skirts and Laps open to re-
ceiue it; among whome ſome ſcattered it as
faſt as their Fathers gathered it, waſting and
ſpoyling it at their Pleaſure, which their Fa-
thers got with Labour.

I thought them to be ſome Herbalifteſ, or

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ſome Apothecaries, that had imployed ſuch
Pains to extract ſome rare Quinteſſence out
of this Flowre; but one, ſtanding by, told me
they were Cormorantes and Vſurers, that ga-
thered it to fill their Coſers with; and where-
to, quoth I, is it pretious? What is the Ver-
tue of it? Mary, quoth he, to qualifie the
Heat of inſatiable Mindes, that, like the Ser-
pente *Dipſas*, neuer drinketh enough till they
are ſo full they burſte; why then, ſaid I, the
Diuell burſt them all; and with that I fell into
a great Laughter, to ſee certain *Italianate*
Cantes, humorous Caualliers, youthfull Gen-
tlemen, and *Inamorati gagliardi*, that ſcorne-
fully pluckt of it, and wore it a While as if
they were weary of it, and at laſt left it as to
baſe a Flowre to put in their Noſegayes.
Others, that ſeemed *Homini di grandi iſtima* by
their Lookes and their Walkes, gathered ear-
neſtly and did pocket it vp, as if they meant
to keepe it carefully; but, as they wer carrying
it away, there met them a Troup of nice
Wantons, fair Women, that like to *Lamiae*
had Faces like Angels, Eies like Stars, Breſtes
like the golden Front in the *Heſperides*, but
from the Middle downwards their Shapes like
Serpents. Theſe with Syrenlike Allurement
ſo enticed theſe quaint Squires, that they be-
ſtowed all their Flowres vpon them for Fau-
ours, they themſelues walkinge Home by
Beggars Buſhe for a Pennance. Amongſt this
Crew were Lawyers, and they gathered the
Diuell and all; but poore Poets were thruſt
backe, and could not bee ſuffered to haue one
Handfull to put amongſt their withered Gar-
lands of Baies, to make them glorious. But
Hob and *John* of the Countrey they ſtept in
churliſhly, in their high Startvps, and gather-
ed whole Sackfuls; inſomuch they wore Bee-
ſoms of Thrift in their Hats like Fore-horſes,
or the luſty Gallants in a Morice-dance:
Seeing the Crue thus to wrangle for ſo paltry
a Weed, I went alone to take one of all the
other fragrant Flowres that diaped this Val-
ley; thereby I ſaw the Batchelers Buttons,
whoſe Vertue is to make wanton Maidens
weepe, when they haue worne it forty Weekes
vnder their Aprons for a Fauour.

Next them grew the deſſembling Daſie, to
warne ſuch light of Loue Wenches, not to truſt
euery faire Promise that ſuch amorous Batche-
lers make them, but ſweete Smels breed bitter
Repentaunce. Hard by grew the true Louers

D d d

Prim-

Primrose, whose kind Sauour witheth Men to be faithfull, and Women courtesous. Alongst in a Border, grew Maidenhair, fit for modest Maidens to beholde, and immodest to blushe at, bicause it praiseth the one for their naturall Tresses, and condemneth the other for their beastly and counterfeit Perriwigs. There was the gentle Gilliflowre that Wiues should weare, if they were not too froward; and loiall Lauender, but that was full of Cuckoe-spittes, to shew that Womens light Thoughts make their Husbands heuy Heads. There were sweete Lillies, Gods Plenty, which shewed faire Virgins need not weepe for Wooers; and Store of Balme, which could cure strange Wounds, only not that Wound which Women receiue when they loose their Maidenheads; for no Herbe hath Vertue enough to scrape out that Blot, and therefore it is the greater Blemish. Infinit were the Flowres beside that beautified the Valley, that, to know their Names and Operations, I needed some curious Herbal; but I passe them ouer as needelesse, sith the Vision of their Vertues was but a Dreame, and therefore I wish no Man to holde any Discourse herein authentically; yet thus much I must say for a parting Blow, that at the lower End of the Dale I saw a great many of Women vsing high Wordes to their Husbands; some struing for the Breeches, others to haue the last Word; some fretting they could not find a Knot in a Russh, others struing whether it were Wooll or Hair the Goat bare. Questioning with one that I met, why these Women were so cholericke, he, like a scoffing Fellow, pointed to a Bush of Nettles; I, not willing to be satisfied by Signes, asked him what he meant thereby? Mary (quoth hee) all these Women that you heare brawling, frowning, and scolding thus, haue severally pist on this Bushe of Nettles, and the Vertue of them is to force a Woman, that waters them, to be as peeuisish for a whole Day and as waspish as if she had bene stung in the Brow with a Hornet. Well, I smild at this, and left the Company to seeke further, when, in the Twinckling of an Eye, I was left alone, the Valley cleared of all Company, and I, a distressed Man, desirous to wander out of that solitary Place to seeke good Consorts and boone Companions, to passe away the Day withall. As thus I walked forward, seeking vp the Hill, I was driuen halfe into a Mase with the Ima-

gination of a strange Woonder, which fell out thus: Mee thought I saw an uncouth headlesse thinge come pacing downe the Hill, stepping so proudly with such a Geometrical Grace, as if some artificiall Bragart had resolved to measure the World with his Paces: I could not desire it to be a Man, although it had Motion, for that it wanted a Body, yet, seeing Legges and Hofs, I supposed it to bee some Monster nurishd up in those Desartes: At last, as it drew me nigh unto mee, I might perceiue that it was a very passing costly Paire of Veluet Breeches, whose Panes, being made of the cheefest *Neapolitane* Stoffe, was drawne out with the best *Spanish* Satine, and marvellous curiously ouer whipt with Gold Twiss, intersemed with Knots of Pearle; the Netherstocke was of the purest *Granado* Silck; no Cost was spared to set out these costly Breeches, who had girt unto them a Rapyer and Dagger gilt, Point pendante, as quaintly as if some curious *Florentine* had trickte them up to square it vp and downe the Streetes before his Mistressse. As these Breeches were exceeding sumptuous to the Eie, so were they passing pompous in their Gestures, for they strouted vp and downe the Vally as proudly as though they had there appointed to act some desperat Combat.

Blame mee not if I were driuen into a Muse with this most monstrous Sight, to see in that Place such a strange headlesse Courtier ietting up and downe like the Usher of a Fensse Schoole about to play his Prife, when I deeme neuer in any Age such a woonderfull Obiect fortun'd unto any Man before. Well, the greater Dumpe this Nouclty draue me into, the more Desire I had to see what Euent would follow: Whereupon looking about to se if that any more Company would come, I might perceiue from the Top of the other Hill an other Pair of Breeches more soberly marching, and with a softer Pace, as if they were not too hasty, and yet would keepe Promise neuerthelessse at the Place appointed. As soone as they were come into the Vallie, I sawe they were a plaine Paire of Cloth-breeches, without either Welte or Garde, straight to the Thigh, of white Kerseie, without a Slop, the Netherstocke of the same, sewed too above the Knee, and only seamed with a little Country Blewe, such as in *Diebus illis* our great Grandfathers wore, when Neighbourhood and Hospitality had banisht Pride out of

England: Nor were these plaine Breeches weaponlesse, for they had a good sower Bat with a Pike in the Ende, able to lay on Load enough, if the Hart were answerable to the Weapon; and upon this Staffe, pitcht downe upon the Ground, Cloth-breeches stood solemnly leaning, as if they meant not to start, but to answer to the uttermost whatsoeuer in that Place might be objected. Looking upon these two, I might perceiue by the Pride of the one, and homely Resolution of the other, that this their Meeting would grow to some dangerous Conflict; and therefore, to prevent the fatall Issue of such a pretended Quarell, I stept betwene them both; when Velvet-breeches greeted Cloth-breeches with this Salutation: Proud and insolent Pefant, how darest thou, without Leauē or lowe Reuerence, presse into the Place whether I am come for to disport my selfe? Art thou not afraide thy high Presumption should summon me to Displeasure, and so force me draw my Rapper, which is neuer vntheated but it turns into the Scabberd with a Triumph of mine Enemies Blood: Bold Bayard auant, beard mee not to my Face, for this Time I pardon thy Folly, and grant thy Legges Leauē to carry away thy Life. Cloth-breeches nothing amased at this Bravado, bending his Staffe as if he meant (if he were wronged) to bestow his Benison, with a scornfull Kind of Smiling, made this smooth Reply: Mary gip Goodman Vpstart, who made your Father a Gentleman? Soft Fire makes sweet Mault, the curstest Cow hath the shortest Hornes, and a brawling Curre, of all, bites the least. Alas! good Sir, are you so fine that no Man may be your Fellow? I pray you, what Defference is betwene you and mee, but in the Cost and the Making? Tho' you bee neuer so richly daubde with Gould and powdred with Pearle, yet you are but a Cafe for the Buttockes, and a Couer for the basest Part of a Mans Body, no more then I; the greatest Preheminence is in the Garnishing, and thereof you are proud; but come to the true Vse we were appointed to, my Honor is more then thine, for I belong to the old auncient Yeomanry, yea, and Gentility, the Fathers, and thou to a Companie of proud and vmanerly Vpstarts the Sonnes. At this, Velvet-breeches stormd and said, Why thou Beggars Brat, descended from the Reuerfion of base Pouertye, Is thy Insolency so great to

make Comparifon with me, whose Defference is as great as the Brightnesse of the Sunne, and the slender Light of a Candle: I, poor Snake, am sprung from the auncient *Romans*, borne in *Italy*, the Mistresse of the World for Chialry, cald into *England* from my natieue Home, where I was famous, to honour your Countrie and yong Gentlemen here in *England* with my Countenance, where I am holden in high Regarde, that I can presse into the Presence, when thou, poore Soule, shalt, with Cap and Knee, beg Leauē of the Porter to enter; and I sit and dine with the Nobility, when thou art faine to wait for the Reuerfion of the Almes Basket: I am admitted boldly to tell my Tale, when thou art faine to sue, by Means of Supplication, and that and thou to, so little regarded, that most commonly it neuer comes to the Princes Hand, but dies inprisoned in som obscure Pocket: Sith then there is such Defference betwene our Estates, cease to vrge my Patience with thy insolent Presumption. Cloth-breeches, as breese as hee was proud, swore by the Pike of his Staffe, that his Choplogicke was not worth a Pinne, and that he would turne his own Weapon into his Bosome thus: Why Signor *Glorioso*, quoth hee, tho' I haue not such glosing Phrase to trick out my Speeches withall as you, yet I will come ouer your Fallows with this bad Rhethoricke: I pray you, Mounfier *Malapart*, are you therefore my Superiour, because you are taken vp with Gentlemen, and I with the Yeomanry? Doth true Vertue consist in Riches, or Humanity in Welth? Is auncient Honour tied to outward Brauery? Or not rather true Nobility, a Mind excellently qualified with rare Vertues? I will teach thee a Lesson worth the Hearing, proud Princes, how Gentility first sprung up; I will not forget the olde *Wiues* Logick, When *Adam* delvd, and *Eue* span, who was then a Gentleman? But I tell thee, after the generall Flood, that there was no more Men upon the Earth but *Noe* and his three Sonnes, and that *Cham* had wickedly discouered his Fathers Secrets, then grew the Diuifion of Estates thus: The Church was figured in *Sem*, Gentilitie in *Japheth*, and Labour and Drudgerie in *Cham*: *Sem* being chaste and holy, *Japheth* learned and valiaunt, *Cham* churlish and seruile; yet did not the Curse extend so far vpon *Cham*, nor the Blessing vpon *Japheth*, but, if the one altered his Na-

ture, and became either indued with Learning or Valour, he might be a Gentleman; or, if the other degenerated from his auncient Vertues, hee might be held a Pesaunt; wherevpon *Nae* inferred, that Gentility grew not only by Propagation of Nature, but by Perfection of Qualities: Then is your Worship wide, that boast of your Worth for your Gold and Pearl, sith *Cucullus non facit Monachum*, nor a Velvet Slop make a Slouen a Gentleman: And whereas thou sayst thou wert borne in *Italy*, and called hither by our Courtiers, him may we curse that brought thee first into *Englande*, for thou camest not alone but accompanied with a Multitude of abominable Vices, hanging to thy Bumbast nothing but infectious Abuses, as Vaine-glory, Selse loue, Sodomie, and strange Poisonings, wherewith thou hast infected this glorious Island; yea, insolent Bragart, thou hast defiled thine one Neast, and fatal was the Day of thy Byrth, for, since the Time of thy hatching in *Italy*, as then famous for Chualrey and Learninge, the Imperiall State, through thy Pride, hath decayed, and thou hast, like the yonge Pellican, peckt at thy Mothers Brest with thy Presumption, causing them to lose that their Forefathers with true Honor conquered; so hast thou bene the Ruine of the *Romane* Empyre, and nowe fatally art thou come into *Englande* to attemple heere the like Subuerfion. Whereas thou doost boast that I am little regarded where thou art highly accounted of, and hast Sufferance to presse into the Prefence, when I am, for my Simpleness, shut out of Dore: I grant thy Allegation in Part, but not in Whole, for Men of high Wisdom and Honour measure not Men by the outward Shewe of Brauery, but by the inward Worth and Honesty, and so, though I am disdained of a few ouerweening Fooles, I am valued, as well as thy selfe, with the Wife. In that thou sayst thou canst speake when I sue by Supplication, I grant it; but the Tale thou telst is to the Ruine of the Poore, for comming into high Favour with an impudent Face, what Farme is there expired whose Lease thou doost not begge? What Forfeite of penal Statutes? What consealed Lands can ouerslip thee? Yea, rather then thy Brauery should faile, begge powling Pence for the verye Smooke that comes out of poore Mens Chemnies? Shamest thou not, vplandish Vpstart, to heare me discourse thy Imperfections; get thee Home

againe into thy owne Country, and let me, as I was wont, liue famous in my natue Home in *Englande* where I was borne and bred, yea, and bearded *Cæsar*, thy Countryman, til he compass the Conquest by Treason. The Right and Title in this Country, base Brat, quoth Veluet-breeches; now Authority fauours me, I am admitted Viceroy, and I will make thee do me Homage, and confesse, that thou holdst thy Being and Residence in my Land from the gracious Fauour of my Sufferance; and with that he laid on the Hilt of his Rapyer, and Cloth-breeches betooke him to his Staffe, when I, stepping betwixt them, parted them thus: Why, what meane ye, will you decide your Controverfie by Blowes, when you may debate it by Reason; this is a Land of Peace, governed by true Iusticiaries and honorable Magistrats, where you shall haue Equirie without Partiality, and therefore listen to me, and discusse the Matter by Lawe; your Quarrel is, Whether of you are most auncient and most worthy? You, Sir, boast of your Country and Parentage, he of his natue Birth in *Englande*; you claime all, he would haue bu his owne; both plead an absolute Title of Residence in this Country; then must the Course betweene you be Trespasse or Disseison of franke Tenament; you Veluet-breeches, in that you claime the first Title, you shall bee Plaintiffe, and plead a Trespasse of Disseison doone you by Cloth-breeches; so shall it be brought to a Iurie, and tried by a Verdict of twelue or fower and twenty. Tush, tush, quoth Veluet-breeches, I neither like to be Plaintiffe, nor yet allow of a Iurie, for they may be partiall, and so condemne me in mine owne Action; for the Country Swaines cannot value of my Worth, nor can mine Honors come within the Compasse of their base Wits; bicause I am a Stranger in this Land, and but heere latly ariued, they will hold me as an Vpstart, and so lightly esteeme of my Worthinesse, and, for my Aduersary is their Countрман and lesse chargeable, he shall haue the Lawe mitigated, if a Iurie of Hinds or Pesaunts should bee inpanelled; if auncient Gentlemen, Yeomen, or plaine Ministers should bee of the Quest, I were sure to lose the Day, because they loath me, in that I haue persuaded so many Landlords, for the Maintenance of my Brauerie, to raise their Rentcs. You seeke a Knot in a Rush, quoth

I, you need not doubt of that, for whom you distrust and think not indifferent, him you, vpon a Cause manifested, challenge from your Iurie. If your Law allowe such large Fauour, quoth Veluet-breeches, I am content my Title be tried by a Iurie, and therefore let mine Aduersary plead me *Nul tort, Nul disseison*. Cloth-breeches was content with this, and so they both agreed I should bee Iudge and Iuror in this Controuersie; wherevpon I wisht them to say for themselves what they could, that I might discours to the Iurie what Reasons they alledged of their Titles. Then Veluet-breeches began thus: I cannot but greeue that I should be thus outfact with a Carters Weed, onely fit for Husbandry, seeing I am the Originall of all honourable Endeours: To what End doth Youth bestow their Wits on Law, Phisicke, or Theology, were it not the Ende, they aime at, is the Wearing of me and Wining of Preferment? Honor norishesth Art, and, for the Regarde of Dignity, do learned Men strue to exceede in their Faculty:

*Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos,
Per mare, per faxa, &c.*

What driues the Merchants to seeke forreign Marts, to venter their Goods and hazard their Liues? Not, if still the End of their Trauell were a Paire of Cloth Breeches; no, Veluet, costly Attire, curious and quaint Apparell is the Spur that pricketh them forward to attempt such Daunger. Doth not the Souldior fight to be braue, the Lawyer study to countenance himselfe with Cost? The Artificer takes Paines onely for my Sake, that wearing me he may brag it among the best. What Credite carries he now adae that goes pind up in a Cloth Breech? Who will keepe him Companie that thinkes well of himselfe, vnlesse he vse the simple Slaue to make cleane his Shoone? The Worlds are chaungde, and Men are grown to more Wit, and their Mindes to aspire after more honorable Thoughts; they were Dunces in *Diebus illis*, they had not the true Vse of Gentility, and therefore they lived meanely and died obscurely, but now Mennes Capacities are refined; Time hath set a new Edge on Gentlemens Humors, and they shew them as they should bee, not like Glottons as their Fathers did, in Chines of Beefe and Almest to the Poore, but in Veluets, Sattins, Cloth of

Gold, Pearle, yea, Pearle Lace, which scarce *Caligula* wore on his Birth-Day; and to this honourable Humor haue I brought these Gentlemen since I came from *Italy*. What is the End of Seruice to a Man but to countenance himselfe and credit his Maister with braue Suites? The scurvy Tapsters and Ostlers, *sex populi*, fill Pots, and rubbe Horseheeles, to prancke themselves with my Glory. Alas! were it not to wear me, why would so many apply themselves to extraordinary Idlenes? Beside, I make Fooles be reuerent, and thought wise amongst the common Sort; I am a seuerer Sensor to such as offend the Law, provided there be a Penalty annexed that may bring in some Profite; yea, by me the cheefest Part of the Realm is gouerned, and therefore I refer my Title to the Verdit of any Men of Judgement. To this mildly Cloth-breeches answered thus:

As I haue had alwayes that honest Humor in mee to measure all Estates by their Virtues, not by their Apparell, so did I neuer grudge at the Brauery of any whome Birth, Time, Place, or Dignity, made worthy of such costly Ornaments; but, if by the Fauour of their Prince and their owne Desarts, they merited them, I helde both lawfull and commendable to answer their Degrees in Apparell, correspondent vnto their Dignities, I am not so precise directly to inueigh against the Vse of Veluet, either in-Breeches, or in other Sutes; nor will I haue Men goe like *John Baptist*, in Coates of Camels Hairs. Let Princes haue their Diademes, and *Cæsar* what is due to *Cæsar*; let Noblemen goe as their Byrth requires, and Gentlemen as they are borne or beare Office. I speake in mine owne Defence, for the ancient Gentility and Yeomanrie of *Englande*, and inueigh against none, but such malapart Vpstarts as raised vp from the Plough, or aduanced for their *Italian* Deuises, or for their witlesse Wealth, couet in Brauery to match, nay, to exceed the greatest Noblemen in this Land.

But leauing this Digression, Mounsier Veluet-breeches, againe to the Particulars of your fond Allegation. Whereas you affirme yourselfe to be both original and final End of Learning; alas! proud Princor, you pearch a Bow to hie: Did all the Philosophers beat their Braines, and busie their Wits to wear Veluet Breeches? Why both at that Time thou were unknowne,

unknowne, yea, unborne, and all Excess in Apparell had in high Contempt; and nowe in these Daies all Men of Worth are taught by Reading, that Excess is a great Sin; that Pride is the first Step to the Downfall of Shame. They study with *Tully*, that they may seeme borne for their Countries, as well as for themselves. The Devine to Justice, the Philition to discover the Secretes of Godes Wonders, by working strange Cures. To be breefe, the End of all Being, as to knowe God; and not as your Worship, good Maister Veluet-breeches, wrests to creep into Acquaintance.

I will not denie, but there be as fantastical Fooles as yoursele, that, perhaps, are puffed vp with such presuming Thoughts, and ambitiously aime to trick themselves in your Worships Masking Sutes; but, while such climbe for great Honors, they often fall to great Shames. It may be thereupon you bring in *Honos alit Artes*, but I gesse your Maisterhip never tried what true Honor meant, that truste it ope within the Compassie of a Paire of Veluet Breeches, and place it in the Arrogancy of the Hart: No, no, say Honor is Idolatry, for they make Fooles of themselves, and Idols of their Carcasses; But he that valueth Honor so, shall reade a Lecture out of *Apuleius* Golden Assie, to learne him more Wit. But now, Sir, by your Leauie, a Blow with your next Argument, which is, that Marchants hazard their Goods and Liues to be acquainted with your Maisterhip. Indeede you are awrie, for wise Men frequent Marts for Profit, not for Pride, unlesse it be some, that by Wearing of Veluet Breeches, and Apparell too high for their Calling, have prooued Bankeroutes in their Youth, and haue been glade in their Age to desire my Acquaintance, and to truste vp their Tails in Homespun Russet. Whereas thou dost object the Valour of hardy Souldiors to grow for the Desire of braue Apparell: Tis false, and I knowe, if any were present, they would proue vpon thy Bones, that thou wert a Lier; for their Countreys Good, their Princes Seruice, the Defence of their Friends, the Hope of Favour is the finall Ende of their Resolutions; esteeming not only them, but the Worlds Glory, fickle, transitory, and inconstant. Shall I fetch from thine own Country Weapons to wound thyselfe withall? What saist thou to *Cincinnatus*? Was he not caled to be Dictator from the Plough, and, after many Victories, what, did he iett up and downe the Court in

costly Garments and Veluet Breeches? No, he dispised Dignitie, contemned vain Glorie and Pride, and returned againe to his quiet contented Life in the Country. How much did *Caius Fabricius* value their *Numa Pompilius*, *Scevola*, *Scipio*, *Epaminondas*, *Aristides*; they held themselves Wormes Meate, and counted Pride Vanitie; and yet thou art not ashamed to say, thou art the Ende of Soldiors worthy Honor. I tell thee, fawcy Skipiack, it was a good and a blessed Time here in *England*, when *K. Stephen* wore a Payre of Cloth Breeches, of a Noble a Payre, and thought them passing costlye; then did hee count *Westminster* Hal to little to be his Dining Chamber, and his Almes was not bare Bones, instead of broken Meat, but lusty Chines of Beefe sel into the poore Mens Basket. Then Charity flourished in the Court, and yong Courtiers strove to exceede one an other in Vertue, not in Brauery: They rode, not with Fans to ward their Faces from the Wind, but with Burgant to resist the Stroke of a Battleaxe; they could then better exhort a Soldior to Armor, then court a Lady with Amorets; they caused the Trumpette to sounde them Pointes of Warre, not Poets to write them wanton Eligies of Love; they fought after honorable Fame, but hunted not after fading Honor; which Distinction, by the Way, take thus: There be some that seek Honor, and some are fought after by Honor. Such Upstarts as fetch their Pedigree from their Fathers auncient Leather Apron, and creepe into the Court with great Humility, redy at the first *Basciare li piedi di la vostra signoria*, hauing gotten the Countenance of some Nobleman, will strait be a Kindred to *Cadwallader*, and swear his great grand Mother was one of the Burgeesses of the Parliamente House; will, at last, steale by Degrees into some Credite by their double Diligence, and then winde some worshipfull Place, as far as a hungry Sow can smell a Sir Reuerence, and then, with all their Friends, seeke Day and Night, with Coyne and Countenance, till they haue got it. Others there be, whome Honor it selfe seekes, and such be they whome Vertue doth frame fit for that Purpose, that rising by high Desarts, as Learning, or Valour, merite more then eyther they looke for, or their Prince hath anye Ease conueniently to bestow on them. Such Honor seekes, and they, with a blushing Conscience, entertain him; be they neuer so high in Favour, yet they beg no Office, as the shamelesse Upstart

start doth, that hath a hungry Eie to spy out, an impudent Face to sue, and a flattering Toong to intreat, for some void Place of Worship, which little belonged to them, if the Prince intended to bestow Offices for Vertue, not Favour. Other, M. Veluet-breeches, there be of your Crue, that pinch their Bellies to polish their Backs; that keepe their Mawes emptie, to fill their Pursses; that have no Shewe of Gentillity but a Veluet Slop, who, by Poling or Selling of Land that their Father left, will bestow all to buye an Office about the Court, that they may be worshipfull, extorting from the Poore, to raise vp their Money, that the base deceiuing Companions haue laid out to haue an Office of some Countenance and Credit, wherein they may haue of me better then themselves, bee tearmed by the Name of Worship. The last, whome Vertue pleadeth for, and neyther Silver, Gold, Friends, nor Favour aduaunceeth, bee Men of great Worth, such as are thought of Worship, and unwillinglie interteine hir, rather vouchsafing profered Honour for their Countreys Cause, then for any proud Opinion of hoped for Preferment.

Blessed are such Landes whose Officers are so placed, and where the Prince promoteth not for Coine nor Countenance, but for his worthy deserving Vertues. But, leauing this By-talke, me thought I heard you say, Signior Veluet-breeches, that you were the Father of Mechanicall Arts, and Handicraftes were found out to foster your Brauery. In Faith, Goodman Goosecap, you that are come from the Start-vps, and therefore is called an Vpstart, *quasi*, start up from clouted Shoone; your Lipps hoong in your Light when you brought forth this Lodgike: For, I hope, there is none so simple, but knowes that Handicrafts and Occupations grew for Necessity, not Pride: That Mens Inuentions waxed sharpe to profit the Common-wealth, not to pranke up themselves in Brauery. I pray you, when *Tubalcane* inuented Tempring of Metals, had he Veluet-breeches to weare? In Sadnes, where was your Worship when his Brother found out the Accords and Discords of Musick hidden in Hell, and not yet thought on by the Diuell, to cast forth a Baite to bring many proud Fooles to Ruine?

Indeede I cannot deny, but your Worship hath brought in Deceit as a Journeyman into all Companies, and made that a subtile Crafte,

which while I was holden in Esteem was but a simple Mystery: Now euery Trade hath his Sleights, to slubber vp his Worke to the Eie, and to make it good to the Sale, howsoeuer it proues in the Wearing. The Shoemaker cares not if his Shoes hold the Drawing on: The Tailor sowes with hot Needle and burnt Thred. Tuff Pride has banisht Conscience, and Veluet-breeches Honestic; and euery seruile Drudge must ruffle in his Silkes, or else he is not suteable.

The World was not so a *Principio*; for, when Veluet was worne but in Kings Caps, then Conscience was not a Brome Man in *Kent-Street*, but a Courtier; then the Farmer was content his Sonne should hold the Plough, and liue as he had done before: Beggars then feared to aspire, and the higher Sort scorned to enuie. Now euery Lowt must haue his Sonne a Courtroll, and those dunghil Drudges waxe so proud, that they will presume to wear on their Feet what Kings haue worne on their Heads. A Clownes Sonne must be clapt in a Veluet Pantophle, and a Veluet Breech, though the presumptuous Ass be drowned in the Mercers Booke, and make a Convey of all his Lands to the Usurer for Commodities; yea, the Fop must go like a Gallant for a While, although at last in his Age he beg. But, indeed, such yong Yooths, when the Broker hath blest them with Saint *Needams* Crosse, fall then to priuy Lifts and Coosenages, and, when their Credit is utterly crakt, they practise some bad Shift, and so come to a shamefull End.

Lastly, Whereas thou saist thou art a seuerer Senfour to punish Sins, as austere as *Cato* to correct Vice, of Truth I hold thee so in penal Statutes when thou hast begged the Forfeit of the Prince; but such Correction is open Extortion and Oppression of the Poor, nor can I compare it better, M. Veluet-breech, then to the Wolfe chastising the Lamb for Disturbing the Fountaine, or the Devill casting forth Deuilles through the Power of *Belzebub*. And thus much, curteous Sir, I haue said, to display the Follies of mine Adversary, and to shewe the Right of mine own Interest. Why then, quoth I, if you haue both saide, it resteth but that we hadde some to empanel upon a Jury, and then no Doubt but the Verdict would soone be giuen on one Side. As thus I was talking to them, I might see comming
downe

downe the Hill a braue dapper *Dicke*, cuintly attired in Veluet and Sattin, and a Cloake of Cloth Rash, with a Cambrick Ruffe as smoothly set, and he as neatlie sponged as if he had bene a Bridgroom; only I gess by his Pace a far off he should be a Tailor, his Head was holden uppe so pert, and his Legges shackled hamd, as if his Knees had bene laced to his Thighes with Points. Coming more neere indeed, I spied a Tailors Morice Pike on his Breast, a *Spanish* Needle; and then I fitted my Salutations, not to his Sutes but to his Trade, and incountred him by a thread bare Courtesy, as if I had not knowne him, and asked him of what Occupation he was? A Tailor, quoth he. Marry then, my Friend, quoth I, you are the more welcome, for heere is a great Quarrell growne betwixt Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches for their Prerogative in *England*; the Matter is growne to an Issue, there must a Iury be empanelled, and I would desire and intreat you to be one of the Quest.

Not so, quoth Cloth-breeches, I chalenge him. And why, quoth I? What Reason haue you, dooth he not make them both? Yes, quoth he, but his Gaines is not alike: Alas, by me he getteth small, onely he is paid for his Workmanship, unlesse by Misfortune his Shieres slyppe awrye, and then his Vailes is but a Shred of home spunne Cloth; wheras in making of Veluet Breeches, where there is required silke Lace, Cloth of Golde, of Siluer, and such costly Stuffe, to welt, guard, whip stitch, edge, face, and draw out, that the Vales of one Veluet Breech is more then twenty Paire of mine. I hope there is no Tailor so precise, but he can play the Cooke and lick his owne Fingers; thogh he look vp to Heauen, yet he can cast large Shreads of such rich Stuffe into Hel under his Shoppe Boord. Beside, he sets downe, like the Clarke of the Check, a large Bill of Reckonings, which, for he keeps long in his Pocket, he so powders for Stinking, that the yong Vpstart, that needes it, feesles it salt in his Stomach a Month after. Beside, Sir, Veluet Breeches hath advanced him; for, whereas, in my Time, he was counted but Goodman Tailor, now he is growne, since Veluet Breeches came in, to be called a Marchant or Gentleman Marchant Taylor, giving Armes and the holy Lambe in his Creaft, where before he had no

other Cognizance but a plaine *Spanish* Needle with a *Welsh* Cricket on the Top; fith then his Gain is so great, and his Honor so advanced by Veluet Breeches, I will not trust his Conscience, nor shall he come upon my Iury.

Indeed you have some Reason, quoth I, but perhaps the Tailor doth this upon meer Deuotion to punish Pride, and, hauing no other Authority nor Meane, thinkes it best to pinch them by the Purse and make them pay wel, as to aske twise so much silke Lace and other Stuffe as would suffice, and yet to over-reach my yong Maister with a Bill of Reckonings that will make him scratch where it itcheth not. Herein I hold the Tailor for a necessarye Member to teach yong Novices the Way to weeping Crosse; that, when they have wasted what their Fathers left them by Pride, they may grow sparing and humble by inferred Poverty: And by this Reason the Tailor plaies Gods Part; he exalteth the Poor, and pulleth down the Proud; for, of a wealthy Esquires Son, he makes a thread bare Beggar; and of a scornfull Tailor, he sets up an upstart scurvy Gentleman. Yet, seeing you haue made a reasonable Challenge to him, the Tailor shall be none of the Quest.

As I bad him stand by, there was coming alongst the Valley towards vs a square set Fellow well fed, and as briskly apparelled, in a blacke Taffata Doublet and a spruce Leather Jerkin with Christall Buttons; a Cloke fast afore with Veluet, and a *Coventry* Cap of the finest Wool; his Face somthing Ruby blush, Cherry-checked, like a Shred of Scarlet or a little darker, like the Lees of olde Claret Wine; a Nose, *Autem* Nose, purpled pretioussie with Pearle and Stone, like a counterfeit Worke, and, betweene the filthy Reumicraft of his Blood-thotten Snowt, there appeared smal Holes, whereat Wormes Heads peeped, as if they meant by their Appearance to preach, and shew the Antiquity and Antientie of his House.

This fiery fast Churle had upon his Fingers as many golde Ringes as would furnish a Goldsmiths Shop, or beseeeme a Pandor of longe Profession to weare. Wondring what Companion this should be, I inquired of what Occupation? Marry, Sir, quoth he, a Broker, why do you aske, haue you any Pawnes at my House? No, quoth I, nor by the Help of
God

God neuer will haue; but the Reason is to haue you vpon a Jurye. At this Word, before I could enter my Discourse vnto him, Veluet-breeches start up, and swore he should be none of the Quest, for he woulde challenge him. And why, quoth I, what knowe you by him? This base Churle is one of the Moaths of the Common-wealth, beside he is the Spoile of yong Gentlemen, a Bloud-sucker of the Poore, as thirsty as a Horseleach, that wil never leave Drinking while he burst; a Knaue that hath Interest in the Leases of forty Bawdy-houses, a Receyver for Lifts, and a dishonorable Supporter for Cutpursses: To conclude, he was gotten by an *Incubus* a He Diuell, and brought forth by an ouerworne Refuse, that had spent hir Yooth under the Ruines of Bowbies Barne.

O monstrous Inuective, quoth I, what Reason haue ye to bee thus bitter against him? Oh the Villaine, quoth he, is the Deuills Factor, sent from Hel to torment yong Gentlemen vpon Earth: He hath fetcht me ouer in his Time, only in Pawnes, in ten Thousand Pound in Gold. Suppose as Gentlemen, through their liberall Minds, may want that I need, Money; let me come to him with a Pawne worth ten Pound, he will not lend upon it about three Pound, and he will haue a Bill of Sale and Twelue-pence in the Pound for euery Month, so that it comes to Sixteen-pence, sith the Bill must monthly be renewed; and, if you breake but your Day set downe in the Bill of Sale, your Pawn is losse, as full bought and sold, you turned out of your Goodes, and he an vnconscionable Gainer. Suppose the best, you keep your Day, yet payng Sixteene-pence a Month for twenty Shillings, you pay as good for the Lone as Fourscore in the Hundred; Is not this monstrous Exacting upon Gentlemen? Beside the Knaue will be diligently attending and waiting at Dicing-houses where we are at Play, and there he is ready to lend the Loaser Money vpon Rings and Chaines, Apparell, or any other good Pawne; but the poore Gentleman paies so deere for the Lauender it is laid vp in, that, if it lie long at a Brokers Houfe, he seems to buy his Apparell twise. Nay, this Worme eaten Wretch hath deeper Pitfalls yet to trap Yooth in, for hee, beeing acquainted with a yong Gentleman of faire Liuing, in Issue of good Parents; or assured Possibility, soothes him in his monstrous Expenses, and saies he

carries the Minde of a Gentleman, promising, if he want, he shall not lacke for a Hundred Pound or two, if the Gentleman need: Then hath my Broker an Ufurer at Hand, as ill as himselfe, and he brings the Mony, but they tie the poore Soule in such *Darbies* Bands, what with receiuing ill Commodities and Forfeitures upon the Band, that they dub him Sir *John had Land*, before they leaue him, and share, like Wolues, the poore Nouices Welth betwixt them as a Pray. He is (Sir) to bee breefe, a bowfie bawdy Miser, good for none but himselfe and his Trugge; a Carle that hath a filthy Carcase without a Conscience, a Body of a Man wherein an infernal Spirit in stead of a Soule dooth inhabit, the Scum of the Seuen deadly Sinnes, an Enimie to all good Mindes, a Devourer of yong Gentlemen, and, to conclude, my mortal Enimye, and therefore admit of my Challenge, and let him be none of the Jury. Truly, quoth Cloth-breeches, and I am willing he should be discarded too, for, were not bad Brokers (I will not condemn all) there would be lesse Filching and fewer Theeues; for they receiue all is brought them, and buye that for a Crowne that is woorth Twenty Shillings; Desire of Gaine bindes their Conscience, and they care not how it be come by, so they buy it cheape. Beside, they extorte upon the Poore that are enforced, through extreame Want, to pawne their Cloathes and Household Stuff, their Pewter and Brasse; and, if the poore Soules, that labour hard, misse but a Day, the base minded Broker takes the Forfeit without Remorse or Pitie. It was not so in *diebus illis*; but thou, proude vpstart Veluet-breeches, hast learnd all *Englishmen* their Villany, and all to mayntaine thy Brauerye; yea, I haue knowne of late, when a poore Woman laid a siluer Thimble, that was sent hir from hir Friends for a Token, to pawne for six Pence, and the Broker made hir pay a Halfe peny a Weeke for it; which comes to two Shillings a Yeere, for six Pence. Since, then, his Conscience is so bad, let him be shuffled out amongst the Knaues, for a discarded Carde. Content, quoth I; and bad the Broker stand backe, when there were euen at my Heeles three in a Cluster, pert Yooths all, and neatly tired. I questioned them what they were; and the one said he was a Barber, the other a Surgion, and the third an Apotecary. How like you of these? quoth I; Shall they be of your Iury? Of the Iury! quoth

Cloth-breeches; neuer a one by my Consent, for I challenge them all. Your Reason, quoth I, and then you shall haue my Verdict. Marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, *First*, to the Barber: He can not be but a partiall Man on Veluet-breeches Side, fith he gets more by one Time Dressing of him, than by ten Times Dressing of me. I come plaine to be polde, and to haue my Beard cut, and pay him two Pence: Veluet-breeches, he sits down in the Chaire, wrapt in fine Cloathes, as though the Barber were about to make him a Footcloth for the Vickar of Saint *Fooles*; then begins hee to take his Sissars in his Hand, and his Comb, and so to snap with them, as if he meant to geue a Warning to all the Lice in his nitty Locks for to prepare themselves, for the Day of their Destruction was at Hande. Then comes he out with his suttian Eloquence, and, making a low Conge, saith, Sir, Will you haue your Worships Hair cut after the *Italian* Manner, short and round, and then frownst with the curling Yrons, to make it looke like to a Halfemoone in a Mist? Or, like a *Spanyard*, long at the Eares, and curled like to the two Endes of an olde cast Perriwig? Or will you be *Frenchified*, with a Loue Locke downe to your Shoulders? Wherein you may weare your Mistris Fauour: The *English* Cut is base, and Gentlemen scorne it; Novelty is dainty; speake the Word, Sir; my Sissars are ready to execute your Worships Wil. His Head being once drest, which requires, in Combing and Rubbing, some two Howres, he comes to the Bason; then, being curiously washt with no woorse then a Camphire Bal, he descends as low as his Beard, and asketh, Whether he please to be shauen, or no? Whether he will haue his Peak cut short and sharpe, amiable like an *Inamorato*, or broad pendant like a Spade, to be terrible like a Warrior and a Soldado? Whether he will haue his Crates cut lowe like a Juniper Bush, or his Suberches taken away with a Rasor? If it be his Pleasure to haue his Appendices primde, or his Mouchaches fostred, to turne about his Eares like the Branches of a Vine; or cut downe to the Lip with the *Italian* Lashe, to make him look like a halfe faced Bauby in Bras? These quaint Tearms, Barber, you greet Maister Veluet-breeches withal, and, at euery Word, a Snap with your Sissars, and a Cring with your Knee; wheras, when you come to poore Cloth-

breeches, you either cutte his Beard at your owne Pleasure, or else, in Disdaine, aske him, if he will be trimd with Christs Cut, round like the Halfe of a *Holland* Cheese? mocking both Chrif and vs. For this your Knauery, my Will is, you shall be none of the Iury. For you, Maister Surgion, the Statutes of *Englande* exempts you from being of any Queft; and beside, alas, I fildome fall into your Hands, as being quiet, and making no Brawls to haue Wounds, as swarrutting Veluet-breeches dooth; neither doe I frequent Whore-houes to catch the Marbles, and so to grow your Patient. I knowe you not, and therefore I appeale to the Statute, you shall haue nothing to doe with my Matter. And, for you, Maister Apoticarie, alas, I looke not once in seauen Yeare into your Shop, without it be to buy a Peniworth of Wormeseed to giue my Child to drinke; or a little Triacle to driue out the Measels; or, perhaps, some Dregs and Powders to make my sicke Horfle a Drench withal; but, for my selfe, if I be ill at Ease, I take Kitchyn Physicke, I make my Wife my Doctor, and my Garden my Apoticaries Shop; whereas quefie Maister Veluet-breeches cannot haue a Fart awrye, but he must haue his Purgations, Pils, and Glifters, or euacuate by Electuaries: He must, if the least Spot of Morpheu come on his Face, haue his Oyle of *Tartar*, his *Lac Virginis*, his Camphir dissolued in Veriuique, to make the Foole as faire, for sooth, as if he were to playe *Maidmarian* in a *May* Game, or Moris-daunce. Tush, he cannot digest his Meat without Conserues, nor end his Meale without Suckats, nor (Shall I speake plainly?) please the Trug his Mistres, without he goe to the Apoticaries for *Eringion*, *Oleum formicarum alatarum*, & *Aqua mirabilis* of ten Pound a Pint. If Maister Veluet-breeches, with drinking these Drugs, hap to haue a stinking Breath, then, forsooth, the Apoticarie must play the Perfumer to make it sweet: Nay, What is it about him, that he blameth not Nature for Framing, and formeth it a new by Art? And, in all this, Who, but Mounfier the Apoticarie? Therefore, good Sir, quoth he, seeing you haue taken vpon you to be Trior for the Challenges, let those three, as partiall Companions, be packing. Why, quoth I, seeing you haue yielded such Reason of Refusall, let them stande by. Presentlie, looking about for more,

comes stalking down an aged graue Sir, in a blacke Veluet Coat, and a blacke Cloth Gowne welted and faced; and after him, as I suppose, foure Seruingmen, the moste illfaoured Knaues, me thought, that euer I saw. One of them had on a Buffe Leather Ierkin, all greasie before with the Droppings of Beere, that fell from his Beard; and, by his Side, a Skeine like a Bruers Bounng Knife; and muffled he was in a Cloke turnd ouer his Nose, as though he had beene ashamed to shew his Face. The Second had a Belly like a Buckingtub, and a thredbare black Coat vnbuttod before vpon the Brest, whereon the Map of Drunkennesse was drawne, with the bawdie and bowfie Excrements that dropt from his filthy leaking Mouth. The Third was a long, leane, olde, slaueing Slangrill, with a *Brassill* Staffe in the one Hand, and a Whipcord in the other; so pourblinde, that he had like to haue stumbled vpon the Company, before he sawe them. The Fourth was a fat Chuffe, with a sower Looke, in a blacke Cloke faced with Taffata, and, by his Side, a great Side Pouch like a Faulkner. For their Faces, all foure seemed to be Brethren; they were so bumbasted with the Flocks of strong Beere, and lined with the Lees of Olde Sacke, that they lookt like foure blowne Bladders painted ouer with redde Oaker, or washt ouer with the Suds of an olde stale Die. All these, as well the Maister, as the following Mates, woulde haue past away, but that I stept before them, and inquired first of the foremost, What he was? Marry, quoth he, a Lawyer. Then, Sir, quoth I, wee haue a Matter in Controuersie, that requireth Counsaile, and you are the more welcome. What is it? quoth he. Marry, said I, Whether Cloth-breeches, or Veluet-breeches, are of more Woorth; and which of them haue the best Title to bee Resident in *Englande*? At this the Lawyer smild; and Veluet-breeches, stepping forth, tooke Acquaintance of him, and, commending his Honestie, said, there could not be a Man of better Indifferency of the Iury: When Cloth-breeches, stepping in, swore, he maruelled he was not, as well as the Surgion, exempted by Act of Parliament, from being of any Quest, sith, as the Surgion was without Pitty, so he was without Conscience; and therevpon inferd his Challenge, sayng, the Lawyer was neuer Frend to Cloth-breeches:

For, when Lowlineffe, Neighbourhood, and Hospitalitie liued in *Englande*, *Westminster Hal* was a Dining Chamber, not a Den of Controuersies; when the King himselfe was content to keepe his *S. Georges Day* in a plaine Paire of Kerfie Hose; when the Duke, Earle, Lord, Knight, Gentleman, and Esquire aimed at Vertue, not Pride, and wore such Breeches as was spun in his House, then the Lawier was a simple Man, and, in the highest Degree, was but a bare Scriuener, except Iudges of the Land, which tooke in Hande serious Matters, as Treasons, Murthers, Felonies, and such capitall Offences; but sildome was there any Pleas put in, before that Vpstart, Veluet-breeches, for his Maintaynance, inuented strange Controuersies; and, since he began to dominier in *Englande*, he hath buid such a proud, busy, couetous, and incroching Humor into euery Mans Head, that Lawiers are growne to be one of the cheefe Lims of the Commonwealth; for they doe, nowe adaies, *de lana caprina rixare*, goe to Lawe, if a Hen doe but scrape in his Orchard; but, howfoeuer Right be, Might carries away the Verdict. If a poore Man sue a Gentleman, why he shootes vp to the Skie, and the Arrow fals on his owne Head; howfoeuer the Cause goe, the Weakest is thrust to the Wall. Lawiers are troubled with the Heat of the Liuer, which makes the Palms of their Hands so hot, that they cannot be coold, vnlesse they be rubd with the Oile of Angels; but the poore Man, that giues but his bare Fee, or, perhaps, pleads *in forma pauperis*, he hunteth for Hares with a Taber, and gropeth in the Darke to find a Needle in a Botle of Hay. Tush, these Lawiers haue such delatory and forren Pleas, such Dormers, such Quibs and Quiddits, that, begging their Clients, they purchase to themselves whole Lordships. It booteth not Men to discourse their little Conscience and great Extortion, only suffice they be not so rich, as they be bad, and yet they be but to welthy. I inueigh not against Law, nor honest Lawiers, for ther be some wel qualified, but against extorting Ambodexters, that wringe the Poore; and, because I know not whether this be such a one, or no, I challenge him not to be of my Iury. Why then, quoth I, his Worship may depart. And then I questioned, What he in the Buff Ierkin was? Marry, quoth he, I am a Serieant.

He had no sooner said so, but Veluet-breeches leapt backe, and, drawing his Rapyer, swore he did not only challenge him for his Iurye, but protested, if he stird one Foote toward him, he would make him eate a Peece of his Poinard. And what is the Reason, quoth I, that there is such mortal Hatred betwixt you and the Serieant? Oh, Sir, quoth Veluet-breeches, search him, and, I warrant you, the Knaue hath Precept vpon Precept to arrestt me; hath worn his Mace smooth, with onely clapping it vpon my Shoulder, he hath had me under *Ceram* so often: Oh! the Reprobate is the Vfurers Executioner, to bring such Gentlemen to *Limbo* as he hath ouerthrowne with his bafe Brocade and bad Commodities; and, as you see him a fat Knaue with a foggie Face, wherein a Cup of old Sacke hath sett a Seale, to marke the bowlie Drunkard to die of the Dropisie, so his Conscience is consumed, and his Hart robd of all Remorse and Pitye, that for Money he will betray his owne Father; for, will a Cormorant but see him to arrestt a yong Gentleman, the Rakehell will be so eager to catch him, as a Dogge to take a Beare by the Eares in *Parish Garden*, and, when he hath laid Hold vpon him, he useth him as courteously, as a Butchers Cur would doe an Oxe Cheeke when he is hungry; if he see the Gentleman hath Money in his Purse, then straight with a Cap and Knee he carries him to the Tauerne, and bids him fend for some of his Friends to bale him; but first he couenants to haue some Brafe of Angels for his Paines, and, besides, he cals in for Wine as greedily, as if the Knaues Mother had bene brocht against a Hoghead when he was begotten; but, suppose the Gentleman wants Pence, he will eyther haue a Pawne, or else drige him to the Counter, without Respecte of Manhood or Honestye: I should spend the whole Day with Displayeng his Villanies, therefore breely let this suffice: He was neuer made by the Consent of God, but his sloenly Carkase was framd by the Diuell, of the rotten Carian of a Woolfe, and his Soule of an Vfurers damned Ghost, turnd out of Hell into his Body, to do monstrous Wickednesse again vpon the Earth, so that he shal be none of my Iurie, neither shal he come nearer me then the Length of my Rapyer will suffer him. Indeeде, quoth Cloth-breeches, generally Serieants be bad, but there be amongst them

some honest Men, that will doe their Duties with lawful Fauour; for, to say Truth, if Serieants were not, how should Men come by their Debts? Marry, they are so cruel in their Office, that, if they arrestt a poore Man, they will not suffer him, if he hath not Money, to stay a Quarter of an Hour to talke with his Creditor, although, perhaps, at the Meeting, they might take Composition, but-only to the Counter with him, unlesse he will lay his Pewter, Brasse, Couerlets, Sheets, or such Householdstuffe, to them for Pawne of Paiment of some Coine for their Staieng; therefore let him depart out of the Place, for his Roome is better then his Companye. Well then, quoth I, What say you to these three (and with that I questioned their Names) the one said he was a Sumner, the other a Gaoler, and the third an Infourmer. *Iesus* blesse me, quoth Cloth-breeches, what a Ging was heere gathered together; no Doubt Hell is broke loose, and the Diuell means to keepe Holiday: I make Challenge againstt them all, as againstt worse Men then those that gaue Euidence againstt Christ. For the Sumner, it boots me to say little more againstt him, then *Chaucer* did in his *Canturbury Tales*, who said, He was a Knaue, a Briber, and a Bawd: But leauing that Authoritie, although it be authentically, yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these drunken drosie Sonns go a Tooting Abroad, as they themselves tearm it, which is to heere if any Man hath got his Maid with Child, or plaies the Goodfellow with his Neighbors Wife; if he finde a Hole in any Mans Coate that is of Welth, then he hath his peremptorie Scitation ready to scite him vnto the Archdeacons, or Officials Court, there to apeere, and abide the Shame and Penaltie of the Lawe: The Man, perhaps, in good Credit with his Neighbors, loath to bring his Name in Question, greseth the Sumner in the Fist, and then he wipes him out of the Booke, and suffers him to get twentie with Child, so he keepe him warme in the Hand; he hath a Saieng to wanton Wiues, and they are his good Dames, and, as long as they feed him with Cheefe, Bacon, Capons, and such od Reuerfions, they are honest; and, be they neuer so bad, he swears to the Official Complaints are made vpon Enuie, and the Women of good Behaviour; tushe, what Bawdry is it he will not suffer, so he may haue Money and good Chere, and, if he like

the Wench, well, a Snatch himselfe, for they knowe all the Whores in a Country, and are as lecherous Companions as may be: To be breefe, the Sumner liues upon Sins of People, and, out of Harlotry, gets he all his Commoditie. As for the Gaoler, although I haue bene little troubled in Prison to haue Experience of his Knauery, yet haue I hard the poore Prisoners complaine how cruel they be to them, extorting, with extraordinary Fees, selling a dubble Curtall, as they cal it, with a dubble Iuge of Beere for 2 Pence, which contains not aboue a Pint and a Halfe; let a poore Man be arrested into one of the Counters, though he but set his Foot in them but Halfe an Hour, he shal be almost at an Angels Charge, what with Garnish, Crossing and Wiping out of the Booke, Turning the Key, Paieng the Chamberline, Feeing for his Iurie, and twenty such Extortions inuented by themselves, and not allowed by any Statute: God bles me, Gaoler, from your Henhoufes, as I wil keepe you from Comming in my Quest. And to you, M. Infourmer, you that looke like a ciuill Citizen, or some handsome Petty-fogger of the Law: Although your crimson Nose bewrayes you can supe of a coole Cup of Sacke without anye Chewing, yet you haue as much slye Knauery in your side Pouch there, as would breede the Confusion of fortye honest Men. It may be, Sir, you maruell whye I exclaime against the Infourmer, sith he is a most necessarie Member in the Commonwealt, and is highly to the Princes Aduantage for the Benifite of pennall Statutes and other Abuses, whereof he giueth special Intelligence? To wipe out this Doubt, I speake not against the Office but the Officer, against such as abuse Lawe when they should vse it; and such a one I gesse this Fellowe to be, by the Carnation Tincture of his ruby Nose: Therefore let vs search his Bagge, and see what Trashi you shal finde in it: With that, although the Infourmer were very loathe, yet wee pluckt out the Stuffing of his Pouch, and in it was found a Hundred and od Writes, whereat I woudered; and Cloth breeches, smiling, bad me read the Labels, and the Parties Names, and then examine the Infourmer how many of them he knewe, and wherein they had offended. I followed his Counsaile, and of all he knewe but three, neither could he tel what they doone amisse to be arrested, and brought in Question.

Cloth breeches, seeing me stand in Amase, began thus to resolue me in my Doubt: Perhaps, quoth he, you maruell why the Infourmer hath all these Writtes, and knowes neither the Parties, nor can obiecte any Offence to them? To this I answere, That, it being a long Vacation, he learned in the Rowle all those Mens Names, and that they were Men of indifferent Wealthe: Now means he to goe Abroad, and search them out and arrest them, and though they know not wherein, or for what Cause they should be troubled, yet, rather then they will come vpp to *London*, and spend their Money, they will bestow some odde Angell upon Maister Infourmer, and so sit at Home in Quiet. But, suppose some be so stuborne as to stand to the Triall, yet can this cunning Knaue declare a *Tamquam* against them, so that, though they be cleered, yet can they haue no Recompence at all, for that he doth it in the Courtes Behalfe. I wil not vnfold all his Villanies, but he is an Abuser of good Lawes, and a very Knaue, and so let him be with hes Fellowes. I both woondred and laught to heare Cloth-breeches make this Discourse, when I saw two in the Vallye together by the Eares, the one in Leather, the other as blacke as the Deuill: I stept to them to part the Fraie, and questioned what they were, and wherefore they brawled: Marry, quoth he, that lookt like *Lucifer*, though I am blacke, I am not the Deuill, but, indeed, a Collyer of *Croyden*, and one, Sir, that haue solde many a Man a false Sacke of Coales, that booth wanted Measure, and was Halfe full of Dust and Droffe. Indeed I haue been Lieger in my Time in *London*, and haue played many madde Prances, for which Cause, you may apparantly see I am made a Curtall, for the Pillory (in the Sight of a great many good and sufficient Witnesse) hath eaten off booth my Eares, and now, Sir, this Ropemaker hunteth me heere with his Halters: I gesse him to be some euill Spirite, that, in the Likeneffe of a Manne, would, since I haue past the Pillory, perfwade me to hange my selfe for my olde Offenses, and therefore, sith I cannot blesse me from him with *Namine Patris*, I lay *Spiritus Sanctus* about his Shoulders with a good Crabe Tree Cudgell, that he may get out of my Company. The Ropemaker replied, That, honestly journeying by the Way, he acquainted himselfe with the Collyer,

Collyer, and for no other Cause pretended. Honest with the Deuill, quoth the Collyer, how can he be honest, whose Mother, I gesse, was a Witch? For I haue harde them say, that Witches say their Prayers backward, and so dooth the Ropemaker yeanne his Liuing by going backward, and the Knaues cheefe Liuing is by Making fatall Instrumentes, as Halters and Ropes, which diuers desperate Men hang themselves with. Well, quoth I, what say you to these, shall they be on the Iurie? Velvet-breeches said Nothing, but Cloth breeches said, in the Ropemaker he found no great Falshehood in him, therefore he was willing he should be one; but, for the Collyer, he thought it necessary, that, as he came, so he should depart; so then I bad the Ropemaker stand by till more came, which was not longe, for there came three in a Cluster. As soone as they drewe nye, I spied one, a fatt Churle, with a sild Russet Coate to his Knee, and his Handes all to tanned with shifiting his Ouse, yet would I not take Notice what they were, but questioned with them of their feuerall Occupations. Marry, quoth the First, I am a Tanner; the Second, a Shoemaker; and the Thirde, a Currier: Then, turninge to the Plaintife and Defendant, I asked them, if they would allowe of those Parties? No, by my Faith, quoth Cloth-breeches, I make Challenge vnto them all, and I wil yeeld Reasons of Import against them: And First, to you, Maister Tanner, Are you a Man woorthy to be of a Jury, when your Conscience cares not to wronge the whole Commonwealth; you respect not publike Commodity, but priuate Gaynes; not to benefite your Neighbor, but for to make the proude Princiore, your Son, an upstart Gentleman; and bicause you would marry your Daughter, at the least to an Esquire, that thee may, if it be possible, be a Gentlewoman, and how comes this to passe? By your Tanne-fats, forsooth; for whereas, by the aunciente Lawes and Statutes of *England*, you should let a Hide lye in the Ouse, at the least, nine Months, you can make good Leather of it before three Months; you haue your Doones Doong, your Marle, your Ashen Barke, and a thousande Things more, to bringe on your Leather apace; that it is so badly tanned, that, when it comes to the Wearinge, then it flectes away like a Piece of browne Paper; and whereas your Backes, of all other, should be the best tanned, you

bring them so full of Horne to the Market, that, did you not greafe the Sealers of *Leadenball* thrughly in the Fisse, they should neuer be sealed, but turned away, and made Forfeit by the Statute. I cannot, at large, lay open your subtil Practises, to beguile the poore Commualty with bad Leather. But let this suffice, you leaue no Villanie vnfoight, to bring the Blockhead, your Sonne, to go afore the Clowne his Father, trimly trickt up in a Paire of Velvet-breeches.

Now, Maister Currier, to your Coofenage; you cannot be content only to burne the Leather you dresse for Fault of Liquor, because you would make the Shoemaker pay wel, and you put in little Stuffe; and beside, when as, in Backes, you should onely put in Tallow hard and good, you put in sotte Kitchen Stuffe mixt, and so make the good and wel tanned Leather, by your Villanie, to flect and waste away; but also you grow to be an extorting Knaue, and a Forrestaller of the Market, for you will buy Leather, Sides, Backes, and Calve Skines, and sell them to the poore Shoemakers at an vnreasonable Rate, by your falsse Retaylinge, getting infinite Goods by that excessive Price, both vndoing the poore Shoemaker, and causing vs, that we pay extremly for Shooes. For, if the Currier bought not Leather by the Whole of the Tanner, the Shoemaker might haue it at a more reasonable Price; but the Shoemaker, being poore, is not, perhaps, able to deale with a Dicker of Hides, nor, perhaps, with a Cuple of Backes, and the Tanner will not trust him; then the extorting and coofening Currier comes vp with this, I will lend you for a Day, and so pincheth him, that he is scarce able to finde his Children Bread. But wel hath the Prince and the honorable Lords of the Priuie Counsaile provided by Act of Parliament, That no Currier shall buy Leather, either Backes or Hides, of the Tanner, so to bridle the extorting and forestalling Coofenage; but craftilyer and subteller hath the Knaue Currier crosbitten the Statute, in that he deales thus with the Tanner, he makes him hold his Leather vnreasonably to the Shoemaker; and so, when he cannot sel it, he laies it vp in the Carriers Houfe, vnder a Colour, whereas, indeed, he hath sold it him. Suppose this Shifte be spied and prevented, then compoundeth he with some Knaue Shoemaker, some base Rakehell, without a Conscience, that neither respecteth
God,

God, the Commonwealth, nor his Company, and, forsooth, he is Halfe with the Currier, who letteth him haue some hundred Marke, to laye out for Leather, euery Month; whereas he spends not in his Shop a hundred Markes Worth in a Yeare; so the Shoemaker buies it to abuse the Statute, for the Currier; and the Currier, by that Means, vndooeth the other Shoemakers: Thus two crafty Knaues are met, and they neede no Broker.

Now to you gentle Craft, you masse Shoemakers: You can put in the inner Sole, of a thin Calves Skin, when as the Shoo is a Neates Leather Shoo, which you know is cleane contrarie both to Conscience and the Statute. Beside, you wil joyne a Neates Leather Vampye to a Calves Leather Heele: Is not heere good Stuff, Maister Shoemaker? Well, for your Knaury, you shall haue those Curffles which belongs unto your Craft: You shall be light footed to travel farre, light witted upon euery small Occasion to give your Masters the Bagge, you shall bee most of you Unthriftes, and almost all perfect Goodfellows. Beside, I remember a mery left, how *Mercurye* brought you to a dangerous Disease, for he requested a Boon for you, which fell out to your great Disaduantage; and, to recreate us heere a little, gentle Craft, what fell to your Trade by that winged God? As it happened on a Time that, *Iupiter* and *Mercurye* travelling together vpon Earth, *Mercurye* was woonderfully hungry, and had no Money in his Purse to buy him anye Food, and at last, to his great Comforte, he spied where a Companye of Tailors were at Dinner with buttred Pease, eating their Pease with their Needles Points one by one: *Mercurye* came to them, and asked them his Almes; they proudly bad him sit down and doo as hee saw they did, and with that deliuered him a Needle. The poore God, being passing hungry, could not content his Mawe with eating one by one, but turned the Eie of his Needle and ate two or three together; which the Tailors seeing, they startt uppe and said, What, Fellow, a Shouell and a Spade, to buttred Pease, hast thou no more Manners? Get out of our Companie; and so they sent him packing with many Strokes. *Mercurye* coming backe, *Iupiter* demanded of him what Newes; and he told him how churlishly he was vsed amongst the Tailors: Well, wandering on further, *Mercurye* espied where a Company of Shoemakers were at Din-

ner, with powdered Beefe and Brewesse; going to them, before he could aske them any Almes, they said, Welcome good Fellow, what is thy Stomach uppe, wilt thou doe as we do, and that of Beefe? *Mercurye* thanked them, and fat downe and eat his Belly full, and dranke well of double Beer, and when hee had doone went Home to his Maister. Assoone as hee came, *Iupiter* asked him what Newes; and he said, I haue lighted amongst a Crew of Shoemakers, the beste Fellowes that euer I met withall, they haue frankly fed mee without Grudging, and therefore grant mee a Boone for them. Aske what thou wilt, *Mercurye*, quoth he, and it shall be done: Why then, quoth he, grant that, for this good Turne they haue done mee, they may euer spende a Groat afore they can yearne Twopence. It shall be granted, quoth he. *Mercurye*, assoone as *Iupiter* had said the Worde, he bethought himselfe, and said, Nay, but that they maye yearne a Groat afore they spend Twopence, for my Tongue slipt at the first: Well, *Mercurye*, quoth he, it cannot be recald, the first With must stand; and heereof, by *Mercuryes* Boone it grew, that all of the Gentle Craft are such Good-fellowes and Spendthriftes. But howsoeuer, none of those three, neither Shoemaker, Tanner, nor Currier, shall bee accepted to bee of the Jury.

As they went away with Fleas in their Eares, beeing thus taunted by Cloth-breeches, we might see where there came a Troupe of antient Gentlemen, with their Seruing-men attending upon them. The foremost was a great olde Man, with a whit Beard, all in Ruffet, and a fair black Cloake on his Backe, and attending on him he had some fve Men; their Cognifance, as I remember, was a Peacocke without a Tayle; the other two, that accompanied him, seemed meaner then himselfe, but yet Gentlemen of good Worship: Whereupon I went towards them and saluted them, and was so bould as to question what they were, and of their Businesse.

The most antientest answered, he was a Knight, and those two his Neighbors, the one an Esquire, the other a Gentleman, and that they haue no vrgent Affaiers, but only to walke Abroad to take the fresh Aire. Then did I shew them both Cloth breeches, and Veluet breeches, and told them the Controversie, and desired their Aid to be upon the Jury. They smiling answered, They were content,

and so did Cloth-breeches seeme to reioyce, that such honest, antient, *Englishe* Gentlemen shoulde be Tryers of his Tytle. But Veluet-breeches, storming, stept in and made Challenge to them all. I demanded Reason why he should refuse Gentlemen of so good Calling? And he made this Answer: Why, you may gesse the inward Minde by the outward Apparell, and see how he is addicted by the homely Robes he is suted in. Why, this Knight is mortal Enemy to Pride and so to me; he regardeth Hospitality, and aimeth at Honor, with releiving the Poore; you may see, although his Lands and Reuenues be great, and be able to maintaine himselfe in great Brauery, yet he is content with homespun Cloth, and scorneth the Pride that is vsed nowadaies amongst yong Vpstarts; he houldeth not the Worth of his Gentry to be, and consist in Veluet Breeches, but valeweth true Fame by the Report of the common Sorte, who praise him for his Vertue, Iustice, Liberality, House-keeping and Almesdeeds. *Vox populi vox Dei*; his Tennants and Farmers woulde, if it might be possible, make him immortal with their Praiers and Praises: He raiseth not Rent, racketh no Landes, taketh no Incumbts, imposeth no mercilesse Fines, enuies not an other, buyeth no House ouer his Neighbors Head; but respecteth his Country and the Commodity thereof, as deere as his Life: He regardeth more to haue the Needy fedd, to haue his Boorde garnished with full Platters, then to famous himselfe with excessive Furniture in Apparell. Since then he scorneth Pride, he must of force proclaime himselfe mine Enemy, and therefore he shall be none of my Iury; and such as himselfe I gesse the Squire and the Gentleman, and therefore I challenge them all. Why, quoth I, this is strange, that a Man shoulde be drawne from a Quest for his Godlines: If Men for Vertue be challenged, Whom shall we haue vpon the Iury? Your Obiection helps not, Maister Veluet-breeches: For, if he be a Man of sogodly a Disposition, he will neither speake for Feare or Fauer; he will regard neither the Riches of the one, nor the plaine Pouerty of the other; wherevpon, sith you haue made me Tryer, I allowe them all three to be of the Iury, and so I requested them to sit downe till our Iury was full, which they courteously did, although Veluet-breeches fround at it; when I, looking

for more, saw where there came a Troupe of Men in Apparell, seeming poore honest Citizens, in all they were Eight. I demanded of them what they were, and whither they were going? One of them that seemed the Well-thiest, who was in a furred Iacket, made Answer, That they were all Friends going to the Burial of a Neighbor of theirs, that yester Night died, and, if it would doo mee any Pleasure to heare their Names, they were not so daintie but that they would tell them; and so then he began to tell mee, that by his Art he was a Skinner, the Second sayd he was a Ioyner, the Third was a Sadler, the Fourth a Waterman, the Fifte was a Cutler, the Sixt was a Bellows-mender, the Seuenth a Plaisterer, and the Eight a Printer. In good Time, quoth I, it is commendable when Neighbors loue so well together; but, if your Speed bee not ouermuch, I must request you to bee of a Iury; so I discoursed unto them the Controuerisie between Cloth-breeches and Veluet-Breeches, and to what Issue it must grow by a Verdict; they seemed all content; and I turned to the Plantiffe and Defendant, and asked if they would make Challenge to any of these? I scorn, quoth Veluet-breeches, to make any great Obiection against them, sith they be mecanicall Men; and I almost hold them indifferent, for this I know, they get as much and more by me than by him; the Skinner I use for Furses, whereas this base Cloth-breeches hath scarce a Gowne faced once in his Life; the Saddler for costly imbroidered Saddels, the Ioyner for Seeling my House, the Cutler for gylt Rappers; the Waterman I vse continually, ten times for his once, and so likewise the Plaisterer; for the Bellows-mender, alas, poor Snake, I know him not; for the Printer, by our Lady, I thinke I am some tenne Pounds in his Debt for Bookes; so, that for my Part, let them all passe. And for me, quoth Cloth-breeches; but yet, a little to put them in Remembrance of their Follies, let me haue a Bout with them all; and first with you Maister Skinner, to whom I can say little but only this, that, whereas you shoulde only put the Backes of Skinnes into Facing, you taw the Wombs and so deceiue the Buier; beside, if you haue some fantastike Skin brought you not woorth Two-pence, with some straunge Spots, though it be of a Libbet, you will sweare 'tis a most pretious Skin,

Skin, and came from *Musco*, or the furthest Part of *Calabria*. The Saddler he stuffes his Pannels with Straw or Hay, and ouerglasefeth them with Haire, and makes the Leather of them of Morts, or tand Sheeps Skins. The Ioyner, though an honest Man, yet he maketh his Ioynts weake, and putteth in Sappe in the Mortefes, which should be the Hart of the Tree, and all to make his Stuffe slender. And you Cutler, you are Patron of Ruffions and Swafh-bucklers, and will sell them a Blade that may be thrust into a Busshell; but, if a poore Man that cannot skil of it, you sel him a Swoord or Rapyer new ouerglased, and sweare the Blade came either from *Turkie* or *Toledo*. Now, Maister Waterman, you will say there is no Subtilty in you, for there is none so simple but that knows your Fares, and what is due betweene *Greenwicke* and *London*, and how you earn your Money painfully with the Sweat of your Browes; all this is true; but let me whisper one thing in your Eare, you will playe the Goodfellowe too much, if you be wel greased in the Fist; for if a yong Gentleman and a pretty Wench come to you and say, Waterman, my Frend and I meane to go by Water, and to be merry a Night or two, I care not which Way nor whether wee go, and therefore, where thou thinkest wee may have best Lodging, thither carry vs: Then off goes your Cap, and away they go to *Brainford*, or some other Place; and then you say, Hostels, I pray you vse this Gentleman and his Wyfe wel, they are come out of *London* to take the Aire, and meane to be merry here a Night or two, and to spend their Mony frankly; when, God wot, they are neither Man nor Wife, nor, perhaps, of any Acquaintance before their Matche made in some bawdy Tauern; but you know no such Matter, and therefore, Waterman, I pardon you. And for you, Plaisterer and Bellowsmender, I passe you ouer; and, so do I the Printer too, only this I must needes say to him, that some of his Trade will print lewd Books, and bawdy Pamphlets; but,

Auri sacra fames, quid non? —

And therefore I am content they shal be all of the Iurie. I was glad there were so many accepted of at once, and hoped that now quickly the Iurie would be full; looking about

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me, straight I might see one alone come running as fast as he could. I woondred what he should be that he made such Hast, and the Skinner told me was an honest Man, and one of their Company, by his Occupation a Brick-laier. Oh quoth Veluet-breeches, a good honest simple Man, he hath bin long in my Worke, in building me a sumptuous House. But, I challenge him, quoth Veluet-breeches, for he is a Iugler. How, quoth I, can it be? See he goeth very homely in Leather, and hath his Ruler in his Hand, and his Trowel at his Side, and he seemeth not as one that were giuen to such Qualities. Yes, quoth Cloth-breeches, he hath this Policy, when he maketh a stately Place all glorious to the Eye, and ful of faire Chambers and goodlye Roomes, and about the House, perhaps, some three-score Chimnies, yet he canne soe cunningly cast by hys Art that three of them shall not smoke in the Twelue month, and so spoiles he much good Morter and Bricke. — Why, quoth I, the Fault is not in the Workeman but the House-keeper, for now adayes Men builde for to please the Eye, not to profit the Poore; they vse no Rost, but for themselves and their Household, nor no Fire but a little Court Chimnie in their owne Chamber: Howe can the poore Bricklaier then be blamed, when the Niggardnesse of the Lord or Maister is the Cause no more Chimnies doe smoke. For, would they vse ancient Hospitality as their Forefathers did, and value as lightly of Pride as their Great Grandfathers, then should you see euery Chimny in the House smoke, and prooue that the poore Artificer had doone his Part. Why then, quoth Cloth-breeches, as you please, admit him on the Quest. But what be those, quoth Cloth-breeches, that come heere so soberly? I hope they be honest Men, for they looke very demure; I will inquire, said I; and with that, stepping to them, I demaunded their Names, and very courtiously the one sayd he was a Brewer, the other a Butcher, the third a Baker, and the fourth a Vitler. Hearing what they wer, I was glad, ghesing, sith they were so honest substantial Men, that they would help to make vp the Iurie, when Veluet-breeches, with a grime and sower Countenance, gaue them this Challenge. I hold it not necessary, quoth he, that these haue any thing to deale in my Cause, sith

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I am at oddes with them all at least in fortie Pounds a peece ; for this seuen Yeares I haue been indebted vnto them for Bread, Beefe, Beere, and other Victuals ; then, sith they haue credited me long, and I haue had so little Care to pay them, I doubt now they will reuenge themselves, and passe against me in the Verdict. Nay, quoth I, the rather will they hold on your Part, for, if they be honest wise Men, as they seeme to be, they will be careful of your Preferment, seeing, the more highlye you are aduans'd, the more like are they to come by their owne. If therefore you can obiect no other Poyntes of Dishonesty against them, I see no Reason why they shoulde be put by. If you do not, quoth Cloth-breeches, then here mee, and I will prooue them vnfit to haue anye Dealings heere, and first for the Butcher. I praye you, Goodman Kilcalse, what Hauocke playe you with Puffing vp of Meate, and Blowing with your Pricker, as you flea it ? Haue you not your artificiall Knauries to set out your Meate with Prickes, and then sweare he hath more for Mony than euer you bought ; to sel a Peece of an olde Cow for a Chop of a yong Oxe, to wash your old Meate, that hath hung weltring in the Shop, with new Bloud ; to trusse away an old Eaw instead of a yong Weather, and, altho' you know it is hurtful and forbidden by the Statute to flec your Hides, Skins, Backes, with Cuts and Slashes, to the Impouerishing of the poore Shooemaker when he buies it, yet, I pray you, how many Slaughters do you make in a poore Calues Skin ? Oh Butcher, a long *Lent* be your Punishment, for you make no Conscience in deceiuing the Poore. And you, Maist. Brewer, that growe to be woorth forty-thousand Pounds by selling of soden Water, what Subtilty haue you in making your Beere to spare the Malt, and put in the more of the Hoppe to make your Drinke, be Barly neuer so cheape, not a whit the stronger, and yet neuer sel a whit the more Measure for Money ? You can, when you haue taken all the Harte of the Malt away, then clape on Store of Water, tis cheape enough, and mashe out a Tunning of smalle Beare, that it scoures a Mans Maw like *Rennish* Wine : In your Conscience, how many Barrels draw you out of a Quarter of Malt ? Fie, fie, I conceale your Falthood, least I should be too broad in setting downe your Faults. And for you, Goodman Baker, you

that loue to be seene in the open Market place upon the Pyllory, the World cries out of your Wiliness ; you craue but one deere Yeare to make your Daughter a Gentlewoman ; you buy your Corne at the best Hand, and yet will not be content to make your Bread Weight by many Ounces ; you put in Yeast and Salt to make it heauie, and yet all your Policie cannot make it, but you fine for the Pyllory ; the Poore crie out, the Rich find Fault, and the Lord Maior and the Sherifs, like honorable and worshipfull Maiestrates, euerie Daie walke abroad and weigh your Bread, and yet all will not serue to make you honest Men ; but, were Extremitie vsed, and the Statute put in the highest Degree in Practise, you would haue as few Eares on your Heades as the Collyer. Last to you, *Tom Tappler*, that tape your small Cannes of Beere to the Poore, and yet fill them half full of Froth ; that carde your Beere, if you see your Guests begin to be drunke, halfe smal and halfe strong ; you cannot be content to pinch with your small Pottes and your Ostrie Faggots, but haue your Trugges to draw Men on to Villanie, and to bring Customers to your House, where you sell a Joint of Meat for xii. Pence that cost you scarce six ; and, if any chance to go on the Skore, you skore him when he is a sleepe, and set vp a Grot a Daie more then he hath, to find you Drinking Pots with your Companions ; to be short, thou art a Knaue, and I like not any of the rest ; the Way lies before you, and therefore you may be gon, for you shall be none of the Quest.

I smild to see Cloth-breeches so peremptory, when I sawe five fat Fellowes, all in Damaske Cotes and Gownes, welted with Veluet verie braue, and in great Consultation, as if they were to determine of some weightie Matter ; drawing neare, I sawe they were wealthie Citizens ; so I went and reuerently saluted them, and told them, how we needed their Aid about the Appealing of a Controuersie, shewing them where the Knight, Esquier, and other staied, til we might finde Men to fill vp the Iurie. They were contented ; but Veluet-breeches excepted against sower of them, and said, they were none of his Frendes ; that was the Marchant, Goldsmith, Mercer and Draper ; his Allegations were these, that they were all fettered of one Winge, to fetch in yong Gentlemen by Commodities, under the Colour of lending of Monie : For the Marchant he deliuered

deliuered the Yron, Tin, Lead, Hops, Sugars, Spices, Oiles, browne Paper, or whatsoever else, from six Months to six Months, which, when the poor Gentleman came to sell againe, he could not make Threescore and ten in the Hundred, beside the Vsurie. The Mercer he followeth the yong vpstart Gentleman that hath no Gouvernement of himselfe, and he feedeth his Humor to go braue; he shall not want Silks, Sattins, Veluets, to pranke abroad in his Pomp, but with this Prouision, that he must bind ouer his Land in a Statute Marchant or Staple, and so at last forfeit all vnto the mercilesse Mercer, and leaue himself neuer a Foot of Ground in *England*; which is the Reason that, for a fewe Remnants of Veluets and Silks, the Mercer creepeth into whole Lordships. The Goldsmith is not behinde, for most of them deale with Vsurie, and let yong Gentlemen haue Commodities of Plate for Ten in the Hundred, but they must loose the Fashion in selling it againe, which cuts them fore; beside, they are most of them skild in Alcumie, and can temper Mettals shrewdly, with no little Profit to themselves, and Disaduantage to the Buier, beside Pusse-Ringes, and quaint Conceits, which I omit. And so for you, Draper, hee fetcheth them off for Lingerie Cloth, and Cloth for six Months and six, and yet hath hee more Knacks in his Budget, for hee hath so darke a Shop that no Man can well choose a Peece of Cloth; it so shadowes the Dic and the Threed, a Man shall be deceiued in the Wooll and the Nappe, they cause the Clothworker so to presse them; beside, hee imposeth this Charge to the Clothworker, that he drawe his Cloth, and pull it passing hard when he sets it vpon the Tenters, that he may haue it full Breadth and Length til Thread and all tear and rent a Peecees. What care they for that, haue they not a Drawer to serue their Turne, to drawe and seame up the Holes so cunningly, that it shal neuer be espied? Myselfe haue seene, in one Broad Cloth, eightene Score Holes, torne, rackt, and puld by the Clothworker, only to please the Draper, and deceiue the Commonwealth. To be short, the Clothworker, what with Rowing and Setting in a fine Nap, with Powdering it, and Pressing it, with Shering the Wooll to the Prooue of the Threed, deale so cunningly, that they proue themselves the Drapers Minister to execute his Subtilties; therefore, if he chance

to come, let him be remembred. Now, Sir, for the Vintner: He is an honest substantiall Man, a Friend to all good Fellowes, and truly, my Friend for my Money, and woorthy to be of the Iury. Why no, quoth Cloth-breeches, I am of another Mind; for I hold him as deceitful as any of the rest. What, the Vintner! Why, he is a Kinde of Negromancer; for, at Midnight, when all Men are in Bed, then he, forsooth, fals to his Charmes and Spels, so that he tumbles one Hogthead into another, and can make a Cup of Claret, that hath lost his Colour, look high with a Dash of red Wine at his Pleasure; if he hath a strong *Gascoigne* Wine, for Feare it should make his Guests to soone drunke, he can allay it with a final *Rochel* Wine; he can cherish vp White Wine with Sacke; and, perhaps, if you bide him wash the Pot cleane, when he goes to draw you a Quart of Wine, he wil leaue a little Water in the Bottom, and then draw it full of Wine. And what and if he do? Tis no Harm; Wine and Water is good against the Heat of the Liuer. It were infinit to reherse the Iugling of Vintners, the Disorder of their Houses, especially of the Persons that frequent them; and therefore, sith Veluet-breeches hath put by the Marchant, Goldsmith, Mercer, and Draper, the Vintner shal goe with them for Company. As these were going away in a Snuffe, for being thus plainly taunted, we might see a mad merry Crue come leping ouer the Field, as frolickly as if they ought not all the World two Pence; and, drawing nearer, we might perceiue, that either Botle-ale, or Beere, had made a Fraie with them; for the Lifting of their Feet shewed the Lightnesse of their Heads: The foremost was a plaine Country Sir *John*, or Vickar, that proclaimed, by the Rednes of his Nose, he did oftner goe into the Alehouse than the Pulpit; and him I asked, What they were, and whether they were going? What are you? quoth the Priest, that stand by the High Way to examine me and my Friends; heres none in my Company, but are able to answere for themselves. I, seeing they were all set on a merrye Pinne, tould the Cause, and howe the Controuerisie grew betwixt Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches, and that we needed them to be of the Quest. Marry, quoth Sir *John*, a good Motion: Know, these all are my Parishioners, and we haue beene drinking with a poore

Man, and spending our Money with him, a Neighbor of ours, that hath lost a Cow. Now for our Names and our Trades: This is a Smith, the Second a Weauer, the Third a Miller, the Fourth a Cooke, the Fifth a Carpenter, the Sixt a Glouer, the Seauenth a Pedlar, the Eight a Tinker, the Ninth a Waterberer, the Tenth a Husbandman, the Eleuenth a Diar, and the Twelfth a Sailor, and I their Vickar; How could you, Sir, haue a fitter Iury, than me and my Parishioners? You are a little too breefe, quoth Cloth-breeches; Are you not some Puritan, Maister Parson? Or some Fellow that raifeth vp new Scifemes and Heresies amongst your People? A Plague on them all, quoth I, Sir; for the World was neuer in Quiet; Deuotion, Neighbourhood, nor Hospitality neuer flourished in this Land, since such vpstart Boies and shittle witted Fools became of the Ministry. I cannot tel, they preach Faith, Faith, and say, that Doing of Almes is Papistry: but they haue taught so long *Fides solum iustificat*, that they haue preached good Workes quite out of our Parish; a poore Man shal as soone breake his Necke, as his Fast, at a rich Mans Dore: For me, Friend, I am, indeed, none of the best Scholers, yet I can read an Homely eury *Sunday* and Holyday, and I keepe Companie with my Neighbors, and goe to the Alehouse with them, and, if they be fallen out, spende my Money to make them Frendes; and on *Sundayes*, sometime, if Goodfellowship cal me away, I say both Morning and Euening Prayer at once, and so let them haue a whole Afternoone to plaie in. This is my Life: I spende my Liuing with my Parishioners, I seeke to do All Good, and I offer no Man Harm. Well, quoth Cloth-breeches, I warrant thou art an honest Vickar, and therefore stand by, thou shalt be one of the Quest. And, for you, Smith, I see no great Fault in you; you yerne your Liuing with the Sweat of your Browes, and there can be no great Knaury in you; only I would haue you mend your Life for Drinking, sith you are neuer at Quiet, vnles the Pot be stil at your Nose. But, you Weauer, the Prouerbe puts you downe for a crafty Knaue; you canne filch and steale almost as il as the Tailor; your Woofe and Warpe is so cunningly drawn out, that you plague the poore Country Huswiues for their Yarne, and dawbe on so much Dreggs, that you make it seeme both wel wrought,

and be neare Waight, when it is slenderly wouen, and you haue stolne a Quarter of it from the poore Wife. Away, be packing, for you shalbe cashierd. What, Miller, shake Handes with your Brother the Weauer for Knaury; you canne take Toll twife, and haue false Hoppers to conuey away the poore Mans Meale; be gone, I loue not your dusty Lookes; and, for Companie, Goodman Cooke, go you with them; for you coosen the poore Men and Countrie Teamers with your filthy Meat; you will buy of the Worst and Cheapest, when it is bad enough for Dogs, and yet so powder it and parboile it, that you wil fel it to some honest poore Men, and that vnreasonably to. If you leaue any Meate ouer Night, you make a Shift to heat it againe the nexte Daie; nay, if on the *Thursday* at Night ther be any left, you make Pies of it on *Sunday* Mornings, and almost, with your sloenly Knauerie, poison the poore People: To be short, I brooke you not, and therefore be walking. For the Carpenter, Glouer, and Waterbearer, the Husbandman, Diar, and Sailor, sith your Trades haue but pettie Sights, stand you with Maister Vickar, you are like to help to giue in the Verdict; but, for the Pedlar and the Tinker, they are two notable Knaues, both of a Haire, and both Cosen Germanes to the Deuill. For the Tinker, why, he is a drowfie, bawdy, drunken Companion, that walkes vpe and downe with a Trug after him, and, in stopping one Hole, makes three; and, if in conuenient Place he meets with one alone, perhaps rifles him or hir of all that euer they haue; a base Knaue, without Fear of God, or Loue to anye one, but to his Whore and to himselfe. The Pedlar, as bad, or rather worse, walketh the Countrey with his Docksey at the least, if he haue not two his Mortes Dels, and *Autem mortis*; he passeth commonly through eury Paire of Stocks, either for his Drunkennesse, or his Lecherie: And, beside, it is reported, you can lift, or nip a Bounge, like a *Guire Caue*, if you want Pence, and that you carrie your Pack but for a Coulour to shadow your other Villanies. Well, howsoeuer, you are both Knaues, and so be iogging. Well, quoth I, suppose the Iurie is almost full, I beleewe we want not aboue three or four Persons; looke you where they come to make vp the Number; and they should be Men of good Disposition, for they seeme to be all

of the Countrey. Asloone as they came to vs, I met them, and told them the Matter, and they were content. The one said he was a Grasier, the other a Farmer, the other a Shephard to them both. What thinke you of these three? quoth I. Marry, saith Veluet-breeches, two of them are honest Men, but the other is a base Knaue; but tis no Matter, shuffle him in amongst the rest. Nay, by your Leau, quoth Cloth-breeches, I will shuffle out these two, for they are the verie Cormorants of the Countrey, and deuoure the poore People with their monstrous Exactions. And, *first*, I alledge against the Grasier, That he forestalleth Pastures and Medow Grounds for the Feeding of his Cattell, and wringeth Leases of them out of poore Mens Handes; and, in his Buieng of Cattell, he committeth great Vsurie; for, if it proue a wet Yeare, then he maketh Hauocke, and selleth deere; if it be a drie Yeare, then he buyeth cheape, and yet, hauing Pasture, keepes them til he may come to his owne Price: He knoweth, as well as the Butcher, by the Feed of a Bullocke, how much Tallow he will yield, what his Quarters will amount vnto, what the Tanner will giue for the Hide, nay, what the Sowfe Wiues are able to make of the Inwards; so that he sels it so deere to the Butcher, that he can scarce liue of it; and therefore what Subtiltie the Butcher vseth cometh from the Grasier; so that I exempt him from the Quest, as a bad Member, and an il Friend to Cloth-breeches. And, for you, Maister Farmer, you know how, through you, couetous Landelords raise their Rents; for, if a poore Man haue but a Plough Land, if you see his Pastures bear good Grasse, and his earable Ground good Corne, and that he prospereth, and goeth forward on it, and prouideth and maintaineth his Wife and Seruants honestly, then

*Invidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis,
Vicinumque pecus grandius vber habet.*

Then straight Enuie pricks the Farmer forward, and he bids the Landelord farre more, then the poore Man paies yearly for it; so that, if he be a Tenant at Will, he puts him out to begge in the Street; or, when his Lease comes out, he ouer loades him in the Fines; and thus bloodsucketh he the Poore for his owne priuate Profite. Besides, the base Chuffe,

if he sees a forward Yeare, and that Corne is like to be plenty, then he murmureth against God, and swereth and protesteth he shal be vndone, respecting more the Filling of his owne Coffers by a Dearth, than the Profite of his Countrey by a general Plenty. Besides, Sir, may it please you, When new Corne comes into the Market, who brings in to relieue the State? Not your Maisterhip, but the poore Husbandman, that wants Pence; for you keepe it till the backe Ende of the Yeare; nay, you haue your Garners, which haue Corne of two or three Yeare olde, vpon Hope still of a deere Yeare, rather letting the Weafels eate it, then the Poore should haue it at any reasonable Price: So that, I conclude, you are a Cormorant of the Commonwealth, and a Wretch that liues of the Spoile of the Needy; and so I leaue you to iet with the Grasier. Marry, for the Shephard, vnlesse it be, that he killeth a Lambe now and then, and saies the Fox stole him, I know little Craft in his Budget; therefore let him be among the honest Men of the Iury.

Well, Cloth-breeches, quoth I, you are very peremptory in your Challenges, what say you, here comes three or four Citizens, will anye of these serue Turn? I cannot tell, quoth he, till I know their Names and Conditions: With that, I stopt afore the Company, and inquired what they were: The eldest of them, being a graue Citizen, sayde he was a Grocer, the rest his good and honest Neighbors, a Chandler, a Haberdasher, a Clothworker, and two Strangers, one a *Walloon*, the other a *Dutchman*. How like you of these, quoth I, to Veluet-breeches? Well inough, quoth he, for I am little acquainted with them, yet I knowe they fauour me, because I haue on a *Sunday* seene them all in their Silkes. I marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, but they neuer get that Brauery with Honesty; for the Clothworker his Faultes were laide open before, when we had the Draper in-Question, and therefore let him bee packing. For you Chandler, I like not of your Tricks, you are to conuerfant with the Kitchen Stuffe Wives; you, after your Weeke or Snaf is stiffened, you dip it in filthy Drosse, and after giue him a Coat of good Tallowe, which makes the Candles drop and wast away, to the great Hindrance of the poore Workemen that watcheth in the Night. Beside, you pinch in your Waights, and haue false Mea-

sures,

fures, and many other Knaueries that I omit; but this be sure, you shall not meddle in my Matter: Neither the Haberdasher, for he trims vp olde Feltes, and makes them very fayre to the Eie, and faceth and edgeth them neatly, and then hee turnes them away to such a simple Man as I am; and so abuseth vs with his Coofenage. Beside, you buy gumd Taffata, wherewith you line Hats that will straight affunder as soone as it comes to the Heate of a Mans Head. To be breefe, I am not well skild in your Knaueries, but indeed you are too subtle for poor Cloth-breeches, and therefore you shall be none of the Jurie. Marrie, the Grocer seemes an honest Man, and I am content to admit of him; only take this as a Caueat by the Way, that you buy, of the Garbellers of Spices, the Refuse that they sifte from the Marchant, and that you mix againe and sel it to your Customers. Besids, in your beaten Spices, as in Pepper, you put in Bay Berries, and such Drosse, and so wring the Poore; but these are sleight Causes, and so I ouerpasse them, and vouchsafe you to be of the Quest. But I pray you, what be those two honest Men? Quoth the Grocer, the one a *Dutchman* and a Shoemaker, the other a *Frenchman* and a Millainer in *S. Martins*, and sels Shirts, Bands, Bracelets, Jewells, and such pretty Toies for Gentlewomen: Oh they be of Veluet-breeches Acquaintance, Upstarts as well as he, that haue brought with them Pride and Abuses into *Englande*: And first to the Millainer. What Toyes deuifeth he to feed the Humor of the upstart Gentleman withall, and of fond Gentlewomen? Such Fannes, such Ouches, such Brooches, such Bracelets, such Graundcies, such Periwigs, such Paintings, such Ruffes, and Cuffes, as hath almost made *Englande* as full of proud Foppies as *Tyre* and *Sydon* were. There is no Seamster can make a Bande or a Shirt soe well as his Wife: And why, forsooth? Because the filthy Queane wears a Craunce, and is a *Frenchwoman*, forsooth; where as our *Englisch* Women of the *Exchange* are both better Workwomen, and will affoord a better Peniworth. And so for the drunken *Dutchman*, this Shoemaker, he and such as he is, abuseth the Commonwealt, and the poore Mechanicall Men and Handicrafts Men of *London*; for our new upstart Fooles, of Veluet-breeches Fraternity, liketh nothing but that the outlandish Assle maketh. They like no

Shoo so well as *Dutchman* maketh, when our *Englische* Men passe them farre. And so for Chandlers, and all other Occupations, they are wronged by the *Dutch* and *French*. And therefore, sith the Commons hates them, they cannot be my Friends, and therefore let them be launching to *Flushing*, for they shall be no Triers of my Controversie. Well, quoth I, now I suppose the Iury is full, and we see no more comming, let vs call them and see howe manye we haue. So they appeared to their Names, as followeth:

The Names of the Iury to be empanelled.

1 Knight.	13 Cutler.
2 Esquire.	14 Plaisterer.
3 Gentleman.	15 Saylor.
4 Priest.	16 Ropemaker.
5 Printer.	17 Smith.
6 Grocer.	18 Glouer.
7 Skinner.	19 Husbandman.
8 Diar.	20 Shephard.
9 Pewterer.	21 Waterman.
10 Saddler.	22 Waterbearer.
11 Ioyner.	23 Bellowsmender.
12 Bricklaier.	

What, is it not possible, quoth I, to haue one more, to make vp the four-and-twenty? As I was thus speaking, I espied, a far off, a certain Kind of an ouerworne Gentleman, attired in Veluet and Sattyn, but it was somewhat dropped and greasie; and Bootes on his Legges, whose Soles waxed thin, seemed to complaine of their Maister, which, treadinge thrift under his Feet, had brought them vnto that Consumption: He walked not as other Men in the common beaten Waye, but came compassing *Circum circa*, as if we had bene Deuills, and he would draw a Circle about vs, and at euery third Steppe he looked backe, as if he were afrayde of a Bayly or Serieant.

After him followed two pert Aprlesquires, the one had a murrey Cloth Gowne on, faced downe before with gray Conny, and laid thicke on the Sleeues with Lace, which he quaintly bare vp, to shew his white Taffata Hofe and blacke Silke Stockings; a huge Ruffe about his Necke wrapt in his great Head like a wicker Cage; a little Hat with Brimes like the Wings of a Doublet, wherein he wore a Jewell of Glasse, as broad as the Chancery Seale: After him followed two Boies in

Cloakes like Butter Flies, carrying one of them his cutting Sword of Choller, the other his daunting Rapper of Delight. His Camerard that bare him Company, was a iollie light timberd Iacke a Napes, in a Sute of watchet Taffata cut to the Skinne, with a Cloake all to be dawbed with colourd Lace: Both he and my gowned Brother seemed by their Pafe as if they had some Sutes to Mounfieur Boots. At length comming neer, I might discern the first to be a Poet, the second a Player, the third a Musition, *alias* the Usher of a Daunfing Schoole. Well met, Maister Poet, quoth I, and welcome you Frenedes also, though not foe particularly knowne. So it is, though none of you three be Commonwealthsmen, yet vpon vrgent Necessitye wee must be forced to employ you. We haue a Iury to bee empannelled immediatly, which one of you three must help to make vp, euen he which approues himselfe the honestest Man. They are all honest Men and Goodfellowes, quoth Veluet-breeches, therefore it is no great Matter whether of them we choofe.

The Doctors doubt of that, quoth Cloth-breeches, for I am of a different Opinion. This first, whome by his carelesse sloulenie Gate at first Sight I imagined to be a Poet, is a Wast Good and an Unthrif; that he is borne to make the Tauernes rich and himselfe a Begger: If he haue forty Pounds in his Purse together, he puts it not to Usurie, neyther buies Land nor Marchandize with it, but a Monthes Commoditie of Wenches and Capons. Tenne Pound a Supper, why tis nothing, if his Plough goes and his Inkhorne be cleere: Take one of them worth twentie thousande Pound and hang him. He is a King of his Pleasure, and counts all other Boores and Pefants, that, though they haue Money at Command, yet know not, like him, how to domaneere with it to any Purpose as they should. But, to speake plainly, I think him an honest Man, if he would but liue within his Compasse, and, generally, no Mans Foe but his owne. Therefore I hold him a Man fit to be of my Iurie. Nay, quoth Veluet-breeches, I haue more Minde to these two, for this Poet is a proud Fellow, that, because he hath a little Wit in his Budget, will contenne and mistake vs that are the common Sort of Gentlemen, and thinke we are beholding to him, if he doe but bestow a faire Looke vpon vs. The Player, and

the Usher of the Dauncing Schoole are plaine, honest, humble Men, that play for a Penny or an olde cast Suit of Apparell. Indee,de, quoth Cloth-breeches, you saye Troth, they are but too humble, for they be so lowly, that they be base minded; I meane not in their Lookes nor Apparell, for so they be Peacockes and painted Asses, but in their Course of Life, for they care not how they get Crowns, I meane how basely, so they haue them; and yet, of the two, I hold the Player to be the better Christian, although he is, in his owne Imagination, too full of Self Liking and Self Love, and is vnfit to be of the Iurie, though I hide and conceale his Faults and Fopperies, in that I haue bene merrie at his Sports; only this I must say, that such a plaine Countrey Fellow as my selfe, they bring in as Clownes and Fooles to laugh at in their Plaie, whereas they get by vs, and of our Almshouses the proudest of them all doth liue. Well, to be breefe, let him trot to the Stage, for he shall be none of the Iurie. And for you, Maister Usher of the Dauncing Schoole, you are a Leader into all Mistrule; you instruct Gentlemen to order their Feet, when you driue them to misorder their Manners; you are a bad Fellow, that stand upon your Tricks and Capers, til you make yong Gentlemen caper without their Lands; why, Sir, to be flat with you, you liue by your Legges as a Jugler by his Hands, you are given ouer to the Pumps and Vanities of the World, and, to be short, you are a Keeper of Mistrule, and a lewd Fellow, and you shall be none of the Quest. Why then, quoth I, you are both agreed that the Poet is he that must make up the xxiiij. They answered both, he, and none but he. Then I, calling them all together, bad them laye their Hands one the Booke, and first I cald the Knight, and after, the rest as they followed in Order; then I gaue them their Charge thus:

Worshipfull Sir, with the rest of the Iury, whome we haue solicited of choice honest Menne, whose Consciences will deale vprightly in this Controuerfie, you and the rest of your Company are heere vpon your Oath and Oathes, to inquire whether Cloth-breeches haue done Deseison unto Veluet-breeches, yea, or no, in or about *London*, in putting him out of franke Tenement, wronging him of his Right, and imbellishing his Credit; if

you

you finde that Cloth-breeches hath done Veluet-breeches Wrong, then let him be set in his former Estate, and allowe him reasonable Damages. Vpon this they laid their Handes on the Booke and were sworne, and departed to scrutine of the Matter by Inquirie amongst themselves, not stirring out of our Sight, nor staieng long; but straight returned, and the Knight for them all, as the Formost, said thus: So it is that we haue with Equity and Confidence considered of this Controuersy betweene Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches, as touching the Prerogatiue of them both, which are most woorthy to be rightly Resedent and haue Seison in frank Tenement heere in *Englande*; and we do find that Cloth-breeches is by many hundred Years more antient, cuer since *Brute*, an Inhabitant in this Iland, one that hath bene in *Diebus illis* a Companion to Kings, an Equall with the Nobility, a Friend to Gentlemen and Yeomen, and a Patron of

the Poore; a true Subiect, a good House-keeper, and generally as honest as he is antient. Whereas Veluet-breeches is an Vpstart come out of *Italy*, begot of Pride, nursed vp by Self-loue, and brought into this Countrey by his Companion Newfanglenesse; that he is but of late Time a Raifer of Rents, and an Enimie in the Commonwealth, and one that is not any way to be preferd in Equitie before Cloth-breeches; therefore by general Verdict wee adiudge Cloth-breeches to haue done him no Wrong, but that he hath lawfully claimed his Title of Frank Tenement, and in that we appoint him for euer to be Resedent. At this Verdict pronounst by the Knight, all the Standers by clapt their Hands, and gaue a mighty Shout, whereat I started and awaked, for I was in a Dreame and in my Bed, and so rose vpp, and writ in a merrie Vaine what you haue hard.

The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament: Or, a Collection of the Acts, Orders, Votes, and Resolves, that have passed in the House. By *Samuel Butler*, Author of *Hudibras*. London, Printed according to Order, 1659. And reprinted this Year 1710. And sold by *J. Baker*, at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-noster-Row*. *Octavo*, containing sixteen Pages.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

Reader,

THOU art desired to take Notice of the last Order of Parliament in this Book mentioned, whereby I am enjoined, upon my Oath, to discover only Things tolerable, and agreeable to the Practice formerly of the Long Parliament; now the Lands be sold, Offices disposed of, and their own Turns satisfied, and they turned out; I shall acquaint you further: For it is a Maxim here, That, if I swear to be faithful to another, if that other hath the Worse of it, I am not bound by this Oath: And this is the Opinion of all Reformed Divines, and, to my Knowledge, hath been put in Practice for these eighteen Years: So that, being now discharged of that Oath, I shall hereafter discharge a good Conscience, and set forth a History of rare Things. These are not an Ace to them I have in my Budget. Farewell,

J. Canne.

N. B. This *Canne* was a noted Man amongst the Saints in those Times; therefore, the Author made Use of his Name, in order to conceal himself.

May,

May the 9th, 1659.

THIS Day their small Assembly was resolved into a *Grand Committee*, to debate what the House should be called in ordinary Proceedings.

Lenthall. It shall be called, *The New-Exchange*.

Vane. It shall be called, *The House of Prayer*.

Hafirig. It shall be called, *A Gaol*, for I see *Martin* and other Gaol-birds here.

Lowry. It shall be called, *Haberdens*.

Skippon. It shall be called, *A Den of Thieves*.

Atkins. It shall be called, *A House of Office*.

Scot. It shall be called, *The Free-State Crofs*.

Saloway. That is a superstitious Name Let it be called, *The Armies Ware-house*.

Martin. Let it be called, *A Church*, for we are all Saints.

St. John. I am of Opinion, that, by the ancient known Laws of *England*, this is the legallest Parliament that ever was; and that the Men, that met here by *Oliver's* and *Richard's* Writs, made but illegal Assemblies; therefore let it be called, *The Parliament-House*.

Baron Hill.

Baron Nichols. } We are of the same Opinion strongly.

Withrington. I shall declare no Opinion as to the Point, but shall consider thereof.

Prynne this Day got in, and he would have it called *Bedlam*; for here is frantick *Mr. St. John*, hair-brained *Hafirig*, senseless *Lowry* and *Atkins*, possessed *Vane*, distracted *Nichols*, and a Multitude more of Mad-men, besides Fools; therefore he thought it fit that the Chains and Fetters might be removed from *Newgate* hither, to be Keepers of the Liberties: Thereupon the House ordered it to be referred to a Committee, and adjourned till the Afternoon; and that *Mr. Prynne* should come no more there, for he was too wise and too honest to be in that Place.

In the Afternoon they met, and upon Debate these Things were resolved on.

First resolved, That the Family of the *Cromwells* are not born Protectors.

Secondly resolved, That it is more convenient we should have the Government, we having already the Crown-Lands. So they adjourned till the next Morning.

V O L. V.

May 10th.

This Day it was referred to a Committee, to consider of the Self-denying Ordinance; and they are to take Notice, that there are several King's Lands yet to be sold; therefore they are to report, whether it be convenient that that Ordinance be in Force or no.

May 11th.

This Day this Committee, whereof *St. John* was Chair-man, reported to the House, That by Law that Ordinance was of no Force, for the Intent of the Makers of Laws must be observed; and it cannot be intended, that the Makers thereof would so far prejudice their own Interests, as to have that Ordinance to be in Force when Lands are to be sold, and Places to be disposed of.

May 12th.

Ordered, That this Day, usually called *Ascension-day*, be no more called so; but henceforth *May 7th* be called by that Name, in Commemoration of our Ascent to the Old Shop on that Day. And this was the great Work of that Day.

From *May 13th* to *May 20th*.

The House took into their Consideration the Titles of Honour and Dignity conferred by 'Squire *Oliver* and his Son *Richard*; and, also other Titles to be given: And thereupon it was enacted as follows:

The Contents of the Act for Names, Titles, and Dignities, &c.

First enacted, That our Fellow-member, Alderman *Atkins*, be no more called, *Alderman Tom*, *Alderman Shitbreech*, *Sir Tom*, *Sir Alderman*, *Tom Thumb*; but in all ordinary Proceedings he be called and styled, *Tom Fool*; and, in Exigents, let him be named, *Tom Turd*.

Secondly, That *Harry Nevill* be no more called, *Religious Harry Nevill*, that the People may take Notice he is one of the Council of State.

Thirdly, That the eldest Son of *Oliver* Protector have the same Addition of Title and Dignity, that the Long-Parliament conferred

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upon the eldest Son of the late King to all Intents and Purposes.

Fourthly, That all other Titles of Honour whatsoever be sequestered, and the Profits arising thence to go to the Payment of the late Protector's Debts.

Provided that this Act, nor any thing herein, shall be construed to take away or null those apt and reasonable Titles that are given to the several Members and Council of State, and recorded in the excellent Book of *England's Confusion*.

From May 20th to June 1.

This Day the Regulation of the Law was taken into Consideration: And,

Resolved, That the ablest Lawyers be prohibited to judge or practise, that the Law may flourish, and Justice be done.

Ordered, That old Colonel *Walton* grow young again before three Weeks, or the Dissolution of this Parliament; and by that Time become as frolick as he was with the Barber's Wife, that his young Wife may no longer be forced to get a Snap abroad, at the great Charge of the Publick: And that, in the Interim, he sit close in the House; and, that she hath allowed to her an Universal Toleration during that Time, and no longer.

Yesterday the Colt, formerly drowned at *Huntingdon*, and taken up at the great Charge and Pains of the Mayor and Recorder, was voted a Surgeon, *nemine contradicente*: And, it was ordered, that Serjeant *Bernard* have the next Surgeon to his own Use, any Grant or Prescription to others notwithstanding.

Resolved, That *Paul's Steeple* is the Cross that stood formerly in *Cheapside*; and, therefore, to be pulled down forthwith.

Reported from a Committee of Safety as follows:

That the best Way to settle this Nation in Peace, is to sell the Residue of the Lands, &c. and dispose of them amongst the Parliament-Men that were not liberally provided for before 1653. Yet we conceive that Sir *Arthur Hasbriig* remembered himself pretty well before that Time; however, if the Parliament adjudged 30000 *l. per Annum* not sufficient for him, let him have more.

This Report was taken into Consideration accordingly, being of great Import.

Thereupon the House resolved into a grand Committee, to debate the Porportioning of the

said Lands, to the particular Members, according to their Wants.

Lenthall. Gentlemen, Can you think that I, that I your Speaker, your everlasting Speaker, who am resolved to live and die with you at 5 *l. per Diem*, can live to maintain myself and Family at that great Rate I now live at, and support the Grandeur that should attend the Speaker to so noble Persons with 13000 *l. per Annum*, and not above 80000 *l.* in personal Estate?

Skippon. I have enough of 1000 *l. per Annum*, and desire no more to live as well as Mr. Speaker.

Hastbrig. You say well, but 100000 *l. per Annum* is better; and upon my Credit I want *Daniel Collingwood's Estate* to make me up 30000 *l. per Annum*; I pray consider it.

Scot. Gentlemen, My Father-in-Law, *Plush-Bacon*, is dead, and hath cheated me of 5000 *l.* besides, it will take 10000 *l. per Annum* to make me honest.

Martin. If I have not enough to pay my Debts at present, and to maintain as many Whores as the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord *Monson* (my Fellow-Boarder in *Southwark*) or the late Earl of *Warwick*; I'll leave the House, and go to Prison again: What! do you think I'll help to cheat the People for nothing?

Vane. Come, Gentlemen, if you will be a little Religious, you may make Shift with 15000 *l. per Annum* as I do.

Darby. My eldest Son wishes me hanged that I served so long in this Trade, and am like to leave him no better Estate. Pray think on it.

St. John. I have built me a little House lately, and want some Ground to lay to it. If you'll grant me a Forest, I'll remove my House thither, for the Law is as clear it was in the Earl of *Strafford's* Case: That I may remove it by *Habeas Corpus*.

Weavours. Come, Gentlemen, you are a little too busy; take Heed the Army prevent not the Design; I am a good Willer to the Mathematicks myself; but let's make them sure, for upon my Credit *Lambert* is no Fool: Thereupon the House adjourned till June the First.

From June the 1st to the 4th.

This Day the House took into Consideration that seasonable Motion of Mr. *Weavours*, and have ordered as follows:

Ordered,

Ordered, That the Army-Officers be fooled out of their old Commissions, by Vertue of which they were our Masters; and that they take new Ones from us, by Vertue of which we are their Masters.

Ordered likewise, That we juggle with some some of the stoutest and soberest Colonels in the Army, to go Snips with us underhand, that they may curb the rest, and keep them in Awe.

Ordered, That *Hacker* and *Okey* be two of them; and that there be but Two besides lifted into this Confederacy, lest it be discovered, or lest we give too much from ourselves.

Ordered lastly, That this present Parliament sit till *May* next (if *Lambert* be not too cunning for them before that Time) and that, in the Interim, Parliament-Men be valued at a Penny a-piece; and that the former Value of Twelve a Penny, set upon them in 1653, be made void.

June the 4th.

This Day the House took into Consideration the Business between *Harry Nevill* and *Stroud*, Sheriffs in *Berkshire*, which is referred to a Committee to report, If it be not all the Reason in the World, that one of the Council of State should have fifteen-hundred Pounds, whether it belongs to him, or no? And that *Stroud* should pay it, for not Returning him to that Parliament, which *Nevill* had a hundred Times sworn to be no Parliament?

Ordered by the House, That Mr. *St. John* be Assistant to that Committee, to inform how the same stands; and whether *Magna Charta* doth not warrant that, as well as the dark *Lanthorn*.

Monday, June the 6th.

This Day came an Express from *Ireland*, That the noble and valiant Deputy will, before long, learn *Fleetwood* more Wit, and *Lambert* more Honesty; and that he will turn these Jugglers out of their Box, as his Father did.

Ordered thereupon, That he forthwith repair to *England*, if he be such a Fool; and that we catch him in our Clutches, if we can, lest he obstruct our Religious Designs.

June the 7th.

This Day the House considered of Mr. *Harrington's* Proposals concerning a Free State; and thereupon

Resolved, That he is a Fool to busy his Noddle about that which the House never thinks on; for, when they have made all even, they will break up School.

June the 8th.

Ordered, That Mr. *Harrington* be forthwith dispatched to *Jamaica*, that famous Island, and form his Commonwealth there; and that he hath all the Golden Mines for his Pains.

June the 9th.

Resolved, That all Papists and Jesuits be tolerated in *England*; and that Anabaptists and Quakers be inserted into the Army; that, by that Time the Parliament have gotten into their Hands the Residue of what is left, the Army may make Mutinies among themselves, and discharge us, and set the People against them, and we go scot-free.

June the 10th.

The House, this Day, upon Consideration that the High and Mighty Prince *Vane* is to marry with the Illustrious Infant of *Wimbleton-House*, ordered, That *Richard Cromwell* depart from thence forthwith, to make Way for their Highnesses; and that the *Banqueting-House* be prepared with a Pair of Bagpipes and a North-country Jig, to entertain the Nobles, that shall attend the Solemnification of those Nuptials.

June the 11th, to June the 18th.

Ordered, That *Hacker* and *Okey* have a strict Eye of *Lambert*, when he goes to *White-hall*, lest he steps into the Chair.

The House called Mr. *Canne* in, and ordered him to publish only what was agreeable to their former Proceedings; and, if it fell out, at any Time, that they should do otherwise than the People expect, That he should conceal the same: Whereunto *Canne*, their News-maker, agreed, and was sworn.

A farther brief and true Narration of the late Wars risen in *New-England*, occasioned by the quarrellsome Disposition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous and savage *Indian* Natives there ; with an Account of the Fight, the 19th of *December* last, 1675. *London*, *February* 17th, 167⁵.
 Licens'd, *Henry Oldenburgh*. *London*, Printed by *J. D.* for *M. K.* and are to be sold by the Bookfellers, 1676.
Quarto, containing eight Pages.

S I R,

TIS verily believed with us, that all generous Minds in both *Englands*, which concern themselves to enquire after our Affairs in these Parts of the World, and wish us well, have a longing Desire the *Indian* Wars might be ended ; and we presumed e're this, that the Powers of Persuasion or Force would have made a happy Change, by altering the Minds, or restraining the Malice of our Heathen Foes.

But so it is, the Rod of God's Anger is still upon us ; for the *Pocanaket* Sachem *Metacom*, alias *Philip*, still lives ! he lives to be Vexation to us in all Places where he comes : Yea, he lives, and by his Subtlety proves a more forcible and perillous Enemy to us than ever we could have imagined. He hath drawn into his Confederacy all the *Indians*, from *Cape Sables* Eastward to the *Mohawks*, which is about three-hundred Miles or upwards : And our Fears are (which would to God they were but Fears) that some Traders of *Europe*, for Love of Gain, have from Time to Time supplied them with Ammunition.

At the Eastward, the *Indians* have ruined *Falmouth* black Point, and *Saco*, and slain in those Towns thirty Persons : Some they took alive, and fat them upright in the Ground, using this *Sarcasm* : ' You *English*, since you ' came into this Country have grown exceedingly above Ground, let us now see how ' you will grow when planted into the ' Ground.' At *Ketterey* they have slain fourteen Persons, and burnt sundry Houses : At

Boston, *December* 28th, 1675.

Dover they also have killed some, and fired two or three Houses. Our Enemies proudly exult over us, and blaspheme the Name of our Blessed God, saying, *Where is your O God ?* Taunting at the poor Wretches, which, to make themselves Sport with, they cruelly torture to Death : But our Affiance is in the God that made Heaven and Earth, who, when he arises, will scatter our Enemies.

It hath been the great Care of our Council to distinguish between Friends and Enemies ; for most of our Mischiefs have flowed from pretended Friends, who have demeaned themselves exceeding fairly with us, till they have had the Opportunity secretly and suddenly to endamage us, and then they fly to our avowed Adversaries. Many of our Commonalty would have all *Indians* (*quatenus* such) declared Enemies : But our soberest Sort justly fear to condemn the Innocent with the Guilty ; knowing that *Justitia est firmitas Regni* ; nor would they draw on themselves the Guilt of blotting out the Interest of the Gospel amongst the *Indians*, remembering *New-England* was originally a Plantation more famous for Religion than Trade ; and to this Day the *Massachusetts*, in the Impres of their publick Seal, have an *Indian* engraven with these Words, *Come over and help us* ; alluding to *Acts* xvi. 9. Much intestine Heart-burnings and Complaining, not to say Mutinies, have been about these Matters ; to quiet which, Eleven of the most notorious, with whom some *English* Plunder was found, were arraigned, Six whereof, being evidently found Guilty, were soon

soon after executed; and, at the Desire of the honestest of them, all the professing *Indians* are placed and provided for on certain Islands, where they are out of Harm's Way; and, by an Act of the General Court, which is our Parliament here, 'tis Death for any of them to come off thence without License from the Magistrate. Our People, since the Loss of Captain *Lathrop* of *Beverly*, with about sixty Men by Surprize, and the Burning of *Springfield*, are grown not less valorous, but more cautious: Experience is the Mother of Prudence, and little Good comes of despising an Enemy. Yet let not the World censure too much Captain *Lathrop*: He, in the *Pequot* Wars, had done Exploits; nor in this would have been behind-hand, if the narrow Passage or Causey, where his unexpected Enemies set on him, would have given him Leave to have drawn up his Men. But, however, this may be said, to use the Words of a wise Man;

' There was never Censor that judged, Senator that ordered, General that commanded, Council that executed, Orator that persuaded, nor any other mortal Man, but sometimes he committed Errors.' Let such, as are too apt to censure the Conduct of some Affairs here, remember this.

On the 19th of *October*, *Philip* assaulted *Hatsfield*, a Town on *Connecticut-River*, with about eight-hundred Men: But there were two-hundred of ours then in the Town, which in two Hours Space, with the Loss of one Man only, put the *Indians* to a total Flight, and killed about an hundred of them, Sixty of whose dead Bodies the *Indians* carried with them on Horses, &c. (for they had several Horses amongst them). After which *Philip* and the *Nipnet Indians* fled to the *Narragansets*; which caused the Council of the *Massachusetts*, to publish in Print this Manifesto:

To our Brethren and Friends the Inhabitants of the Colony of the Massachusetts.

ALthough you cannot be ignorant, how studious this Government hath been to preserve Peace in this Colony, and have taken up and compromised divers Quarrels that have risen between ourselves, our Neighbours, and the *Indians*, and thereby at several Times prevented those Calamities wherewith we are now pressed: Yet, to satisfy you that the same Mind and the same Endeavours are continued in the present Government, we have thought it necessary to let you understand the Rise and Progress of our present Troubles, with our Endeavours to have prevented the same.

In *June* last, we were certified by our Friends and Confederates of *Plymouth*, that *Philip*, the Sachem of *Mount-Hope*, was in Arms, and had solicited all the *Indians* to join with him against the *English*; and, withal, they desired our Assistance to suppress him: Which we, by the Articles of Confederation, could not deny, and therefore applied ourselves to raise some Force for their Assistance, but were still desirous to prevent a War with the *Indians*; and therefore, upon a former Experience of a good Effect wrought upon the said *Philip*, we resolved to use the same Means, viz. Sending Messengers from hence to *Philip* to treat with him, hoping of the like Issue, which, upon the like Case about four Years

since, we, by God's good Hand, obtained. But our Messengers arriving at *Swanzy*, in their Way towards *Philip*, found divers *English* murdered on the Road; and were informed by the *English* there, of divers Hostilities of the *Indians*, which rendered our Design and their Negotiation hopeless; upon which they returned, and informed us as abovesaid. Whereupon our Forces began their March in Aid of our Friends at *Plymouth*; and having driven *Philip* from his Country, we being informed that the *Narragansets* harboured his Women, and aided him with Men, we ordered our Soldiers to march to *Narraganset*, in order to keep them quiet, and prevent their Succouring or Harbouring the Enemy: Where, after some Delay, they were drawn to consent to our Demands, promising neither to entertain nor assist our Enemies, which they since confirmed in a Treaty with the Commissioners of the Colonies; further engaging, that they would deliver all those of *Philip's* Party, that, upon his Route near *Scatoneck*, or since, were fled to them; but have failed in every Particular.

You may also take Notice, That, before any of our Soldiers marched to *Mount-Hope*, we were very careful to understand the State of the *Nipnet Indians*, to prevent *Philip's* Design,

sign, and secure those *Indians*; and, therefore, dispatched two Messengers well known to them, to certify them of *Philip's* Motion, and of our Desire to keep Amity and Friendship with them, according to the Covenants made with them long since, no Ways violated on our Part. And, by the said Messengers, received fair Returns from the most of them, being in ten or twelve Plantations. Some of them pretending Fear of us; for their further Satisfaction, when our Forces were sent out against *Philip*, we, to satisfy and secure them, sent them, by *Ephraim Curtice*, a Declaration under the Publick Seal, that we had no Design, or Intent, to disturb them, or any other *Indians*, that would remain in their Plantations peaceably; which Message and Messenger was evilly treated by many of them then assembled, and the Messenger much endangered by the younger Men, and not with any Satisfaction by their Sachems, as the Event shewed, though at that Present more moderately received.

Soon after this Dispatch, and before *Philip's* Flying from *Pocasset*, and March up towards the *Nipnet* Country, some of the said *Nipnet Indians* assaulted and slew divers of our People at *Mendam*; whereupon, Captain *Hutchinson*, with a small Guard, was sent up to the said *Nipnet Indians*, if possible to keep them quiet; who arriving at *Quabaog*, whereabouts was a Rendezvous of the *Indians*, and having sent to them, they promised to meet him in a certain Place, whither he at the Time repairing, found not the *Indians*; and, being encouraged by the *English* of *Quabaog*, that the *Indians* were peaceable, &c. he advanced forward towards the Place of the *Indians* Rendezvous to treat them: But, in the Way, was, by Ambuscade, treacherously way-laid, by which himself, with several others, were wounded and slain, the *English* of *Quabaog* immediately assaulted, and the Town, except one House, totally destroyed; at which Time, as we un-

derstand, *Philip* also, with his broken Party, came up to the said *Indians*, and upon the first, or immediately before the Arrival of the Forces we sent up for the Relief of those of *Quabaog*, *Philip* and his whole Crew retreated, as we then feared, and afterwards were informed, towards *Connecticut* River; from whence, recruiting himself with Ammunition from *Albany*, and with Men, partly from the treacherous *Indians* about *Hadly* and *Spring-field*, he hath prosecuted his first Design to ruin and destroy the *English*. And, notwithstanding all the Opposition of our Forces, hath done much Mischief and Spoil; and, since the Repulse he received at *Hatsfield*, withdrew into the *Nipnet* Country, and since that, as we understand, towards the *Narragansets*, who, we do conclude, have favoured, abetted, and assisted him therein; and, by entertaining and harbouring our Enemies, have dealt falsely and perfidiously with us; whereby we find ourselves necessarily engaged, with the Consent, Advice, and Assistance of the rest of the Colonies, in a War with them, as well as with *Philip*, unless they prevent the same by a timely Compliance, and Performance, and Security for the Future: For the Managing and Carrying on whereof, we hope for, and expect (as we have hitherto had) the Assistance of all his Majesty's Subjects of this Colony in their respective Capacities, in the just Defence of the Glory of God, the Honour, Defence, and Safety of our King, Country, and ourselves, from the Subtlety, Rage, and treacherous Attempts of our barbarous Enemies.

Dated at Boston, the 7th of December, Anno Christi, 1675, Annoque Domini Caroli Secundi Regis Angli. Scot. Fran. & Hiber. Defensoris Fidei, &c. 27th.

By the Council,

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

Providence displayed: Or, a very surprizing Account of one Mr. *Alexander Selkirk*, Master of a Merchant-Man called, The *Cinque-Ports*; who dreaming that the Ship would soon after be lost, he desired to be left on a desolate Island in

in the *South-Seas*, where he lived Four Years and Four Months, without seeing the Face of Man, the Ship being afterwards cast away as he dreamed. As also, How he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal Place, by two *Bristol* Privateers, called, The *Duke* and *Duchess*; that took the rich *Aquapulco* Ship, worth one-hundred Ton of Gold, and brought it to *England*. To which is added, An Account of his Birth and Education. His Description of the Island where he was cast; how he subsisted; the several strange Things he saw, and how he used to spend his Time. With some pious Ejaculations that he used, composed during his melancholy Residence there. Written by his own Hand, and attested by most of the eminent Merchants upon the *Royal-Exchange*. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

IN the Voyage of the *Duke* and *Duchess* Privateers belonging to *Bristol*, who took the rich *Aquapulco* Ship, they came to an Island called *Juan Fernandez*; where sending their Pinnace on Shore, she returned, after some Time, bringing with her a Man clothed in Goat Skins, who seemed as wild as the Goats themselves.

Being brought on Board the *Duke*, he said, he had been on the Island four Years and four Months, having been left there by Captain *Stradling*, in a Ship called the *Cinque Ports*, about the Year 1705, of which Ship he was Master; and Capt. *Dampier*, who was then with him, and now on Board the *Duke*, told Captain *Rogers*, he was the best Man then on Board the *Cinque-Ports*, who immediately agreed with him to be a Mate on Board the *Duke*. His Name was *Alexander Selkirk*, a *Scotchman*, and the Manner of his being found there, was by his making a Fire the Night before, when he saw the two Privateers aforesaid, judging them to be *English*, by which, judging it to be an habitable Island, they had sent their Boat to see; and so he came miraculously to be redeemed from that solitary and tedious Confinement, who otherwise, in all Probability, must have miserably ended his Life there.

He said, That, during his Stay there, he had seen several Ships pass by, but only two of them came in to Anchor, which he judged to be *Spaniards*, and retired from them, upon which they fired at him; had they been *French*, he said he would have submitted himself, but chose rather to hazard Dying on the Island, than to fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards* in those Parts, because he believed they would either murder him, or make him a Slave in their Mines.

The *Spaniards* landed so near him, before he knew where they were, that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him into the Woods, where he climbed up to the Top of a Tree, at the Foot of which they made Water, and killed several Goats just by, but went off without discovering him.

He told them, that he was born at *Large*, in the County of *Fife*, in *Scotland*, and was bred a Sailor from his Youth.

The Reason of his being left on this melancholy Island, was a Difference betwixt him and his Captain, which, together with the Ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay there than go along with him at first, and, when he was at last willing to go, the Captain would not receive him.

He had been, he said, on the Island, to wood and water, when two of the Ship's Company were left upon it for six Months till the Ship returned, being chased thence by two *French South-Sea Ships*.

He had with him his Cloaths and Bedding, with a Firelock, some Powder, Bullets, and Tobacco, a Hatchet, a Knife, a Kettle, a Bible, some practical Pieces, and his Mathematical Instruments and Books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but, for the first eight Months, he had much ado to bear up against Melancholy, and the Terror of being left alone in such a desolate Place.

He built two Huts with Piemento Trees, covered them with long Grass, and lined them with the Skins of Goats, which he killed with his Gun as he wanted, so long as his Powder lasted, which was but a Pound; and, that being near spent, he got Fire by rubbing two Sticks of Piemento Wood together upon his Knee. In the lesser Hut, at some Distance from the other, he dressed his Victuals, and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in Reading, Singing Psalms, and Praying; so that he said he was a better Christian while in this Solitude, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

At first he never eat any Thing till Hunger constrained him, partly for Grief, and partly for Want of Bread and Salt; nor did he go to Bed till he could watch no longer; the Piemento Wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for Firing and Candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant Smell.

He might have had Fish enough, but could not eat them for Want of Salt, because they occasioned a Looseness, except Craw-fish, which are there as large as our Lobsters, and very good: These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his Goats Flesh, of which he made very good Broth, for they are not so rank as ours; he kept an Account of Five-hundred that he killed, while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the Ear and let go.

When his Powder failed, he took them by Speed of Foot, for his Way of Living, and continual Exercise of Walking and Running, cleared him of all gross Humours, so that he ran with wonderful Swiftnes through the Woods, and up the Rocks and Hills, as we

perceived, when we employed him to catch Goats for us. We had a Bull-Dog, which we sent with several of our nimblest Runners, to help him in catching Goats; but he distanced and tired both the Dog and the Men, caught the Goats, and brought them to us on his Back.

He told us, that his Agility in pursuing a Goat had once like to have cost him his Life; he pursued it with so much Eagerness, that he caught Hold of it on the Brink of a Precipice, of which he was not aware, the Bushes having hid it from him; so that he fell with the Goat down the Precipice a great Height, and was so stunned and bruised with the Fall, that he narrowly escaped with his Life, and, when he came to his Senses, found the Goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four Hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his Hut, which was about a Mile distant, or to stir Abroad again in ten Days.

He came at last to relish his Meat well enough without Salt or Bread, and, in the Season, had Plenty of good Turneps, which had been sowed there by Captain *Dampier's* Men, and have now overspread some Acres of Ground. He had enough of good Cabbage from the Cabbage-Trees, and seasoned his Meat with the Fruit of the Piemento Trees, which is the same as the *Jamaica* Pepper, and smells deliciously. He found there also a black Pepper, called *Malagita*, which was very good to expel Wind, and against Gripping of the Guts.

He soon wore out all his Shoes and Cloaths by running thro' the Woods; and, at last, being forced to shift without them, his Feet became so hard, that he ran every where without Annoyance; and it was some Time before he could wear Shoes, after we found him; for, not being used to any so long, his Feet swelled, when he came first to wear them again.

After he had conquered his Melancholy, he diverted himself, sometimes by cutting his Name on the Trees, and the Time of his being left and Continuance there. He was at first pestered with Cats and Rats, that had bred in great Numbers from some of each Species which had got ashore from the Ships that put in there to wood and water. The Rats gnawed his Feet and Cloaths, while asleep, which obliged him to cherish the Cats with
his

his Goats Fleth; by which many of them became so tame, that they would lie about him in Hundreds, and soon delivered him from the Rats. He likewise tamed some Kids, and, to divert himself, would now and then sing and dance with his Cats; so that by the Care of Providence, and Vigour of his Youth, being now but about thirty Years old, he came at last to conquer all the Inconveniencies of his Solitude, and to be very easy.

When his Cloaths wore out, he made himself a Coat and Cap of Goats-skins, which he stitched together with little Thongs of the same, that he cut with his Knife. He had no other Needle but a Nail, and, when his Knife was wore to the Back, he made others, as well as he could, of some Iron Hoops that were left a-shore, which he beat thin and ground upon Stones. Having some Linnen Cloth by him, he sewed himself Shirts with a Nail, and stitched them with the Worsted of his old Stockings, which he pulled out on Purpose. He had his last Shirt on when we found him in the Island.

At his first Coming on Board us, he had so much forgot his Language for Want of Use, that we could scarce understand him, for he seemed to speak his Words by Halves. We offered him a Dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but Water since his being there, and it was some Time before he could relish our Victuals.

He could give us an Account of no other Product of the Island than what we have mentioned, except small black Plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the Trees which bear them growing on high Mountains and Rocks. Piemento Trees are plenty here, and we saw one sixty Feet high, and about two Yards thick; and Cotton Trees higher, and near four Fathom round in the Stock.

The Climate is so good, that the Trees and Grass are verdant all the Year. The Winter lasts no longer than *June* or *July*, and is not then severe, there being only a small Frost and a little Hail, but sometimes great Rains. The Heat of the Summer is equally moderate, and there is not much Thunder or tempestuous Weather of any Sort. He saw no venomous or savage Creature on the Island, nor any other Sort of Beast but Goats, &c. as above-mentioned; the first of which had been put a-shore here on Purpose for a Breed by

V O L. V.

Juan Fernando a Spaniard, who settled there with some Families for a Time, till the Continent of *Chili* began to submit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this Island, which is capable of maintaining a good Number of People, and of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged.

Ringrose, in his Account of Capt. *Sharp's* Voyage and other Buccaneers, mentions one, who had escaped a-shore here, out of a Ship which was cast away with all the rest of his Company, and says, he lived five Years alone, before he had the Opportunity of another Ship to carry him off. Capt. *Dampier* talks of a *Moskito Indian*, that belonged to Capt. *Watlin*; who, being hunting in the Woods, when the Captain left the Island, lived there three Years alone, and shifted much in the same Manner as Mr. *Selkirk* did, till Capt. *Dampier* came hither, in 1684, and carried him off. The first, that went a-shore, was one of his Country-men, and they saluted one another, first by Prostrating themselves by Turns on the Ground, and then by Embracing.

But, whatever there is in these Stories, this of Mr. *Selkirk* I know to be true; and his Behaviour afterwards gives me Reason to believe the Account, he gave me, how he spent his Time, and bore up under such an Affliction, in which nothing but the Divine Providence could have supported any Man. By this one may see, that Solitude, and Retirement from the World, is not such an unfufferable State of Life, as most Men imagine, especially when People are fairly thrown into it unavoidably, as this Man was; who, in all Probability, must otherwise have perished in the Seas, the Ship, which left him, being cast away not long after, and few of the Company escaped.

We may perceive, by this Story, the Truth of the Maxim, That *Necessity is the Mother of Invention*; since he found Means to supply his Wants in a very natural Manner, so as to maintain his Life; though not so conveniently, yet as effectually, as we are able to do with the Help of all our Arts and Society. It may likewise instruct us, how much a plain and temperate Way of Living conduces to the Health of the Body, and the Vigour of the Mind; both which we are apt to destroy by Excess and Plenty, especially of strong Li-

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quor, and the Variety, as well as the Nature, of our Meat and Drink ; for this Man, when he came to our ordinary Method of Diet and

Life, though he was sober enough, lost much of his Strength and Agility.

An Account of the Island of Juan Fernandez.

THE Island of *Juan Fernandez* is nearest of a triangular Form, about twelve Leagues round, and has a small Island, near a Mile long, lying near it, with several Rocks close under it ; near which there are very good Fish of several Sorts. It abounds with Cabbage-trees, which grow for three Miles together, and are extraordinary good ; also Turneps, which grow wild here. The Soil is a loose black Earth, and there are often great Drifts of Snow and Ice in *July* ; but, in the Spring, which is in *September, October, and November*, it is very pleasant.

Mr. *Selkirk* says, That, in *November*, the Seals come a-shore to whelp and ingender, when the Shore is so full of them, that it is impossible to pass through them ; and they are so furly, that they will not move out of the Way, but, like an angry Dog, run at a Man, though he have a good Stick to beat them ; so that at this, and their Whelping-seasons, it is dangerous to come near them, but, at other Times, they will make Way for a Man ; and, if they did not, it would be impossible to get from the Water-side ; they lined the Shore very thick, for above half a Mile of Ground, all round the Bay. When we came in, they kept a continual Noise Day and Night, some bleating like Lambs, some howling like Dogs or Wolves, others making hideous Noises of various Sorts ; so that we heard them a-board, though a Mile from the Shore : Their Fur is the finest that ever I saw of the Kind, and exceeds that of our Otters.

Another strange Creature here is the Sea-lion ; the Governor tells me, he has seen of them above twenty Feet long, and more in Compass, which could not weigh less than two Tons Weight. I saw several of these vast Creatures, but none of the abovementioned Size ; several of them were upwards of sixteen Feet long, and more in Bulk, so that they could not weigh less than a Ton Weight. The Shape of their Body differs little from the Sea-dogs, or Seals, but they have another Sort

of Skin, a Head much bigger in Proportion, and very large Mouths, monstrous big Eyes, and a Face like that of a Lion, with very large Whiskers, the Hair of which is stiff enough to make Tooth-pickers. These Creatures come a-shore to ingender, the latter End of *June*, and stay till the End of *September* ; during which Time they lie on the Land, and are never observed to go to the Water, but lie in the same Place above a Musquet-shot from the Water-side, and have no Manner of Sustenance all that Time, that he could observe.

I took Notice of some, that lay a Week without once Offering to move out of the Place, whilst I was there, till they were disturbed by us ; but we saw few, in Comparison of what, he informed us, he did, and that the Shore was all crowded full of them, a Musquet-shot into the Land. I admire how these Monsters come to yield such a Quantity of Oil ; their Hair is short and coarse, and their Skin thicker, than the thickest Ox-hide I ever saw. We found no Land-bird on the Island, but a Sort of Black-bird with a red Breast, not unlike our *English* Black-bird, and the Humming-bird of various Colours, and no bigger than a large Humble-bee. Here is a small Tide, which flows uncertain, and the Spring-tide flows about seven Feet.

This is the Account given by himself to the Captain of the Ship, as will be attested by several Merchants and Captains upon the *Exchange*, who have conversed with him : In which Relation, the Divine Providence of God may be visibly seen, *first*, in throwing him upon the desolate Island, and, *next*, in supporting him under such an Affliction, whilst the Ship, which he left, soon after perished in the Sea, and few of the Company escaped : All which singular Acts of Providence, that conspired in his Preservation, he wholly and piously ascribes to the infinite Goodness and Mercy of God ; to whom all Honour and Glory be given, now and evermore.

Sir *Robert Sherley*, sent Ambassiadour, in the Name of the King of *Persia*, to *Sigismund the Third*, King of *Poland* and *Swecia*, and to other Princes of *Europe*. His Royall Entertainment into *Cracovia*, the chiefe Citie of *Poland*, with his pretended Comming into *England*. Also, the honorable Praises of the same Sir *Robert Sherley*, giuen vnto him in that Kingdom, are here likewise inserted. *London* : Printed by *I. Windet*, for *Iohn Budge*, and are to be Sold at his Shop, at the great South Doore of *Pauls*, 1609. (In *Black Letter*.) Quarto, containing twenty-two Pages.

To the Worthie and Noble affected Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Sherley*, Father to that Illustrious Sparke of Honor and Vertue, Sir *Robert Sherley*.

S I R,

NOT long since it was my Happinesse to meete with a little Poem in Latine, as full fraught with the Prayses of your worthie renowned Sonne, as is his Brest with Vertues ; which no sooner mine Eie had visited, but the generall Fame of his Noblenesse invited me to make his Prayses as generall, and, because it had beene a great Iniurie to his Worthinesse, that but one Tongue should sound forth his Encomiums, who in so many Tongues hath purchased Glory, thought it a Part of Humanitie, and the Office of a Native Countriman, since his Honors were so spacious and generall, to make his Prayses speake more Tongues then one ; and, amongst all, especially, I chose the Voice of his owne Country, as the fittest Trumpet of his Fame, for whose Honor he hath chiefly aduentured his Life and Fortunes : To you therefore, the happie Father of so worthy a Son, I dedicate both my Loue and Labour, knowing the vniversall Taste of his Noblenesse cannot come to the deere Thirst of his Country more pleasing, then to your Soule ioyfull.

To the Reader.

Reader,

THIS *Persian Robe*, so richly wouen with the Prayses onely of Sir *Robert Sherley*, thy Countriman, comes to thee at a lowe Price, though it cost him deere that weares it, to purchase so much Fame, as hath made it so excellent. It is now his for euer ; thine so long as it is his ; for every good Man, as I hope thou art, doth participate in the Renowne of those that are good and vertuous.

H h h 2 He

He hath beene a Traueller a long Time, giue him now a Welcome Home; the Armes of his owne Country embracing him, will bee more ioyfull to him, then all those of so many forraine Kingdomes, with which he hath so often beene honored.

If a Man, that hath ventured through the World, may deserue thy Loue, thou canst not chofe, but bestow as much of it vpon him, as vpon any. . Looke vpon him truly, and thou shalt find a large generall Chronicle of Time writ in a little Volume.

He comes laden with the Trophies of Warre, and the Honors of Peace. The *Turke* hath felt the Sharpnesse of his Sword, and against the *Turke* is he now whetting the Swords of Christian Princes. Much more could I speake of him, but that I should doe Wrong to the common Lawes of Ciuillitie, by taking away that Reuerence from Strangers, whome, from Countryes asfarre of, you shall presently heare giuing ample Testimonies of his Noblenesse.

Vale.

ALBEIT that Man can receiue his Birth but from one Place, yet is he borne a Freeman of all the Cities of the World. The whole Earth is his Country, and he that dwelleth fardest off is, by the Lawes of Nature, as neerer to him in Loue, as his Kindred and Acquaintance. This general Charter being giuen by the King of this uniuersall Crowne, to all Nations, hath caused Men, from Time to Time, by the Vertue of that Priuiledge, to forsake the Places of their first Being, and to trauell into other Countries. The Benefits, that Kingdomes haue gotten by this Meanes, cannot, in so small a Volume, as this in Hand, be comprehended. Trauell is the golden Mine that enricheth the poorest Country, and filleth the Barrenest with abundant Plenty. It is the Chaine that at first tyed Kingdomes together, and the muscull String that still maintaines them in Concord, in Leagues, and in Unity. The *Portugalls* haue hereby crowned themselves, and there Posterity, with Garlands of neuer dying Honor. The *Spaniards* haue their Names, for this, so deeply ingrauen in the Chronicles of Fame, that they can neuer be forgotten. The *French* likewise, and the *Dutch*, haue raised their Glories to a nobler Height, onely by these Aduentures. In Imitation of all whose Labors, or rather, in Emulation of all their Fames, our *Englishmen* haue not onley slept as farre as any of them all, but gone beyond the most, and the best of them. And not to reckon those Men of Worth, in this Kinde, of our owne Nation, whose Voyages and Trauels, by Sea and Land, to set down, were able to fil whole Volumes: I

will onely, at this Time (not with a loud and shrill Trumpet, as they deserue, but, as it were, uppon an Instrument, tuned and directed by another) giue onely a soft Touch at the Praises of this worthy Gentleman, Sir Robert Sherley, of whose Aduentures, Dangers, and various Fortunes, both good and bad, to draw a true Picture in the right and liuely Colors, would as easily feed Mens Eies with gazing Admiration, as the large pictured Tables of others haue filled them with Wonder.

Being therefore contented, at this Time, to swim but in a shallow Streame, of his Fame; sithence greater Sayles are likely hereafter, and that very shortly, to swell with the true Report of his Actions: You shall vnderstand, that Sir Robert Sherley, after a long, a chargeable, and a dangerous Progresse through most, if not all, the Kingdomes in *Europe*, receiuing Entertainment from the Princes of those Dominions, sitting to such a Ghuett, Desire of Glorie still more and more burning within him; at the length, he left *Europe*, and trauelled into *Asia*, receiuing noble Entertainment at the Hands of the King of *Persia*, in whose Court he so well and so wisely bore himselfe in all his Actions, that the *Persian*, with much of his Loue, of which he tasted most plenteously, heaped on his Head many honorable Faouours.

That common Enemy of Christ and Christians, the *Turke*, lifting vp his Sword continually, for the most Part, not onely against the *Pelack*, the *Hungarian*, *Bohemian*, and other Princes of *Christendome*, but also thirsting after the rich Empire of *Persia*, and, shewing a mortall Hatred to that Kingdome by being euer vp in Armes against it; it was thought fit,

fit, that (the *Persian* himfelfe confefling and worshipping Chrift) Ayde fhould be required at the Hands of Chriftian Princes in the *Persians* Behalfe, againft fo barbarous, fo ambitious, and fo generall an Enemy. Heerupon the Honor of fuch an Ambaffy was conferred, by the King of *Persia*, vpon Sir Robert Sherley, as a Man worthy and apt to treat with Chriftian Princes, in fo weighty a Bufineffe; he himfelfe being a Chriftian born, and a Gentleman that had trauelled, and, by Experience, knew the Conditions, State, and Pollicies of moft of their Kingdomes.

Firft therefore was he employed into *Poland*, where, by *Sigifmond*, the King of *Poland* and of *Suecia*, he was receiued with great Magnificence and Applaufe, both of the *Polack* himfelfe, and of his People.

And becaufe it is not fit, that euery com-

mon and popular Eare fhould ftand lifting to the priuate Bufineffe of Princes, in a De-feignement that concerns the uniuersall State of *Chriftendome*, we will not therefore, at this Time, be Interpreters of the *Persians* Ambaffy, but rather waite his expected Comming, who hath in Charge to deliuer it vp by Word of Mouth himfelfe.

In the meane Time, notwithstanding, forbearing to reckon vp the rich Prefents giuen by the *Poland* King to Sir Robert, the Honors done to him by the *Polifh* Lords, and the Fauors throwne vpon him by the common People, you fhall be Witneffes onely to thofe, not vnworthy, Praifes of him, by which his Fame, amongst Schollers by thofe of the better Sort, was lifted vp, at the Time of his Staying in *Poland*.

A Fourefold Anagram vpon Sir Robert Sherleys Name.

ROBERTVS SHERLÆIVS.

1 H *Eus Labor, Tueris Res.*
2 S *eruus, aq Hero Liber.*

3 L *ibertas, ero Seruus.*
4 V *irtus, Labores fere.*

Encomions, or Praifes, as well vpon the Name, as the Negotiation of Sir Robert Sherley, an Englifh Knight, fent Ambaffadour from the King of the Perfians, to the Princes of Europe.

M*ercurius*, feeing the Ambaffadour ready to take his Iourney, resigneth vnto him his Office, as beeing Messenger or Herald to the Gods, according to the Fiction of Poets, and with that Office beftoweth the Gift of Eloquence vpon him, becaufe he may haue Power to perfwade the Princes to whom he is fent;

and, withal, addes a Wifh, that thofe Chriftian Kings, whom he is to follicite, may not be cold in ioyning their Forces together, but that they may enter into an honorable, a pious, and inuiolable League againft that common Enemy, the *Turke*.

Mercuries Speech.

T*HOU, O Sherley*, beeing borne an *Englifhman*, art fent from the *Persian* Empire, to the Kingdomes that lye in *Europe*; thy Place is full of Honor, thy Message of Waight; difcharge thou therefore boldly thofe Things, which the greate Lord of *Persia* commands thee to doe. It is not Chance that throws this high Office vpon thee, but a full Synode, or Parliament, of all the Gods, doe appoint thee to be their Messenger to the great Kinges of the Earth. For this Cause, I that am Heauens winged Messenger, feeing thee ready

to depart, prefent my felfe thus before thee, and vttering only fo much, as in the Letters of thy Name lyes myftically hidden, and that is this,

*Eus Labor, — tu Res hoc ore tueris
Perfarum. —*

O exceeding Labor! yet thou art the Man, that muft defend the State of the *Persians*, euen by the Force of my Eloquence. Go on therefore, be thou *Mercurius* in the Courts of Kinges: I giue thee my Place; I giue it to thee,

thee, that art more worthy of it then my selfe. O that the Princes of *Europe* would knit an indissoluble League together, with thy Master, the *Persian* Monarch, and tie all their Sinewes to one Arme, that a noble Warre may be begotten. Let *Bellona*, the Goddess of Battailles, breath Courage into the Breasts of Souldiers; and let no Countrey be dishonored by bearing Men, that haue no Hearts to come into the Fielde. O let not that couetous Dragon, which once watched the golden Firmament, sleepe in the Bosomes of Kings, and, with his Poison, infect them with that couetous Disease of hoarding vp Gold. Cast off, O you Princes,

your sensuall Pleasures, and let it be your Ambition to weare Garlands of Oake, which are the Crownes of Conquerors. Prefer immortall Fame before all those Dangers, over which you must of Necessity passe, be they neuer so inuincible in the Shew of yndertaking; and aspire onely to that Life which shall remaine, when your Bodies lye dead. Heauen, in your doing so, shall smile vpon your Enterprises. Hell shall be conquered, and that Hell-hownde Broode of *Mabomet* be vtterly confounded. Vniuersall Peace shall crown the World, and the barbarous *Turks*, feeble the Sinewes and puissant Arms of *Europe*.

To the Nations (vnto whome the Ambassadour is sent, on great and serious Affaires, as rightly may be coniectured) a Desire and Wish is made, that all Kinges in Christendome may entertaine this holy Warre, with the same Courage, Constancie, and Zeale, that the Persian doeth.

HEarken, O you *Polanders, Italians, French,* and you *Germanes*; enrich your Chronicles, with an Act of a Wonder neuer heard of in the World before: For, beholde, a *Brittaine* is sent on a royall Message, from the King of the *Persians*. A *Brittaine* is sent, but who is it? Such a one he is, as by his Name, being before anagramatizde, he may apparantly be deciphered,

As Liber, Seruus Hero.

Free-borne, and a Seruant onely vnto his Soueraigne.

He, even he, is sent to you, O you Nations of *Europe*, from the Confines of the *Persians*, bringing along with him the Name of his Lord, and, with that Name, the Sound of an approaching Warre.

The Destinies begin to promise some great Matter: The God of Battailles, heereupon, speakes cheerefully. God himselfe prepares the Armour; muster yourselues together therefore, O you Kinges, and, with a religious Defence, draw your Swordes against the *Turkes*.

A congratulatory compendious Speech, to Sir Robert Sherley, commending both his Vertue, and present Fortune.

O *Sherley!* thou that art an Honor to the *Persians*, as well as to the *Brittaines*, within whose Head dwelleth Experience and Wisdome, and vpon whose Tongue Eloquence writeth her Charmes: Whatsoeuer he was, that at first durst say, That Fortune was blind, and that she bestowed extraordinary Benefits vpon vnderferuing Men, let him know, that all this While he hath bin in an Error; for

Fortune had more Eyes then *Argus*, when she crowned this *Englishman* with so many *Persian* Honors and Offices. That Monarch, O thou renowned *Brittaine*, whose Sword is dreadfull to the *Tbracian* Tyrant, makes thee a Partner in the Cares and Burdens of his Empyre; for he hath seene, yea, he hath euer seene, and found thee constant in Execution of all his iust and royall Commandes.

The Empire of the Persian is here commended: The Kinges and Princes of Europe being called to giue Witnesse, how much Glory the Dextertie of Sir Robert Sherley hath added to the Persian Monarchie: Vpon which, he appears to the Persians a Gentleman of such Merit, as that England may very iustly accuse Persia of Wrong, for Detaining him from her.

THE Fame of the *Persian* Empyre doth not grow vp onely in a meane Souldier, for their Cities are full of renowned and worthy Captains: From the ancient Discipline and Stratagems of Watre, are the Glories of the *Persians* sprung vp and continue famous. But, O thou honoured *Englishman*, she derived her first Principles from thy Practise and Knowledge. Farre be my Words from the base Seruitude of Flattery; for, within a short Time, Kings shall rise vp as Witnessse of what I speake. Let thine owne Countrey enuy the Kingdome of *Persia* for enioying this Honor, which by thee is giuen her; yet, let her challenge thee to be deliuered backe againe as

her owne, yet let her Clayme be made in such Manner, that *England* and *Persia* may not grow into Quarrell about thee, but rather thus let them both share thee. Let rich *Persia* enioy thy Prefence, and reckon thee in the Number of her Citizens, and be proud in the Possession of a Man, so worthy. Let *England* glorie, that she alone is happy in thy Birth, and that she beares the Honor of giuing thee thy Name. But howsoever, O thou, the Dignitie and Luster of two renowned Kingdomes, goe thou on, in thine intended Ambassage, and performe these Heasts, which the great *Persian*, thy Lord, hath imposed vpon thy Integrity.

A short Speech, uttered, as it were, by the whole Body of the Polish Court, to Robert Sherley, Ambassadour from the inuincible King of the Persians.

IT is not thy rich Garments embroydered so thicke with Gold, and wouen by *Gracian* Workemen, that drawes our Eyes into Admiration by Beholding thee. It is not thy sparkling Jewels, nor those costly pretious Stones that adorne thy Robe, which dazle our Sight. It is not thy comely Ryding, nor skilfull Managing of that *Thracian* Courser, vpon whose Back thou sittest, whilst the proud Beast it selfe champs on the Glistering Bit, in Disdain to be so curbed, that makes vs to looke after

thee. It is not that victorious Semyter of thine, wherewith thou hast made the Earth drunke so often with so much Bloud of those, that are Enemies to the *Persians*, that causeth vs to stand gazing at thy Prefence: No, it is the Beauty of thy Minde wherewith our Eyes are enchanted. It is the excellent Musicke of thy Tongue, that so ties our Eares to thy Charmes, thou being able to speake and to answer so many severall Nations, in their owne proper Languages.

Englands Complaint to Persia for her Sherley.

O *Persia*! thou glorious Kingdome, thou chiefe of Empires; the Palace sometimes where Wisedomē onely kept her Court, the Land that was gouerned by none but by Wisemen: Yet must I tell thee, and with Griefe dost thou inforce me to tell thee, that, against all Law of Nations, thou robbest me of my Subiect. Why should the Right of another bee thine? It is Iustice for euery one to keepe their owne; but thou makest vp thy Gaine by my Losse. Is this Equitie? Is this tollerable? Cease to doe it; and send Home, O *Persia*, that Sonne of mine to me that am his Mother, for to me onely is he due. But, aye me, the Honors of his owne Countrey,

and the Palaces of my Kingdome, are by him, belike, neglected, and seeme not worth the Looking on: And though, to the Eye of the World, I may, perhaps, appeare beautifull and great; yet, in his Eye, I shew no bigger then a small Corner of the Worlde. I doe enuy thee therefore, O *Persia*, onely for him: Yet, sithence I cannot enioy him, fare thou well, O thou my Darling, and, with that Farewell, beare along with thee the Praises which I giue thee. I rob *Persia*, *Persia* robs not me: My Losse is to me more Honour; for the *Persian* Empire borrowes her Brightnes from the Beames of one of the Sonnes of *England*.

Sherley to his native Countrey.

O Thou, my Countrey, if I should pay back into thy Hands so much as by Bond

is due vnto thee from me, I should then lay downe my Life at thy Feete. But my Thoughts

Thoughts ayme at greater Matters; it is not Breath I would pay thee, but Fame: Take thou from me so much Honor, as may make me liue for euer. Liberty is the Gole to which I run, but such a Liberty it is, as may free me from the common Basenesse of the Multitude, and make me worthy to be respected by the Eye of a King.

Seruus hero, I am a Seruant to that greates Maister, to whose Feete all the *Persians* bow and doe Reuerence: I am his Seruant, that I may bee his Messenger, and beare the Treatyes of such a King, to other Kings in *Christendome*. I am destin'de out, to deliuer his Minde in their owne Languages, to Forraine

Princes, and to the Monarches of the Earth. Let them therefore come together, and quicklie shall the *Turkish* Fury be calmed; and, being weakened in her owne Strengths, shall be glad to kneele to the Power and Mercy of others. And thou, O my natie Country, if thou wouldest be pleased to knit thy Forces in this iust and vniuersall Warre, To what Dignities mayst thou aduance thy selfe? Whatsoever is dishonorable, hath a base Descention, and sincks beneath Hell: But whatsoever is good and honest, lifts vp an vnblemished Brow on high, and makes it leuell with the Front of Heauen.

The Authors Wish and Request to Vertue, that she would give vnto Sherley such a fruitfull Haruest of his Labours, that, hauing conquered the Hardnesse of them, his Name may aspire to the full Height of his Desert.

O Vertue! the noblest and boldest Guide, thou that giuest to Men the due Crowne of Praises, prosper thou the honored Enterprises of *Sherley*: But, touching those Paths which must leade him to Titles of Fame and

Honour, make them euen and certaine before him: He hath no Desire to haue his Name eaten out by the Rust of Idlenesse; no, he will neuer vnworthily sinck beneath his owne proposed Fortune.

Another of the same Author, touching Sir Robert Sherley being called, as it were, by Fate, to manage the Affaires of Forraine Princes.

WHAT is the Cause that *Sherley* hath not all this While liued in the same Country, that first lent him Breath? This is the Reason, a Spirit so greates was not to be contained within so small a Circle, as his Country. Besides,

*He is the Child of Fate, and highly sings
Of kingly Ambassies to none but Kings.*

Crownde with these Prayses, as you heare in *Poland*, and leauing the Fame of his memorable Actions behind him, bending his Course to other Princes of *Christendome* with the same Royall Ambassage of honorable, and Christian Confederacie against *Mahomet*, and his Adherents, it shal not bee amisse here to speake of the Kingdome of *Persia*, where *Sir Robert* receiued such honorable Entertainment, futable to his noble Actions, and the Vertues of his Minde, as also the Maners, Fashions, Rites, and Customes, that are and haue bene obserued by the *Persians*; and first, for their

Religion which they haue obserued of old, doing Worship and Reuerence in their vpright Zeale to the Sunne, Moone, *Venus*, Fire, Earth, Water, and Winds, erecting neyther Altars nor Statues, but in open Fields offering their Sacrifices, which Sacrifices were superstitious, and full of idle Ceremonies, too tedious to be here reherfed: For their Kings, the golden Line of them is drawn out of one Family, that Custome amongst the *Persians* neuer as yet suffred Change or Alteration, and so seuerer their Lawes are in Effect, to the Punishing of all rebellious, treasonable and disobedient People, that, whoeuer hee be that is found repugnant in the least Demeanor to the Will and Affection of the King, hee is ceazde vpon by the Tormentors, his Head and Armes chopt off, and, with his detested Body, throwne into some common Field, without eyther Grave or Couering: And for their Palaces and Royall Mansions, this hath euer bene the continued Custome amongst them, that euery King hath had his Seate Royall erected on

some high Hill or Mountaine, the Bowels of which hee makes his safe Treasure-house, where all his Riches, Jewels, and Tribute Moneyes are, with exceeding Carefulnesse, kepte hid and secret: And so much they do detest Sterility and Barrennesse, that from the highest to the lowest they take many Wiues in Mariage, counting the fruitfull Propagation of the Empire, the onely Happinesse they can rayse to it; and so much they thirst after humane Fruitfulnesse, that the Kings themselves propound great Gifts and Rewards, to those that in one Yeare bring forth the greatest Haruest of Mankinde: From five Yeare olde to foure-and-twenty, the Male Children practise to ride great Horses, to throw the vulnerable and ineuitable Darte, to shoote in Arbalists or long Steele Bowes, and all such manly Exercises; which shames many other Christian Countries, and may iustly vpbraide them of Effeminacie and Lazynesse.

Their Victuals for the most Part, by which the common Sort of People are fed and do liue by, are Acorns and Hedge-peares; their Breade course and hard, their Drinke the running Springs: For their Apparrell, the Princes, and those that liue in greatest Respect amongst them, adorne their Bodies with a riple Robe, and another Garment in the Fashion of a Cloake hanging downe to their Knees, the inward Linings all of white Silks, and the outward facing like poudred Ermins; in Summer, for the most Part, they walke in Purple; the Winter refuses no Color; about their

Temples they weare a great Tyara, being a stately Ornament high and round, with a Cone at the Top, from which descends a rich faire Pendant of some costly embrodered Stoffe, as Tissue, &c.

Attird in some of which ordinary *Persian* Habits, his Agent, Master *Moore* is lately arrived in *England*, bringing happy Tidings of this famous *English Persian*, as also of his Comming to *England*, to the exceeding great Joy of his Natiue Country, laden with Honours through every Kingdome, as the deserving Ornaments of his Vertue and Labour. And thus, ingenuous Reader, haue I set down by true and most credible Information, a brieue Epitome of Sir *Robert Sherleyes* Entertainment into *Craccuia*, the chiefe Cittye of *Poland*, together with all those severall Speeches deliuered to him by the Schollers of that Countrye, which, although they may seeme to the nice Ear of our Times, not altogether so pure and polished as the refined Labours of many *English* Wits, yet therein they strived to express both their Fashion and Affection to the worthy Vertues of Sir *Robert*; for a Tast of their Stile and Manner of Writing, it shall not be amiss, if you cast your Eye vpon these Verses following, composed by a Scholler worthily reputed in that Country, one *Andreas Locacchius*, and those are they which of his I borrow to shut vp the honorable Praises of our famous *English* Traueller.

Ad illustrissimum & maximi tum ingenij tum animi virum, Dom. Robertum Sherlæum, equitem Anglum, Regis Persarum nomine ad Europæ PP. legatum.

A Emule Honos Animo Proavis, Lux alta,
Britannæ

Qui gentis pessum non finis ire Decus;
Non vni dat Cuncta Polis, sed Carmina Apollo,
Mars Vires, Arcas Nuncius Ingenium.
Hæc cuncta vnus habes, est vis, sunt ora disertâ,
Numina auara aliis, prodiga facta tibi;
Persia se iactat gemino in te munere, Martis
Pectore belligeri; Palladis Ingenio,

Tantus honore licet, te Scoti haud subtrahæ
Vena,

At Venam excedit pondere vatis Amor.
Immo censendum satis est cecinisse Poetam
Quod tibi se fassus carmine & ore rudem;
Parua loquor, ne te venturis subtrahæ sæclis:
At Fidei, ut Famæ, suefice parare modum,

The Speech of the Lord *Digby*, in the High Court of Parliament, concerning Grievances. Printed for *Thomas Walkely*, 1641. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

YOU have received now a solemn Account from most of the Shires of *England*, of the several Grievances and Oppressions they sustain, and nothing as yet from *Dorsetshire*. Sir, I would not have you think that I serve for a Land of *Goshen*, that we live there in Sun-shine, whilst Darkness and Plagues overspread the rest of the Land: As little would I have you think, that, being under the same sharp Measure that the rest, we are either insensible and benumbed, or that that Shire wanteth a Servant to represent its Sufferings boldly.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, the County of *Dorset* hath not digested its Complaints into that formal Way of Petition, which others, I see, have done; but have intrusted them to my Partners and my Delivery of them, by Word of Mouth, unto this honourable House. And there was given unto us, in the County Court, the Day of our Election, a short Memorial of the Heads of them, which was read in the Hearing of the Freeholders there present, who all unanimously with one Voice signified upon each Particular, that it was their Desire that we should represent them to the Parliament, which, with your Leave, I shall do. And these they are:

1. The great and intolerable Burthen of Ship-money, touching the Legality whereof they are unsatisfied.
2. The many great Abuses in pressing of Soldiers, and raising Monies concerning the same.
3. The Multitude of Monopolies.
4. The new Canon, and the Oath to be taken by Lawyers, Divines, &c.
5. The Oath required to be taken by Church Officers to present, according to Articles new and unusual.

Besides this, there was likewise presented to

us, by a very considerable Part of the Clergy of that County, a Note of Remembrance, containing these two Particulars:

First, The Imposition of a new Oath required to be taken by all Ministers, and others, which they conceive to be illegal, and such as they cannot take with a good Conscience.

Secondly, The Requiring of a pretended Benevolence, but, in Effect, a Subsidy, under the Penalty of Suspension, Excommunication, and Deprivation, all Benefit of Appeal excluded.

This is all we had particularly in Charge: But, that I may not appear a remiss Servant of my Country, and of this House, give me Leave to add somewhat of my own Sense.

Truly, Mr. Speaker, the injurious Sufferings of some worthy Members of this House, since the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments, are so fresh in my Memory, that I was resolved not to open my Mouth in any Business wherein Freedom and plain Dealing were requisite, until such Time as the Breach of our Privileges were vindicated, and the Safety of Speech settled.

But since such excellent Members of our House thought fit the other Day to lay aside that Caution, and to discharge their Souls so freely in the Way of Zeal to his Majesty's Service, and their Country's Good: I shall interpret that Confidence of theirs for a lucky Omen to this Parliament, and, with your Permission, license my Thoughts too, a little.

Mr. Speaker, Under those Heads which I proposed to you, as the Grievances of *Dorsetshire*, I suppose are comprised the greatest Part of the Mischiefs which have, of late Years, laid Battery either to our Estates or Consciences.

Sir, I do not conceive this the fit Season to search and ventilate Particulars, yet, I profess, I cannot forbear to add somewhat to what

what was said the last Day by a learned Gentleman of the Long Robe, concerning the Acts of that Reverend new Synod, made of an old Convocation. Doth not every Parliament-Man's Heart rise to see the Prelates thus usurp to themselves the Grand Pre-eminence of Parliament? The Granting of Subsidies, and that under so preposterous a Name as of a Benevolence, for that which is a Malevolence indeed; a Malevolence, I am confident, in those that granted it, against Parliaments; and a Malevolence surely in those that refuse it, against those that granted it; for how can it incite less? When they see wrested from them what they are not willing to part with, under no less a Penalty than the Loss both of Heaven and Earth; of Heaven, by Excommunication; and of the Earth, by Deprivation; and this without Redemption by Appeal. What good Christian can think with Patience on such an insnaring Oath, as that which is, by the new Canons, enjoined to be taken by all Ministers, Lawyers, Physicians, and Graduates in the Universities? Where, besides the Swearing such an Impertinence, as that Things necessary to Salvation are contained in Discipline; besides the Swearing those to be of Divine Right, which, amongst the Learned, never pretended to it, as the arch Things in our Hierarchy. Besides, the Swearing not to consent to the Change of that, which the State may, upon great Reason, think fit to alter; besides the bottomless Perjury of an &c. Besides all this, Mr. Speaker, Men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily what they are compelled unto; and, lastly, that they swear that Oath in the literal Sense, whereof no two of the Makers themselves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the Understanding.

In a Word, Mr. Speaker, to tell you my Opinion of this Oath, it is a Covenant against the King, for Bishops and the Hierarchy, as the *Scotish* Covenant is against them; only so much worse than the *Scotish*, as they admit not of the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and we are sworn unto it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, for those particular Heads of Grievances whereby our Estates and Properties are so radically invaded; I suppose, as I said before, that it is no Season now to enter into a strict Discussion of them; only thus much I shall say of them, with Applica-

tion to the Country for which I serve, that none can more justly complain, since none can more justly challenge Exemption from such Burthens than *Dorsetshire*; whether you consider it is a Country subsisting much by Trade, or as none of the most populous; or as exposed as much as any to foreign Invasion.

But, alas! Mr. Speaker, particular Lamentations are hardly distinguishable in universal Groans.

Mr. Speaker, it hath been a Metaphor frequent in Parliament, and, if my Memory fail me not, was made Use of in the Lord Keeper's Speech at the Opening of the last, that what Money Kings raised from their Subjects, they were but as Vapours drawn up from the Earth by the Sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying Showers: The Comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late Years in this Kingdom too unluckily: What hath been raised from the Subject by those violent Attractions hath been formed, it is true, into Clouds, but how? To darken the Sun's own Lustre, and hath fallen again upon the Land only in Hailstones and Mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our Liberties, to blast and wither our Affections; had not the latter of these been still kept alive by our King's own personal Virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of ill Counsellors, a sacred Object both of our Admiration and Loves.

Mr. Speaker, It hath been often said in this House, and, I think, can never be too often repeated, *That the Kings of England can do no Wrong*: But, though they could, Mr. Speaker, yet Princes have no Part in the Ill of those Actions which their Judges assure them to be just, their Counsellors that they are prudent, and their Divines that they are conscientious.

This Consideration, Mr. Speaker, leadeth me to that which is more necessary far, at this Season, than any farther Laying open of our Miseries, that is, the Way to the Remedy, by seeking to remove from our Sovereign such unjust Judges, such pernicious Counsellors, and such disconscient Divines, as have of late Years, by their wicked Practices, provoked Aspersions upon the Government of the graciouslest and best of Kings.

Mr. Speaker, Let me not be misunderstood; I level at no Man with a forelaid Design; I

let the Faults, and those well proved, lead us to the Men : It is the only true Parliamentary Method, and the only fit one to incline our Sovereign. For it can no more consist with a gracious and righteous Prince to expose his Servants upon irregular Prejudices, than with a wise Prince to withhold Malefactors, how great soever, from the Course of orderly Justice.

Let me acquaint you, Mr. Speaker, with an Aphorism in *Hippocrates*, no less authentick, I think, in the Body Politick, than in the Natural. This is it, Mr. Speaker, Bodies, to be thoroughly and effectually purged, must have their Humours first made fluid and moveable.

The Humours, that I understand to have caused all the desperate Maladies of this Na-

tion, are the ill Ministers. To purge them away clearly, they must be first loosened, unsettled, and extenuated, which can no Way be effected with a gracious Master, but by truly representing them unworthy of his Protection. And this leadeth me to my Motion, which is, that a select Committee may be appointed to draw out all that hath been here represented; such a Remonstrance as may be a faithful and lively Representation unto his Majesty of the deplorable Estate of this his Kingdom, and such as may happily point out unto his clear and excellent Judgment the pernicious Authors of it. And that, this Remonstrance being drawn, we may, with all Speed, repair to the Lords, and desire them to join with us in it. And this is my humble Motion.

The Levellers: A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony, proposing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing single Persons. With the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. London, Printed and Sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot-Court, in Grace-church-street, 1703. Quarto, containing thirty-two Pages.

An Epistle to a Member of Parliament.

Honoured Sir,

OUR Fore-fathers, if not now in Being, have passed an *Act*, prohibiting the Importation of Foreign, and for the Encouragement of the Breed of English Cattle, which, I am told, has much raised the Price of Land in England. With Submission to your better Judgment, I think, An *Act*, for Increasing the Breed of Englishmen, would be far more advantageous to the Realm. Some say, That our Ships are the Walls of our Island; but I say, Our Men are the Walls, the Bulwarks, and Fortresses of our Country. You can have no Navies, nor Armies, without Men; and, like prudent Farmers, we ought always to keep our Land well stocked. England never prospered by the Importation of Foreigners, nor have we any Need of them, when we can raise a Breed of our own.

What you have here presented, is a Discourse of two young Ladies, who, you find, are very willing to comply with such an *Act*, and are ready to go to Work for the Good of their Country, as soon as they shall have a legal Authority; of which, if you are the happy Instrument, you will have the Blessing of ten-thousand Damfels, and the Thanks of

Your humble Servant.

POLITICA.

POLITICA and *Sophia*, two young Ladies of great Beauty and Wit, having taken Lodgings together, this Summer, in the Country, diverted themselves in the Evenings by walking to a certain Shadow, which they might justly call their own, being frequented by none but themselves and the harmonious Society of the Wood. Here they consumed the happy Minutes, not in idle Chat peculiar to the Ladies of the Court and City; they did not dispute the Manner of Dressing, the Beauties and Foil of the Commode and Top-knot, nor the Laws and Administration of the Attiring-room. They talked of nobler Subjects, of the Beauty and wonderful Creation of Almighty God, and of the Nature of Man, the Lord of the Universe, and of the whole Dominions of Nature. Pity it is we cannot procure all that these Ladies have so privately, as they thought, discoursed; but we are very happy in having what follows, which came to our Knowledge by a mere Accident. A Gentleman, lodging in the Neighbourhood, one Evening, taking a Walk for his Recreation, haply laid himself down behind a Hedge, near the very Shadow frequented by these Ladies; he had not lain long, before these Angels appeared at a Distance, and he, peeping through the Boughs (which served as a Telescope to bring the divine Objects nearer his View) was extremely ravished with their Beauty; but, alas! What was the Beauty of their Faces to that of their Minds, discovered to this happy Man by the soft and charming Eloquence of their Tongues? And no Man in the World was better qualified to give an Account of this noble Dialogue, than this Person, he being an accurate Short-hand Writer, and had been Pupil to Mr. *Blainey* in that Science, and very happily had, at that Time, Pen, Ink, and Paper about him; he heard with Amazement their Discourse on common Affairs, but, when the charming *Sophia* had fixed on a Subject, he began to write as follows:

Sophia. My dear Sister, How happy are we in this blessed Retirement, free from the Hurry of the noisy Town! Here we can contemplate on the Wonders of Nature, and on the Wisdom of the great Founder of the Universe. Do you see how the Leaves of this Thicket are grown, since we first retired to

its Shadow? It now affords us a sufficient Shelter from the Heat of the Sun, from Storms, and Rain; see yonder Shrub, what Abundance of Cyons sprout from its Root? See yonder Ewes, with their pretty Lambs skipping and dancing by their Sides. How careful is Nature to propagate every Part of the Handy-work of the Almighty! But you and I, my *Politica*, are uselefs Creatures, not answering the End of our Creation in the Propagation of our Species, for which, next the Service of our Creator, we came into the World. This is our Sin, and we ought to be Transgressors no longer.

Politica. Every Creature desires to propagate its Species, and Nature dictates to every Part of the Creation the Manner of doing it. The brute Beasts are subservient to this Law, and wholly answer the End of their Creation: Now there is the same Desire in Mankind; but we, who are endowed with noble Faculties, and who have Countenances erected to behold the Wonders of God in the Firmament of Heaven, look so far into the Earth, that we sink beneath the Dignity of Beasts. In being averse to Generation, we offer Violence to the Laws of God and Nature imprinted on our Minds. What *she* can say, that Nature does not prompt her to the Propagation of her Species? Which, indeed, is one Argument of the Immortality of the Soul; for the rational Faculties concur with the Dictates of Nature in this Point. We are, as it were, immortal upon Earth, in our surviving Children. It is a Sort of Hyperbole, but it is as near Truth as possibly can be. We are all of us desirous of Life; and, since, being mortal, we cannot for ever inhabit this glorious World, we are willing to leave our Children in Possession.

I cannot agree with you, Madam, that it is our Fault we do not propagate our Species, at least, I am sure, it is none of mine; I am young, and healthy, and beautiful enough, and Nature daily tells me what Work I ought to do; the Laws of God circumscribe the Doing of it; and yet, notwithstanding my Conformity to both, you know, my Circumstances will not admit of Marriage.

Sophia. The Impulse of Nature in me, in that Respect, is as great as it can be in you, but still under the Regulations of the strictest Rules of Virtue. The End of our Creation might

might be better answered, were not the matrimonial Knot to be tied only by the Purse-string. I can say, I am young and beautiful, and that without any Vanity. This Mr. H—— knows well enough; he loves me intirely, and, I am sure, had rather live all his Life-time with me in a Garret, on the Scrag-end of a Neck of Mutton, than with the Lady his Father proposes; but the old Curmudgeon will not let his Son have the least Thoughts of me, because the Muck, my Father has left me, will not fill so many Dung-carts, as he can fill for his Son: It is even true, what the Parson said, 'Matrimony is become a Matter of Money.' This is the Reason, that you and I stick on Hand so long, as the Tradesmen at London say, when they cannot put off their Daughters.

Politica. Matrimony is, indeed, become a mere Trade; they carry their Daughters to *Smithfield*, as they do Horses, and sell to the highest Bidder. Formerly, I have heard, nothing went current in the Matrimonial Territories, but Birth and Blood; but, alas! this was in the antiquated Times, when Virtue and Honour was a Commodity in England, and when the Nobility and Gentry were in Possession of large Estates, and were content to live upon them, and keep Courts of their own in the Country; but, since they abandoned the State and Grandeur of their Fore-fathers, and became Courtiers, and extravagantly wasted their Substance in polluted Amours in the City, they have no Way to repair the Cracks in the Estates, but by Marrying of Fortunes; and, if the Woman be a Fortune, it is no Matter how she is descended; Gold is the Quarry they fly at. I remember some old Verses to this Purpose:

- 'Gold Marriages makes, 'tis the Center
'of Love;
- 'It sets up the Man, and it helps up the
'Woman;
- 'By the Golden Rule all Mortals do move,
- 'For Gold makes Lords bow to the Brat of
'a Broom-man.

These Verses are older than either you, or I, and yet they are true in our Time.

Sophia. Aye, Madam, too true, I find it so; but, methinks, it is a mere Way of selling Children for Money, when, poor Creatures, they often purchase what will be a

Plague to them all their Life-time, a cursed ill-natured Shrew, or a beastly, ill-conditioned Hubbard. Let me live a Maid to the last Minute of my Life, rather than thus to lose my Content, my Peace of Mind, and domestick Quiet, and all this for the inconsiderable Trifle of a large Bag of Money for my Portion. Let the old Curmudgeons keep the Golden Coxcombs, their Sons, for the best Market. Heaven send me a Spouse, that has Sense enough to despise a Bargain in Petticoats with Abundance of Money and no Brains! Methinks, a *Smithfield* Match is so very ridiculous, that it might nauseate a half-witted Courtier. How ridiculous is it for an old Miser to shew the Portion first, and his Daughter afterwards! And, when both Parties are agreed upon the Price, then Miss goes off, coarse or handsome, good or ill-natured, it is no Matter. I fancy, an old Miser, exposing his Daughter to Sale, looks like a Country Farmer selling his white-faced Calf in the Market, or like a Grasier enhancing the Price of a ragged, scrubby Ox, from the Consideration of Abundance of Tallow he will turn out. Even just such a Thing is a *Smithfield* Match; and, as soon as the Miser has struck the Bargain for his Daughter, away he goes to the Parson's Toll-book, and there is an End of the Matter.

Politica. It is even so; but it is a cursed wicked Way of Wedding; it is perfect Kidnapping Children into the Marriage Plantations. This Practice is contrary to the Laws of Nature and God. Those pretty Birds, you now hear singing over our Heads, last *Valentine's* Day, chose every one his Mate, without the Direction, or Approbation of their Parents. The Scripture says (I think it is in the Sixth of *Genesis*, and the second Verse) That the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, that they were fair; and they took them Wives of all which they chose. Do but mind this Text of Scripture, it is very much to our Purpose; it is not there said, That the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, that they had Abundance of Money, but they were fair, i. e. they were such as were beautiful and lovely. This was the Attractive of Courtship. It is not here said, that the old Misers, as now, carried their Sons and Daughters to *Marriage-Fair*, and swopped one for the other, with so much Money and the Vantage; but here the Sons are left to chuse themselves Wives,

Wives, and they chose such as were fair, even just such as my beautiful *Sophia*. And let me make this farther Remark, That, for Choosing such Wives, they are called *the Sons of God*: Hence it naturally follows, That whosoever do chuse Wives after any other Manner are the Sons of the Devil; and thus the young fold Couple are the Son and Daughter of the Devil, and the old Miser, that sold them, is the Devil's Brother-in-law, and so they are matched into a very fine Family.

Sophia. Truly, Sister, I am apt to think, God Almighty has nothing to do with such Matches, though we have a common Proverb in *England*, 'That Matches are made in Heaven;' I can truly say, as the Country Wench did, 'They are a long Time in coming down.' I have waited for one a great While to no Purpose; my Money will not grow to the Height of a Husband, though I water it with Tears, and air it with Sighs; but, prithee, Sister, let us contrive some Way or other how to remove this great Evil, this Grievance of Celibacy, under which the Nation groaneth. I can take it to be nothing less than a National Judgment, when our Men, the Strength of our Kingdom, are daily consumed and wasted away by the Wars, and there is no Care taken of a Supply. Our Ships and Armies, in a short Time, will want Soldiers; but this is none of our Fault; you and I would endeavour at a Race of Heroes for the Service of our Country, if we could come honestly at the Instruments which make them.

Politica. It is very true; but the Remedy: In the first Place, Sister, let us consider the Causes of the Evil, and then the Remedy. Begin, Madam, let me hear your Opinion of the Cause of this Evil.

Sophia. None fitter than your judicious Self to lead the Way in this Argument: But, however, Madam, I will obey your Command; and I think it is Want of Virtue both in young Men and Women, that is the chief Cause of this destructive Evil.

Out of Civility to the Man, I will begin first with our own Sex. I am ashamed, and blush to speak it, how many lewd Creatures there are of our Sex both in the Town and Country; were there not so many Whores, there would be more Wives. The vicious Sort of Men are by them kept from marrying; for it is mere Virtue must confine a Man to a married State, where he has an uninter-

rupted Converse with Womankind as seldom and as often as he pleases, without Confinement to any particular Person or Temper. This made a Nobleman say, that *Two Things could never be wanted in London, a Wife and a Watch; because one may have a Whore, and see what it is a Clock, at the End of every Street.*

The numerous Company of Strumpets and Harlots, in *London*, makes the lewd Sort of Men out of Love with Matrimony. Nay, I have heard them say, *There is no Woman honest after the Age of Fifteen*. I know they are Lyars; but, I am sorry to say it, they have too much Reason to be out of Love with our Sex. Sometimes I myself am almost of their Opinion, especially when I consider how shamefully some lewd Women prostitute themselves to every rascally Porter and Boy: And I think it more abominable in the Women than the Men, for Nature has given us more Modesty; and, did not the Whores ply in the Streets, the Leacher could never stumble over them.

The Men, they are grown full as effeminate as the Women; we are rivalled by them even in the Fooleries peculiar to our Sex: They dress like Anticks and Stage-Players, and are as ridiculous as Monks: They sit in monstrous long Perukes, like so many Owls in Ivy-Bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the Reputation of being a Beau, than on the substantial Qualifications of Honour, Courage, Learning, and Judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a Gossiping at *Dover*, or that you heard the learned Confabulation of the Boys in the Piazza's of *Christ's-Hospital*. Did you ever see a Creature more ridiculous than that Stake of Humane Nature which dined the other Day at our House, with his great long Wig to cover his Head and Face, which was no bigger than an *Hackney-Turnep*, and much of the same Form and Shape? Bless me, how it looked! just like a great Platter of *French Soup* with a little Bit of Flesh in the Middle. Did you mark the beau Tiff of his Wig, what a deal of Pains he took to toss it back, when the very Weight thereof was like to draw him from his Seat? Did you not take Notice how he replenished his Snout with Snuff, and what Pains he took to let us know that it was *Vigo*? Did you not wonder at his learned Discourse of the Womens Accoutrements, from
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the Top-knot to the Laced Shoe ; and what Lectures he read on the Fan, Masque, and Gloves ? He understood Ribbons and Silk as well as a Milliner and Mercer, and was a perfect Chymist in Beauty Washes and Essences : In short, Madam, did you ever see a more accomplished Coxcomb in all your Life ?

Now, my Dear, though I must acknowledge our Sex to be extraordinary vicious, we will not knock under-board to the Men ; we have yet more Virtue left among us than they can match : For though, to our great Shame, we are degenerated in one Respect, to our Commendation we are improved in another : We never had, in any Age, Women of better Parts, of greater Virtue, and more Knowledge. Learning and Wit seem to have forsaken the Masculine Dominions, and to have taken up their Abode in the Feminine Territories : And, indeed, the Men are so wickedly degenerated, that Learning, Virtue, Courage, and Conduct seem to be unnecessary Accomplishments ; for they signify nothing as to their Preferment, but they make their Fortunes as they make their Wives, by Money. And truly, Madam, we have no great Occasion to boast that we have supplanted the Men of their Virtue, for we have got that from them which did them no Service, and which we must conceal, or else be laughed at for Shewing it. However, Madam, let us admire Virtue, which gives that inward Contentment, which all the Riches of the World cannot purchase.

Politica. I think, my dear *Sophia*, the Parents are as much the Cause of Celibacy as the Children, by breeding them above their Quality and Estates. I give myself for an Example. You know my Father was a Tradesman, and lived very well by his Traffick ; and, I being beautiful, he thought Nature had already given me Part of my Portion, and therefore he would add a liberal Education, that I might be a compleat Gentlewoman ; away he sent me to the Boarding-School, there I learned to dance and sing, to play on the Bass-Viol, Virginals, Spinnet and Guitair. I learned to make Wax-work, japan, paint upon Glass, to raise Paste, make Sweet-meets, Sauces, and every thing that was genteel and fashionable. My Father died, and left me accomplished, as you find me, with three-hundred Pounds Portion ; and, with all this, I am not able to buy an Husband. A Man, that has an Estate answerable to

my Breeding, wants a Portion answerable to his Estate ; an honest Tradesman, that wants a Portion of three-hundred Pounds, has more Occasion of a Wife that understands Cookery and Housewifery, than one that understands Dancing, and Singing, and Making of Sweet-meats. The Portion, which Nature gave me, proves now my Detriment ; my Beauty is an Obstacle to my Marriage ; an honest Shop-keeper cannot keep a Wife to look upon. ‘ Beauty, say they, is like a Tavern Bush, it is hung out in the Face to shew what Commodity is to be sold ;’ it is but like an Honey-pot, which will fill a House with Bees and Wasps ; and the poor Tradesman, that has such a Wife, will dream of nothing but Horns, as long as he has her ; so that, Madam, I conclude, our Parents are great Causes of this Evil, in educating their Children beyond their Estates.

Sophia. But how would you order the Matter with one in my Circumstances ? My Father, when I was born, was a Gentleman of a plentiful Estate, and gave me Education according to the Portion he designed me ; but he, being a true *Englishman*, joined with the Duke of *Monmouth* in the Recovery of our Rights, which, he then thought, were in Danger ; and, in that Enterprize, he lost his Life and Estate, and so I lost my Portion, and have nothing to subsist on, but the Charity of my good Aunt. I can marry nothing but a Gentleman, and very few, if any of them, are inclined to marry the poor Remains of an honourable and virtuous Family : What can I do ?

Politica. Truly, my Dear, our Cases are both desperate ; we cannot *come up* to good Estates, and Gentlemen of good Estates will not *come down* to us. I have often wondered, that there are no compulsive Laws enforcing Matrimony, but that, instead thereof, there are Laws discouraging of Marriage, as is the Act for Births and Burials, especially to the poorer Sort of People, who are generally the greatest Breeders ; for, by this Act, when there is a certain Charge to a Family, there is a certain Duty to the Queen. Now, if there was a Law enforcing of Matrimony, it would more effectually answer the End of her Majesty’s pious Proclamations for the Encouragement of Virtue, and for the Suppressing of all Manner of Immorality and Profaneness. For such a Law would put a Stop to Abundance of Whoring ;

Whoring; it would make the Women virtuous, on Purpose to get good Husbands, and the Men thrifty and diligent in their Callings, in order to maintain their Families. The Ruin both of Body, Soul, and Estate proceeds from this Omission in our Laws. I am sure, a Law of this Nature would not only be acceptable in the Sight of God, but it would be very advantageous to the Kingdom.

Sophia. I am very well satisfied in the Truth of what you say, but, at the same Time, I do not think a Law compulsive of Marriage reasonable in all Respects; there are a Sort of Monsters of Men, called *Women-haters*; these Brutes would be destroyed by this Act. Nature also has excluded, by its Deficiencies, some Men from the State of Matrimony; others are of such monstrous ill Humours, that they can match no where, but in the Nunnery of *Billinggate*; therefore, Madam, if you get this Act passed, it must contain many Proviso's and Exceptions.

Politica. Not in the least; I would have it a general compulsive Act, after this Manner: Every Bachelor, at the Age of twenty-four Years, should pay such a Tax to the Queen; suppose it twenty Shillings *per Annum* for the meanest Rank of Men, and what the Parliament thinks fit for those of higher Degree. Every Widower, which has been so upwards of one Year, and is under the Age of fifty Years, to pay the same Sum: Now, according to Computation, we have seven Millions of Men in *England*; and, suppose two Millions of the seven be Bachelors and Widowers, qualified as before, according to their several Ranks and Qualities taxed by Act of Parliament, they will pay into the Queen's *Exchequer*, yearly, the Sum of two Millions five-hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, which will be almost enough to defray the Charge of the War by Land and Sea.

The Reasonableness of the Act is plain, for that unmarried People are, as it were, useless to the State; they are, like Drones in a Hive, reaping the Advantage of other People's Labours; they have their Liberties and Freedoms secured by the Loss of other Men's Lives, and do not, from their own Loins, repair the native Strength of the Kingdom; they are not so good as the Spider, which hangs in the Loom drawn from her own Bowels: On the other Hand, it is reasonable to ease such in Taxes, as have numerous Fam-

ilies to the Advantage of the Commonwealth; for these are at daily Charge in Breeding up their Issue for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom.

Sophia. Your Notions are very good and proper; but how will you be able to put them into Practice? I hope you will not solicit this Bill yourself at the House of Commons; you ought to have some Way or other to communicate it to some particular Member, that he may bring it in, as his own, and get a good Reward for his Pains from the Court. Do not you remember, Mrs. *Murray* told us, the other Day, how her Husband was served about his Project of *Exchequer* Bills? They got it to themselves, and did not give the honest Gentleman one Groat for his Invention. Now, Madam, if you could make yourself a Portion by their Making an Act, you would do very well, you would serve yourself and your Country; but, if this Act passeth, I do not find, that you and I shall be the better for it, for the Men are still left to the Liberty of Chusing, and they will chuse for the best Portions; we are no nearer the Marriage-bed, than before. Pray think of some compulsive Act, that may enforce them to marry me and you.

Politica. It will be very difficult to get a particular Clause in our Favour, it will cost us, at least, our Maidenheads; and then, you know, we need not much trouble our Heads about Matrimony, we need not shut the Stable-door when the Steed is stolen. Pray, Madam, let me hear how you would have it for your own Advantage? It is now your Turn to propose.

Sophia. Nature has made all Things on a Level: Our first Father made no Jointure in Marriage, nor had our first Mother any Portion. *Adam* was Lord, and *Eve* was Mistress of the Universe; and we ought to tread in the Steps of our Lady Mother, and bring our Husband no more than what Nature hath given us. Settlements and Portions never came into Custom; till such Time as Murder and Rapine had entered the World, and Dowries were first brought into Fashion by the Posterity of *Cain*. The hellish Miser, which the other Day made so many Scruples about my Portion, Did you not observe the Mark of *Cain* in his Forehead? The Match-brokers look just like the wandering *Jews* in *England*, followed by the Curse of God into all Countries where they come.

Now, it is an easy Matter for the Parliament of *England* to bring Marriages on the same Level, as was designed at first by Nature. I will propose how : Suppose every Gentleman of one-thousand Pounds *per Annum*, was obliged to marry Gentlewomen of such Quality and Portion with ourselves, and, if he would not marry at all, his Estate should become forfeited to the Use of the Publick.

Politica. That would be hard, to take away all a Man has in the World, because he will not marry.

Sophia. We will then find a Medium : Suppose we build and endow them an Alms-house with their own Money, where every one of them shall have a convenient Apartment, with a Bed, and two Pair of Sheets, one Chair, one Candlestick, a Chamber-pot, and Fire-Place, and some other cheap Necessaries. We will allow them one Coat a Year, with a yellow Badge on the Arm, as the Mark of a Batchelor ; and every Ten of them shall have one old Woman to wait upon them : They shall be chiefly fed with Water-gruel, and Barley-broth ; and, instead of Meat, they shall eat Potatoes, *Jerusalem* Artichokes, Turneps, Carrots, and Parsnips ; for you know they come into that Hospital, because they do not love Flesh.

Politica. Oh ! fye Madam, fye upon you ! that would use brisk young Gentlemen at such a cruel Rate : This is downright Tyranny.

Sophia. I am sorry to see you so tender of those, who are so cruel to our Sex : But here is no Cruelty at all in the Case ; consider the Thing rightly, Madam, and you will find it otherwise : We esteem it the highest Charity to provide Alms-houses for the antient superannuated Poor, who are past their Labour ; now a Man that is not come to his Labour of Generation, at twenty-five Years of Age, is certainly past it, and we ought to reckon him as superannuated, and grown an old Boy, and not fit to be trusted with what he has, as not knowing the Use and Benefit of Riches.

What I say, in this Respect, is the common Practice of Mankind in Things of another Nature : The Husbandman, if he has got a Tree in his Orchard, that has grown a long Time, and has bore no Fruit, he cuts him down for Fuel, and plants another in his Room : Why may we not do the same by the human Batchelor Trees ; especially, since they are grafted on so good Stocks, and are so well wa-

tered and pruned ? That is a very ill Sort of Seed that will fructify in no Soil. It is the same Thing in Government ; a Batchelor is a useles Thing in the State, does but cumber the Ground, and takes up the Room of a generous Plant, which would be of great Advantage to the Commonwealth. I tell you, Madam, according to the Laws of Nature and Reason, a Batchelor is a Minor, and ought to be under the Government of the Parish in which he lives ; for, though he be a House-keeper and for himself, as they call it, yet, having no Family, he cannot be reckoned a good Commonwealth's-Man ; and, if he is not a good one, he is a bad one, which ought not to be suffered ; nay, he is not a perfect Man till such Time as he is married, for it is the Woman is the Perfection of the Man.

Politica. Madam, I know you are endowed with true *English* Principles, pray consider, whether the Law you mention be not destructive of *Magna Charta*, since, without Cause or Offence, it deprives a Man of his Property, and takes from him the Estate which legally descended to him from his Ancestors.

Sophia. Madam, I find you hold me to hard Meat, I must give Reasons for the Passing of my Bill : I argue thus, A Person who has broken, and forfeited his Right to the *Magna Charta* of Nature, ought to have no Protection by the *Magna Charta* of *Englishmen* : I prove my Proposition thus, A Batchelor of Age, as such, has broken the Laws of Nature : Increase and Multiply is the Command of Nature, and of the God thereof ; now, having broken the Laws of Nature, he ought not to have any Protection from the Laws of *England*, because such, as have Protection by those Laws, do contribute to the Support of those Laws, which an adult Batchelor does not do according to the Constitution of *Magna Charta* : Our Forefathers purchased the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, with the Hazard of Life and Limb ; they sealed that Writing with the Blood of themselves and their Children, and, after the same Manner those Privileges were procured, must they be supported and maintained ; now a Batchelor contributes little or nothing to the Support of our Freedoms ; the Money he pays in Taxes is inconsiderable to the Supplies given by others in Children, which are an Addition to the native Strength of the Kingdom : Money is like the soft and easy Showers, which only cool and moisten the Surface

Surface of the Earth; Children are like the soaking Rain which goes to the Root, and makes Trees and Vegetables fructify for the Use of Man: Indeed, my Dear, a Batchelor can, in no Sense, be esteemed a good *Englishman*.

From the Reasons aforesaid, I cannot think the Batchelors are injured by my Bill. Acts of Parliament ought not to respect private Interests; they are made for the Good of the Community, for the Advantage of the whole People of *England*, and you shall seldom find any Act passed, but what is to the Detriment of some particular Persons: We thought it no Injustice to prohibit the Importation of *East-India* Silks, notwithstanding the Detriment thereby accrued to that Company; and perhaps put all the Ladies in Court and City into the Murligrubs. These Things the good Parliament never considered, but passed the Bill in Favour of the Multitude of Weavers in this Kingdom, who get Abundance of Children for the Support of the Nation, and which must have starved, if foreign Commodities had been imported to the Destruction of the Weaving Trade. The Batchelors, that would come under this Statute, are but an inconsiderable Number, compared with the aggregate Sum of the whole Kingdom.

Politica. Suppose, Madam, your Reasons should weigh with the House of Commons: There is another Sort of Batchelors, that answer the End of their Creation, and yet are not married; I mean such as multiply their Species on Misses and Concubines, which, in plain *English*, are Whores: Nay, they can content themselves to do it with their female Servants, who serve under them for that Purpose; these will find a Way to creep out, if you do not bind your Act very close.

Sophia. That is well thought on, upon my Virginity! It is true, these are a dangerous Sort of Creatures; Concubinage and Whoring are grievous Sins, both in the Sight of God and Man; and the Divine Laws, as also the Laws of *England*, are very strict against such Offenders, and yet you see they do find Holes to creep through and escape Punishment; but the Law I propose will tie them fast: For, do but observe it, Madam, those Laws are best executed, that bring Money into the *Exchequer*; every one would be a Fisherman, if the Fishes came like *St. Peter's*, with Money

in their Mouths: I dare engage, I will sooner get a Warrant to search for prohibited uncultivated Goods, or to seize a Brewer's Copper for Non-payment of Excise, than I can prepare a Warrant to search a Bawdy-house: Do but once make it appear, that Godliness is Gain, and I will warrant you a thorough Reformation of Manners. Now my Act does this Thing to a T; I make Men honest and virtuous, and, by doing so, I make the Government rich, and ease the Subjects in the Burden of Taxes. And I dare engage, if ever you see my Bill passed the Royal Assent, you will find it well executed.

Politica. That is according to the Honesty and Virtue of the Commissioners and Assessors, appointed for that Purpose; if they are not virtuous and honest, they may lessen your Tax, and cause a Deficiency. This has been the Effect of letting Landed-men assess Landed-men, and Tradesmen assess Stock; when, if a Tradesman had assessed Land, and a Landed-man had assessed Trade, being so very different in Interest, they would have raised the Fund to the Height. Therefore, my dear Sister, be cautious in this Point, take my Advice, I am your *Senior*; let no old Fornicator be an Assessor, Commissioner, or Collector of your Duty; he, that has in his Time loved a Bit of old Hat, will be tender in Punishing the Sin of his Youth; with him exclude all such as were Batchelors before the Passing of the Act; they will suffer, nay, contrive a Deficiency, that the Act may be repealed. In short, let none be concerned in the Assessing or Collecting of this Duty, but such as have many Years lived with their Wives in conjugal Chastity, and by them have a very numerous Issue; these, I will warrant you, will take Care to bring the utmost Penny into the *Exchequer*.— But, pray, how do you design to punish such of this Sort of Batchelors, that will not comply with your Act? I hope you will allow them a separate Maintenance; you will build them an Alms-house also, will you not?

Sophia. As the others are used like Fools and superannuated Persons, so we will use these like Madmen. We will build them a convenient Bedlam, wherein every one of them shall be chained about the Middle to a Post, like a Monkey; we will feed them with low Diet, as the others, and once a Month they shall be blooded and shaved. To aggravate their

Crime,

Crime, we will make every one of them a *Tantalus*, by bringing every Day handsome Ladies before them, who shall laugh and jeer at them, and then turn their Backs upon them.

Politica. I protest, Madam, you are very cruel: Would you be willing to be served so yourself?

Sophia. Yes, Sister, when I refuse Matrimony upon good and equal Terms: Pray, do they not do the same by us? Are not we daily presented with the Sight of Batchelors of good Estates, who come to us under Pretence of lawful Courtship, to prosecute an unlawful Amour? They come to us like Butterflies to Flowers, to spit Maggots on us, and then leave us to be devoured by Infamy and Scandal: There is no Punishment bad enough for these Monsters of Men; I would fain have my Will upon them one Way or other; either by Marrying them all out of Hand, or by Punishing them for Living single.

Politica. I do indeed think a Levelling of Marriages is the most reasonable Thing in the World; Mankind is on a Level in all Things but this; one Man has Wit and wants Money; another has Money and wants Wit; a third has Strength, and wants both Money and Wit; one is poor and contented with his Condition; another has no Peace of Mind, nor Satisfaction, amidst all his Riches, but is, amongst his Bags of Money, as a Person in *Little-Ease* or *Bridewell*; so that Nature seems to have designed a Level, only we raise Mountains and Hills on Purpose to deface the Works of Nature. But, Sister, here's one Thing yet to be considered, that there are several young Gentlemen born to good Fortunes, who would marry me or you; but they are kept from it by the Advice of their Parents. Now, though I would have such punished as are unmarried with good Estates in their own Possession, yet would I have some Respect to those who would and cannot: There is Mr. —, he often gives me Visits, he loves my Company, his Eyes talk of Love, which is more than his Tongue durst so much as mention; for he tells me, the Beldam his Mother, and the old Curmudgeon his Father, have made a Resolution, that he shall never marry but with a Woman of five-thousand Pounds Fortune: But, says he, if they die, I'll marry where I please: They may live a long Time, and, if I should stay for him, by

that Time, Beauty may have lost its Charms; and some younger *Phillis*, or other, may interpose and get the Prize from me. For Love, Madam, is the most fickle and changeable Thing in the World: My Wit will last as long as my Virtue, and both these are not lessened but improved by Age. But did you ever know a Man that loved a Woman for Virtue and Wit? No, there are other Attractives which make so great a Sound in the World, that they drown the low Voice of Virtue and Wit.

Sophia. I would have these old Folks, that hinder their Children from Matrimony, as severely punished as the old Batchelors: The fabulous Punishment of leading Apes in Hell is not enough: I would have them punished even in this Life. I pray God send them some such Distemper as the Pox; which, in this Life, is the Punishment of Adulterers and Whoremongers: Nay, sometimes they are caught and pay dear enough for their Trifling with the Years of Youth, and not entering the Bounds of Matrimony, till the Time of their Doatage. I will tell you a very pretty and true Story:

A certain Doctor of Divinity of the University, aged about sixty Years, from the Profits of a good Benefice, and other comfortable Church Emoluments, together with a thrifty Life, had acquired an Estate of five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; but the pious Churchman, being still desirous of a larger Share of the good Things of this Life, thought of Ways and Means of aggrandising his Fortune. No better Way could he think on than Marriage; for, he having lived a Batchelor, and, by his Industry, procured such an Estate, he thought his Spiritual and Temporal Endowments deserved a considerable Fortune. After he had made many Enquiries among his Friends and Acquaintance for a suitable Help-mate, called a Wife, with a sufficient Quantity of Money, he pitched upon a Justice of the Peace's Daughter, about ten Miles distant from his own Habitation. The young Gentlewoman was about sixteen Years of Age, and had ten-thousand Pounds Portion. Her Money made an Atonement for her Want of Years, for the Bags and the Girl were just old enough for the Doctor.

As soon as the Doctor had Intelligence of this young Lady, he pursues the Notion with all the Vehemence imaginable; and hereupon

one Day at Dinner he breaks Bulk to his Man *John*, and tells him of his Design of Wedding, and orders him to get his Horse ready the next Morning early, and likewise another for himself, to accompany him Part of the Way, which he accordingly did; and, after *John* had travelled with him about half Way, he was dismissed by the Doctor, who travelled on by himself till within a Mile of the Justice's House, where seeing an old Hedger in the Way, he asked him, If he knew Esquire — He told him, Yes, he had Reason so to do, for he had been his Servant above thirty Years; and that he had married his Wife out of the Family, who was also an old Servant of the Squire's. Well then, says the Doctor, you must needs know his Daughter, Mrs. *Anne*. Yes, I think I do, says the Hedger, she's a fine young Gentlewoman, and my Master can give her a Power of Money: I will tell you what, Doctor, I understand Trap; I fancy you have a Mind to Mrs. *Anne*. Why, replies the Doctor, What if I have; what then? Why then, says the Hedger, my Master being a huge rich Man, and my Mistress a young Woman, he may think you both too old, and not rich enough: And therefore, Doctor, if I might advise you, I would first have you see how you like the Girl; it is good to look before you leap. Which Way can I do that, quoth the Doctor? Oh, quoth the old Man, let me alone, I can contrive that well enough. Hereupon the Doctor gives him a Broad-piece, telling him, he found he could do him a Kindness; and that, if he did it, he should never want, for he had five-hundred Pounds a Year, besides Spiritual Preferments. Aye, says the old Man, I have often heard of you. I do not question but we shall bring the Matter about: My Master has a great Respect for the Church. Pray, Sir, go a little farther to my House, and I will give you a Cup of the best, and some good Bread and Cheese, and there we will consider farther of the Matter: I will warrant we will contrive the Business well enough.

With all my Heart, says the Doctor. Away goes the Doctor more freely than to Church, and the Hedger as if he were going to the Wedding. When they were come to the House, and eating the best it afforded; says the Countryman, Master Doctor, if I could get Mistress *Anne* to my House, Would

not that do well? Rarely well, quoth the Doctor, if you can but compass it: But does she ever come hither? Very often, says the old Man, to see her old Servants. But how will you contrive it? says the Doctor. Leave that to me, quoth the Hedger. Away goes the old Fellow, and enters into Discourse with his Wife; says he to her, I am minded to put a Trick upon the Doctor: The good Wife in a Passion replies, You S——, you old Fool, you put a Trick on a great Man of the Church: Hold your Tongue, Goody *Simpleton*, says the old Man; I find the great Doctors bred at the Verity have no more Wit than we Country Folk: Get you gone immediately to the Squire's, and take my Daughter *Jean* along with you, and pray Mrs. *Anne* to dress her in her best Cloaths, for there is a Gentleman at our House desires to see her in such a Habit. Now you must understand their Daughter *Jean* was about the same Age and Stature with Mrs. *Anne*, and had a great deal of Beauty, obscured by homely Country Weeds, and she had by Nature a pretty Stock of the Mother Wit of the Knave her Father; away trudges the old Woman with *Jean* her Daughter: Her Request was no sooner asked but granted, and *Jean* was presently turned into a little Angel, by the Help of Mrs. *Anne's* Accommodations. The Doctor, you may be sure, waited with much Impatience all this While; sometimes in Hopes, and other times in Despair. But the Hedger, standing with his Face towards the Way, at length espies his Wife and Mrs. *Anne* (for that must be the Name of *Jean* at present) coming towards the House; the old Man begs Leave of the Doctor to go and meet Mrs. *Anne*, and conduct her to the House, which he did presently, by running cross a Field; he made abundance of Scrapes and Cringes to Madam *Anne*, with his Hat in his Hand, and then, stepping behind her like a Footman, he followed her Home all the Way, instructing her how to manage herself in this weighty Concern.

When they came to the House the Doctor receives her with abundance of Ceremony; the Countryman also made some rustick Bows and Compliments, and tells her, it was a great Favour in her Ladiship to come in a Visit to her poor old Servants, and humbly intreats the Favour of her to sit down; for, though the Gentleman present was a Stranger to her Ladiship,

ship, he was a Person of Quality, a learned and rich Doctor of the Church, who, in Humility, peculiar to the Clergy, had vouchsafed to give so poor a Man as he a Visit. With much Coyneſs Madam *Anne* ſits down, and, having made a Bow from her Seat to the Doctor, ſhe aſked her old Servants, how they did. The Doctor being ſmitten with the viſible Part of Mrs. *Anne's* Portion, and ruminating on the inviſible; the old Man thought it was Time to retire, which he did, by leaving a Scrape or two on the earthen Floor with his Foot.

The Doctor had now what he came for, and to Work he goes; he had forgot *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dunce Scotus*, and other unintelligible cramp Authors. Philoſophy ſignifies nothing in an Amour, and Logick of itſelf is enough to curdle a Virgin's Milk; therefore the Doctor accoſted her with all the ſoft Expreſſions he could remember in *Ovid de Arte Amandi*, which, the Learned ſay, is the only Way to know how to reſolve the difficult Queſtions in *Ariſtotle's* Problems; and, the Girl having Heat of Beauty enough at that Age to warm a *Stoick*, by the vehement Attraction thereof the Doctor joined Countenances; but never did a poor young Lady receive Kiſſes after a more modeſt and coy Manner; and well might ſhe bluſh at ſuch an Exerciſe; for the poor Creature never ſmelt Man before, and it was the firſt Time that ever ſhe ſaw the Doctor.

After the Doctor and Mrs. *Anne* had been above an Hour together, in ſteps the old Man; the Girl ſhe modeſtly retires, as well for Inſtruction as to give an Account how Things went; in the mean Time, the old Man aſks the Doctor how he liked the Lady, and what Encouragement ſhe gave him? The Doctor, being raviſhed with the viſible and inviſible Qualifications of Mrs. *Anne*, expreſſed abundance of Satisfaction, and how happy a Man he ſhould be if he could obtain his Prize. Says the old Man, At her again, Mr. Doctor, ſhe is a brave good-humoured Lady, and I told her ſufficiently what you are: Says the Doctor, Priſthee canſt not thou get us ſomething good to eat and drink; here's Money, if thou canſt. Away goes the old Man, but firſt got Mrs. *Anne* into the Room with the Doctor, which was done with many Intreaties, and performed with a wonderful Modeſty.

We will leave the Doctor and Mrs. *Anne*

hard at Work on the Anvil of Courtſhip, whiſt the old Woman and her Huſband are getting Supper ready, which they were ſo long about, that it grew late, and Mrs. *Anne* was juſt going: The Doctor, you may be ſure, intreated her to ſtay, and the old Man and Woman ſollicitd very hard on the ſame Account, telling the Lady, that they had nothing worthy of her Acceptance, but the Honour ſhe would do them, now they had a great Doctor of the Church at their Houſe, would be very great. In ſhort, they argued ſo much, that Mrs. *Anne* was at length prevailed upon to ſtay; the old Man whiſpers the Doctor, that he had kept Supper back on Purpoſe that he might have the more of the young Lady's Company, and therefore adviſed him to make the beſt Uſe of his Time. Certainly, never any young Lady made her Lover ſo happy at the firſt Interview; to Work goes the Doctor, he courts like a Dragon; with an irrefiſtible Fury he lets fly whole Volleys of bombaſte Rhetorick at her Head, enough to beat a poor Country Girl's Brains out; no Stone did he leave unturned, but perſiſts in his Courtſhip, till interrupted by the old Man's Bringing in the Supper, which, we may imagine, could not be leſs than a couple of Cocks with Bacon, and it is well, if the Fowls did not come out of the Squire's Coop, as well as the Cloaths out of his Daughter's Wardrobe.

Down ſits the Doctor, having firſt placed Mrs. *Anne* at the upper End of the Table, and, having ſaid a ſhort Grace, he deſired the old Couple to ſit down, as did alſo Mrs. *Anne*; but they reſuſed it, ſaying, They ſhould not be ſo impudent as to ſet at Table Chick by Chowle with a great Doctor of the Church, and their Mrs. *Anne*, who agreed with the Doctor to make them both ſit down, which at laſt they did, in Conformity to the Church and their Miſtreſs; and ſo they all fell heartily to Pecking till they had conſumed the whole Proviſion.

Supper being over, the old Man aſks his Wife in the next Room, what Time of Night it was; the old Woman replied, it was paſt Eight of the Clock; at which, the old Man fell into a violent Paſſion, and ſcolded horribly at his Wife, for not taking Notice how the Time went away. The Doctor, hearing this Combution, comes to know the Meaning of it: The old Man tells him, he is undone for ever;

ever; he has kept Mrs. Anne here so late that she is locked out of Doors, her Family being always in Bed by Eight of the Clock, and that, on this Account, the 'Squire will turn him out of his Service, by which he got his Livelihood. The Doctor pacifies him, by telling him, that, since this Thing must happen on his Account, he nor his Wife should never want as long as he lived. Well, says the old Man, Mr. Doctor, since you are such a charitable Man, I will put you in a Way to do your Business at once; if you should apply yourself to the 'Squire, he will hardly be brought to Terms; for, though you have a good Estate, yet I know the 'Squire will marry my Mistress to a young Man; and seeing you have now a fair Opportunity, having the Night before you, try to get her Consent, and take her away with you by Three or Four in the Morning to some Parson of your Acquaintance, and marry her: My Master will be soon reconciled, for he has no other Child to inherit his Estate. A good Thought, says the Doctor, and I will try what can be done in the Case.

You may be sure, Madam, now the Doctor attacks the Lady with all the Fury imaginable; the Silence of the Night and Want of Sleep, as I have heard those skilled in Love Affairs say, are great Advantages to an invading Lover; these are the best Times in which to storm a Lady's Fortrefs: This, I suppose, the Doctor well enough knew, and therefore carried on the Siege with Vigour, and, before Three in the Morning, the young Lady had capitulated, and surrendered upon Articles; which the Doctor tells the old Man of with abundance of Pleasure, who, you may be sure, bids the Doctor Joy: The Doctor desires the old Man to get him a Pillion, which, indeed, the old Man had before provided; and away goes the Doctor and his Lady, and were that Day married.

The Doctor did not stay long at the Place of Marriage, but privately returns to his own House, where he acquainted some of his Friends of his Enterprife, who highly applauded his Ingenuity; but he enjoined them all to Secrecy for some Time. The Doctor daily expected a Hue and Cry after Mrs. Anne; but, hearing nothing of it, he concluded the Servants had some how or other concealed the Story from her Father; but his Friends advised him by all Means to go to the Justice, and ac-

quaint him with what he had done with his Daughter, and beg his Pardon for so doing, as a Means of Reconciliation.

The Doctor understanding the Justices of the Peace were to meet that Day about some particular Business in the Town; he went to enquire for the Justice, whom he only knew by Sight, and the Justice had no other Knowledge of the Doctor. The Doctor, in his best *Pontificalibus*'s, comes to the Place of Meeting, which was an Inn, and asks the Drawer, whether Esquire ——— was there; who answered, he was: He bids him shew him a Room, and go tell the Esquire, that Doctor ——— desired to speak with him; the Esquire desires the Doctor to come to him and the rest of the Gentlemen, they having at that Juncture no Business before them; but the Doctor sends Word again that his Business was private, and he heartily intreated the Esquire to come to him, upon which the Esquire comes: The Doctor he falls on his Knees, and begs his Pardon; the Esquire was surpris'd, as knowing nothing of the Matter, and, being unwilling to be homaged by the Church, he desires the Doctor to rise, or otherwise he would talk no farther with him; the Doctor refused to do it till such Time as he had his Pardon: The Esquire, knowing of no Offence, freely gave him a Pardon; which done, the Doctor arises, telling him, he was sorry that one in his Coat should be guilty of such a Crime: The Esquire, being still in the Dark, replied, he knew no Crime he was guilty of: Sir, says the Doctor, I have married your Daughter: Married my Daughter, says the Esquire, you are certainly mistaken, Doctor. It is certainly true, says the Doctor. Says the Esquire in a great Passion, How long have you been married to my Daughter? I have lain with her these three Nights, says the Doctor: Says the Esquire, you are strangely mistaken, Doctor, for I left my Daughter at Home this Morning. Says the Doctor, you are strangely imposed upon by your Servants, therefore be so kind as to go to my House and see your Daughter, who is there at this present. The Esquire, in an odd Sort of Confusion, goes along with him to the House, and, being conducted into the Parlour where Madam sat in State on her Couch, the Esquire burst out into a Fit of Laughter, and, going to the Lady, salutes her, and wishes her much Joy, and then told the Doctor

Doctor the Mistake; for, says he, this Lady is my Servant ——— the Hedger's Daughter Joan, dressed in my Daughter's Cloaths. The Doctor, being astonished for some Time, recovers himself, comes up to her, takes her in his Arms, and, kissing her, says, If thou art Joan, I will love thee as well as if thou hadst been Mrs. Anne. And, for aught I know, she made him as good a Wife; for, though she perfectly kidnapp'd the old Child, yet they lived very comfortably together.

Politica. I can nick your Story with one of a Clergyman, that was as indifferent about a Portion as yours was curious. Mr. G——, a Minister in *Suffolk*, and of a considerable Estate, lived without Thoughts of Marriage, till the Age of fifty Years; at which Time one of his Parishioners put him in Thoughts of Matrimony. He said he had been so intent on his Studies, that he never thought of a Wife; but that now, if he could find out a good one, he would marry. The Gentleman told him, such a Person about twelve Miles off had three Daughters, either of which would make him a good Wife, but their Fortunes were but small; the Parson said, he knew the Gentleman very well, but did not know he had any Daughters; and, as for Money, that was a Thing he did not value. The Parson in a short Time gives the Gentleman a Visit, who made him very welcome, not knowing the Design of his Coming; but the Parson told him, that he heard he had three Daughters, and one of them would make him a good Wife. The Gentleman replied, he had three Daughters, and that he hoped they would prove to the Satisfaction of any Person who should marry them, and told him either of them was at his Service: The Parson said, they were all alike to him; but, since it was usual to marry the Eldest first, he would take her; the Gentleman replied with all his Heart. Upon which the eldest Daughter was called in. The Parson, sitting in his Chair, and smoking his Pipe, told her, he had heard she would make him a good Wife: The young Lady, surpris'd, told him; she did not know that, but did believe she should be a good Wife to any one that should marry her. The Parson put the grand Question, Whether she would have him? She told him, Matrimony was a Thing of that Moment, as required a great deal of Consideration, and not to be so speedily determined. He told her, his Studies

would not allow him a long Courtship; and, pulling out his Watch, laid it on the Table, and told her, he would give her an Hour's Time to consider of it. Away goes the Girl, but, believing it to be a Banter, she thought very little on that Subject; the Parson having looked on his Watch, and finding the Hour was gone, he desired the young Lady might be again called in: When she came, the Parson shew'd her the Watch, telling her the Hour was past, and that he hoped she had considered of what he had spoke to her about; she told him, that, it being a Matter of such great Consequence, it required a much longer Time than he had set for that Purpose: The Parson hereupon began to fret, and told her further, He found she would not have him, and therefore he desired his Horse to be brought out, for he would be going Home-wards. The Gentleman press'd him to continue longer; withal, telling him, though the Eldest required so much Time for Consideration, perhaps the Second might not.

The Parson was hereby prevail'd upon to smooke another Pipe, and the Second Daughter was brought in, to whom he carried himself as to the former, and also allowed her an Hour's Time to consider of it. You may be sure, during this Time, the Father and Mother worked the Girl to say, Yes, as plain as if she had been in the Church: The Time being elapsed, the Parson was impatient to go Home, Wife or no Wife, he was so indifferent. The Girl was now called in, and the Parson asked her, Whether she had considered of the Matter? She answered, Yes. Then will you have me? She answers, Yes. Very well then, says the Parson to the Father, all is done but Matrimony; and when shall that be? When you please, says the Father. Then, says the Parson, let it be on *Tuesday* next. But, says the Father, who shall get the Licence? I will take Care of that, says the Parson; and so, taking Leave of the Father, away he goes. When he had gone about three or four Miles, and thinking of the Licence, he remembered he had not taken his Wife's Christian Name, and so he rode back again as hard as he could drive, and, riding up to the House, he found the eldest Daughter standing at the Door, so he asked her what was her Christian Name? She told him; he bid her a Good-Night, and away he goes.

The Day being come, and the Licence being got ready, the Parson comes to fetch his Wife; away goes the Father with him, and his three Daughters, and two or three other Relations, to the Church, where the Parson and Clerk were ready to make Matrimonial Execution: The Parson asked the Father and Parson G——, which of the Daughters was to be married; they answered the second Daughter; but the Parson told them the first Daughter's Name was in the Licence, and therefore he could not marry them till they had got another Licence. Parson G—— told them, he could not defer it any longer, and therefore he would be dispatched somehow or other, and told them it was all one to him which of them he had, and so he goes to the Eldest, and asks her whether she would have him? And she, having better considered of the Point, answered Yes, and so they were married.

From Church they went Home to her Father's House, where, having dined, he tells his Wife she must put up such Things as she designed to carry Home with her, for he would quickly be going Homewards: The Relations begged of him to stay all Night, and bed his Wife at her Father's House, it being the usual Custom so to do; he told them, he would lie no where but at his own House, and that he would be going presently: The Relations finding no Arguments would prevail upon him to tarry, they got Mrs. *Bride* ready; and the Parson, coming to the Door, espied several Horses ready saddled and bridled; he asked, what the Meaning of those Horses was? They told him, for some of his Wife's Relations, to accompany him Home; he said, no Body should go along with him but his Wife; and so they were forced to stable their Horses, and let the married Couple go Home by themselves.

When they came Home, he conducted her into the House, and saluted her, which was the first Time; and, after he had bid her Welcome, and they had sat about Half an Hour, the Parson calls the old Maid, and bids her bring the Spinning wheel, and told his Wife, he did not doubt but she was a good Housewife, and knew how to make Use of that Instrument: She told him, Yes; then he tells her, he did expect she would work while he was at Work, and no longer; so away goes he to his

Study, and Mrs. *Bride* to Working with the Whirling-engine; about an Hour after he comes down, and tells her, now she must leave Work, and bids the old Maid get Supper ready. After they had supped, he goes into his Study, and she to her Spinning-wheel; when he returns again from his Study, he tells her, now she must leave Work; after a short Discourse, he went to Prayers with the Family, and then orders the old Maid to light her Mistress up Stairs, and put her to Bed.

Away goes Madam *Bride* to Bed, without any Ceremony of eating Sack-posset, or throwing the Stocking; and, as soon as she was in Bed, in comes the Parson, and to Bed goes he; but, sitting up in it, he bids the Maid bring him the little Table, a great Candle, and such a Book from the Study, which she did, and the Parson went to his Reading; upon which, the *Bride* calls to the Maid: The Parson asked her, what she wanted? She told him, Something: The Maid coming, he bid her speak to her Mistress, who bids her bring up the Spinning-wheel, and a great Candle in the long Candlestick, which the Maid having done, Mrs. *Bride* went to Whirling it about as hard as ever she could drive; at which the Parson could hardly forbear Bursting out into Laughter, and, finding that Spinning and Reading did not agree well together, he put out his Candle, and laid him down in Bed like a good Husband.

The next Morning he told her, that he found her a Wife of a suitable Temper to himself, and that, for the Future, she might work or play when she pleased; that he left all his temporal Concerns to her Management, and they lived a very happy Couple together, till Death parted them.

This, Madam, is indeed a very comical Story; however, the young Woman got a good Husband by the Bargain: Humours are indeed very uneasy Companions, but the whole Course of human Life is attended with Mixtures of Pleasure and Pain, and it is but common Prudence for us to overlook a few Impertinences, rather than lose the most necessary Comforts of Life. We have all of us our Whims and Humours in Relation to Marriage; sometimes they abound in the Parents, and sometimes in the Children, sometimes in the Husband, sometimes in the Wife; for my Part I do not know who is clear of them.

We are now fallen into the Humour of telling Stories under this green Bower, as if we were in a Chimney-corner at *Christmas*, which is a Sort of Impertinence, pardonable in those who have Nothing to do but pass away their Time in Tattle, and Reading of Books; however, it is more commendable than to gossip, as the *London Ladies* do, over Sack and Walnuts, cool Tankards, and cold Tea, and all the Time rail at their Husbands for being at the Tavern; I will propagate the Humour we are fallen into, by telling you a true Story of a miserly old Humourist.

A certain Country Gentleman of about one-thousand Pounds *per Annum*, having buried his Wife and all his Children, took a Brother's Son into the House, as his Heir, and gave him the best Education that Country would afford; the Boy being a Youth of clean Parts, and good Ingenuity, he improved to an extraordinary Degree in so barren a Soil, and so very dutiful withal, that the old Man perfectly doated on him, and was uneasy when he was out of his Company. When he came to Years of Maturity, was grown ripe, and ready to be shaken into the Matrimonial Bed, the old Gentleman asked him, Whether he was inclined to marry? The young Man, with an unwilling Modesty, told him, what he pleased; he wholly referred that, and every Thing else relating to himself, to his Care, thinking himself always happy and safe under his Conduct. Says the old Cuff, Thou hast been a very dutiful Child to me, and therefore, says he, I am willing to please thee: Shall I look thee out a Wife? The young Man (who without Doubt would have been better pleased to have looked out a Wife for himself) answered, With all his Heart.

The old Gentleman looks out accordingly, and, being well known in the Country, was not long in Pursuit of a Wife for his Nephew, which happened to be a Gentleman's Daughter about ten Miles distant from his own Habitation: The two old People discoursed the Matter, and came to this Resolution, That the two young ones should have an Interview, and see how they liked one another. Home comes the old Man, and acquainted his Nephew that he had pitched upon a Wife for him, one of Mr. ———'s Daughters, who were all of them virtuous young Women, and every Way suitable to his Quality and Circumstances;

although their Portions were but small, their Father having met with many Misfortunes, yet the Virtues inherent in them rendered them equal to himself. The young Man returned him Abundance of Thanks, and did not, in the least, question the Prudence of his Choice.

Now was the young Man to have an Interview with Mrs. *Bride* elect, and his Uncle retired into Consultation with himself, how to equip his Nephew for that Enterprize; at first, he determined to send to *London* to have him a new Suit of Cloaths made, that he might appear like a Courtier; but, upon second Thoughts, and to save his Money, he told him, he could better provide for him at Home; for, says he, you are just of my Size, and I have above Stairs, in the Press, all my Wedding-cloaths, which were the best I could lay my Hands on, both for the Fineness of the Cloth, and the Silk Lining: I am sure they are so good, that I never wore them above four or five Times in all my Life, and they are never the worse for Wearing: I will assure thee, if I had not a great Respect for thee, thou shouldst never have them: What sayest thou, Child, wilt thou try them on? With all my Heart, replied the young Spark; up goes the old Man and brings them down, he puts them on, and they fitted exactly. The Coat-sleeves were gloriously cut and slashed, small Buttons on the Coat, a little bigger than Pease; the Pockets about a Handful below the Knees, the Breeches were open-kneed, a great Deal wider than a *Flanderkin's* Trousers, hung all around with Abundance of little Ribbons; the old Gentleman asked him how he liked them? Very well, Sir, replies the Spark. Now, says the old Man, for a Hat; I have a special Beaver I bought along with these Cloaths, which he also produced; it had a Crown as high, and in Form of a Sugar-loaf, with Brims as broad as a Tea-table; the young Gentleman thanked him heartily for it also. Now, says the old Cuff, there is Nothing wanting but a Pair of Boots, which I have by me, and which being brought, the young Spark tried them on, and they fitted exactly; they were of a Russet Colour with white Tops: Pray, says the old Man, take great Care of these Boots, 'tis wet Weather and may spoil them; therefore I would advise thee to twist some Hay-bands about them for their Security, and, when you come near the House, pull them off,

off, and then they will be neat and clean as they were at my Wedding: But one Thing I had almost forgot, Hast thou got any Money? Not one Penny, replied the Spark; Well thought on, says his Uncle, Courtship is chargeable, here is Half a Crown, pray make good Use of it. The young Gentleman, thus equipped, looked like one of Queen *Elizabeth's* Courtiers come from the Dead, or, like Snow on the Grass and Trees about *Midsummer*; but what would one not undergo for a good Wife or Husband?

The young Man gets up early the next Morning, and having resumed his former Accoutrements, and mounting on the Outside of his Uncle's best Palfrey, away he trots in Pursuit of his Lady; you may be sure the People gazed, and the Dogs barked sufficiently on the Road at this human Scarecrow on Horseback; but the Worst of it was, as he came within Bow-shot of his Mistress's Tabernacle, the young Lady was looking out at the Window, and espying such a Figure, she called her other two Sisters, and told them that Merry *Andrew* was coming, which put them into a great Fit of Laughter, till, approaching nearer, one of them cries out, It is Mr. ———'s Nephew, and, knowing his Business, they sent a Man to take his Horse, and their Father and Mother received him very genteelly at the Door, and ushered him into the House.

But, as if Fate had ordained that the poor Spark should be exposed in his antiquated Habilliments, it so happened that Day there was an Invitation of Gentlemen and Ladies to Dinner at the House; when Dinner was ready and set on the Table, the young Spark was conducted from another Room to the rest of the Guests; no sooner had he set his Foot on the Threshold, but the Eyes of the whole Company were upon him; one sneered, another tittered; a third laughed outright, no Body knowing the Meaning of this odd Dress; so that indeed he was the Scaramouch of the Company, but by that Time they had fastened their Eyes on him, and filled their Stomachs with the Viſtuals, they found the Spark was very modest and ingenious, and that his good Humour and Eloquence was more agreeable to their Ears and Minds, than his Habit to their Eyes; and, by his Ogling one of the Ladies more than the rest, they guessed at his Design; and being unwilling to cramp Love in its Em-

bryo, after Dinner they all withdrew, and left that Lady and the Spark together.

The Spark immediately takes the Opportunity to apologise for his Garb, and told her how necessary it was for him to please his Uncle's Humour in the Thing, which, though it made him ridiculous to the Company, he hoped would not lessen her Esteem of his Person: The young Lady (who knew she was to marry the Man, and not the Cloaths) told him, it was not the Garb she looked at, but she had more Respect to his other Accomplishments; and at this Rate they went on in Discourse of Love and Matrimony for about two Hours.

The Lady then thinking it uncivil any longer to withdraw herself, or detain the Gentleman from the rest of the Company, she desired him to go into the next Apartment, and take a Game at Cards with the young Ladies; the Spark, knowing the Weakness of his Pocket, desired heartily to be excused, but, being pressed by one he could in no wise refuse, he was at last forced to give her the grand Argument, by making known to her his *Job's* Condition; she, understanding the Humour of his Uncle, guessed the Money might as well be wanting as new Cloaths, and she desired his Patience for a Minute or two, whilst she stepped out about a little Business, which she did, and returns presently with a Purse of five Pounds, desiring him to make Use of it. Upon which he waits upon her into the next Room, where he played at Cards with the rest of the Company, sometimes won, sometimes lost, but always pleased the Company to Admiration, so that they all thought his Mistress extremely happy in having so ingenious and good-humoured a Lover, though in an antiquated Dress.

To make short of my Story, he tarried with his Lady a full Fortnight, and in that Time got her Consent, and the Consent of her Parents, and returns Home to his Uncle with this joyful News, which extremely pleased the old Gentleman; but he took Care to tell the old Man, that, according to his own Words, he had found indeed that Courtship was chargeable, for that he had spent Eighteen-pence of the Half-crown he gave him, and, putting his Hand in his Pocket, he gave his Uncle the remaining Shilling. Well, Child, says the Uncle, I commend thy Prudence and Frugality, I find thou art to be trusted with Money and any Thing else, and therefore I will settle

Five hundred a Year upon thee in Marriage; and giving him a good Sum of Money to buy him such Wedding-cloaths as he should best like, the Marriage was soon after solemnised to the Satisfaction both of Old and Young; they were a happy Pair, and the old Man, dying some Years after, left them the Remainder of his Estate, which made an Addition to their Happiness.

Politica. Truly, Madam, the young Gentleman was enough ingenious; had he been cross, and not pleased his Uncle's Humours, he would have been disinherited, though I must confess, it is hard to render ourselves ridiculous to a Degree of Folly, to please an old Humourist. But what is not sinful can never be shameful, and how unpleasant soever our Actions are in the Sight of Men, if they are otherwise in the Sight of God, it is no Matter: A good Estate and Virtue make a Man beautiful in any Garb. I believe I could conform myself to the Humours of the greatest Caprichio, were I afterwards to be as happy as the young Lady you have mentioned; we must all of us suffer some Way or other in our Pupilage: The Apprentice serves out his Time with Cheerfulness, in Expectation of being his own Man at the seven Years End. Future Ease is a great Encouragement to present Labour. But I know many young Men and Women are ruined by the unaccountable Humours of their Parents and Governors, and take such wicked Courses, that they are seldom or never reclaimed, especially Women, who have once broken through the Bounds of Chastity. It is a common Proverb amongst the Men, that, *Once a Whore and always a Whore*. Though I have known this Proverb crossed; and, to level and make our Stories even as we would do Marriages, I shall give you an Account after what Manner:

A Country Gentleman, who was a Justice of the Peace in the County of R——, not having been in London in his Life, or at least, not for a long Time, being in Conversation with some of his Friends, heard them speak of the Practice of lewd Women, in picking Men up in the Streets. The Gentleman, being a Stranger to this abominable Practice, could not believe any Women could be so impudent, as they reported them to be; but they told him, he might experience the Contrary any Evening when he pleased. The Gentleman

was resolved to make the Experiment, and one Evening in *Fleetstreet* he takes Notice of a very pretty Gentlewoman, which eyed him very narrowly, whereupon he asked her to drink a Glass of Wine; she agreed at the first Word, and went with him to the next Tavern.

When the Gentleman and his Doxy were seated in a Room, and had some Wine brought them, they drank very civilly one to the other; but Miss expected to be attacked, after another Sort of Manner than she found by the Gentleman: For he asked her, how long she had continued that Trade; she told him, as they all do, but a very short Time; then he continues, how can you dare to live in Rebellion both against the Laws of God and Man, and impudently pursue Methods to destroy both your Body, and your immortal Soul? In short, he read her such a Lecture, that she, not being hardened in Sin as are the Generality of those Miscreants, burst out into a Flood of Tears, and told him, that it was not without a wonderful Remorse of Conscience she followed that wicked Course of Life, and protested to him, that it was pure Necessity obliged her to it, for otherwise she could not get a Subsistence. The Gentleman asked her further, How she came first to be debauched? She told him her Father was a Country Gentleman, who had extravagantly spent a plentiful Estate, and then dying, left her to the wide World unprovided for: She thought London was the best Place to get her a Livelihood in, and thither she came, but very unfortunately fell into the Hands of a lewd Woman, who betrayed her to the Lust of a Gentleman, who was no more than once concerned with her, and then advised her to ply the Streets; and, that he himself was the first Person that ever had picked her up.

The Gentleman told her, it was hard to believe Persons who had been guilty of such heinous Crimes, and very heartily admonished her to forsake her evil Practices, to repent of what she had already done, and to amend her Life for the Future; she gave him many Thanks for his good Advice, and told him, she should think herself a very happy Person, if either he, or any one else, would put her in a Way to live otherwise; he told her, if she would resolve to amend for the Future, he would take Care to provide for her; she promised him, with all the Affeverations imaginable, that she would: Whereupon he told her, that

that she should meet him the next Day at a certain Time and Place; she coming according to Appointment, he put her into a Lodging he had provided, and being well assured of her Repentance and Sincerity, and finding her an accomplished Gentlewoman, soon after married her; and she made him a chaste and happy Wife, and he lived as happily with her, as if she had been possessed of a Portion of Thousands of Pounds.

Sophia. If I had here a Bottle of Wine, I

would drink that Gentleman's Health; he, under God, saved the Body and Soul of that poor Creature, and made a Saint, by taking a Sinner to his Bed. I cannot chuse but reflect on our Discourse, how naturally we have fallen from the Discourse of Matrimony, to Love Stories; we have talked away the Time, as Children cry themselves asleep. But we must be gone, the Sun is just down, and we shall be wanted at Supper.

A Continuation * of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*. With a Declaration of all his Time employed since the Battle in *Africk* against the Infidels, 1578, until this present Year 1603. *London*: Printed for *James Shaw*, and are to be Sold at his Shop near *Ludgate*, 1603. *Quarto*, containing sixty-eight Pages.

The Epistle to the Reader.

Gentle Reader,

IN the Entrance of this Discourse which follows, you shall find three Letters, written by an ancient Man called Doctor Texere, a Portuguese, directed to a Bishop, this Father's very Friend, which I have here compiled and expressed, among other Proofs, to verify the unfortunate Accidents this disastrous King hath sustained, since he was taken Prisoner by the Great Duke of Tuscany, until the last Day of the Year past 1601. You may also find within this Pamphlet two Letters translated; one written by Don Raimond Marquesti, a Knight of the Order of St. John, born in Messina in Sicily, to Don Sebastian; the other sent from the said King to Don Prospero Biracco, dwelling in Padua. By the two last Letters, it will evidently appear unto you, that the Prisoner, detained now in Naples, is not that Marco Tullio Catizzone, whom the Spaniards in their Libels have so falsely proclaimed, but the very true King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. Immediately after these Letters followeth a Discourse, in the Beginning whereof there is a Preface written by Father Texere, manifesting the natural Disposition of the Portuguese, and witnessing how constantly they address themselves in Loyalty towards their Governors that reign over them, according to the sincere Word of God, and the infallible Rules of Honour.

You may also behold a most ample Declaration, about the End of this Discourse, ministering four several Points, worthy the Reading and Observing; to prove unto you assuredly, that the Prisoner, for whom we travel so industriously with Perseverance, is the true and lawful King of Portugal, Don Sebastian, whom God of his Divine Mercy will, I trust, restore to his former Crown and Dignity, for the Good and Propagation of the Peace and Welfare of all Christendom; which the eternal God effect, if it be his blessed Will. Amen. The 26th of February, An. 1602.

POST

* This is the 80th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harlian* Library.

POST acceptam Benedictionem. I wrote to your reverend Lordship from *Paris*, to signify unto you the Cause of my Return from *Lyons*; where I received a Letter from your Lordship, dated the Twentieth of *March*; in the which you gave me in Charge, that, if I had Occasion to travel into *Italy*, I should give you special Intelligence of all the Occurrents, that should be presented to my Understanding in my Journey. The Sixteenth of *April*, in the same Year, I departed from *Paris* towards these Parts, passing through *Campaigne*; the very first Day, the Gout began to assail me, and ceased not, but accompanied me to *Châlons*, which was *Wednesday*, being a holy Day; where I remained in my Convent until the *Wednesday* after *Easter*.

The same Day, after Dinner, having urgent Occasion, I was compelled, by Means of my Sickneſs, to use the Benefit of a Coach, and came the *Friday* following to *Nantz*. On *Saturday* following, I undertook to walk fair and softly, with much Pain, to visit his Highneſs, and the Lady Sister to the King, and her Husband, the Cardinal, the Count of *Vaudemont*, and the Princess his Sister. Believe me, I cannot expreſs in Words the Consolation, I conceived in beholding the inseparable Bond of Love and Amity, wherein these noble Princes seemed to be united and conformed; from whom, like one loaden and charged with honourable Benefits, Gifts, Graces, and Favours, I departed to *Basil* on *Monday*, being the Seventh of *May*. Notwithstanding the great Comfort my Entertainment gave me Occasion of, yet a bitter Spell of Discontentment wounded me inwardly; for that, the *Friday* before, I had particular Intelligence by the Post, that the *Calabrian*, the false and counterfeit *Don Sebastian*, as they termed him, the pretended King of *Portugal*, was rendered into the Custody of the Governor of *Orbitello*, a Town in *Tuscany*, bordering upon the *Mediterranean Sea*, being a Part of the King of *Spain's* Territories, from thence to be conveyed to the Viceroy of *Naples*: So swift were those bloody *Spaniards* in their cruel Expeditions. The poor Prince departed from that Town the Thirteenth of *April*, at Eleven of the Clock at Night, passing by *Sienna* the Twenty-fourth, and was

delivered the Twenty-sixth. The Manner of divulging these News was by Intelligence, that came to *Nantz* by *Milan*, in less than eight Days. The Eleventh of *May* I came to *Basil*; the Thirteenth I entered *Soleure*; where, because I was ill at Ease, Monsieur *De Vic*, your Lordship's dear Friend, and worthy Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty in Affairs to the *Switzers* and *Grisons*, forced me to stay and repose myself with him until the sixteenth Day; from whence, after the Fruition of infinite Courtesies, I departed; passing by the *Switzers*, *Grisons*, *Valtoline*, and *Valcamonica*, I entered into *Italy*; the first Town I lodged in was *Bresse*, the next *Verona*, *Vicence*, and *Padua*. The Second of *June* I came to *Venice*, where, without Delay, I hastened to visit Monsieur *Villiers*, Ambassador of his excellent Majesty. This noble Gentleman I found, in all Respects, as your Lordship had commended him to me, most reverend for Honour, Virtue, and Wisdom, as the World can justly testify. From thence I retired myself, in his Gondola, to a Friend of mine, an honourable Gentleman, by whom, with divers others of my Friends, that came to see me, I was confirmed in my former Knowledge concerning the Mishaps before rehearsed; understanding in like Manner, how grievously the Nobles and Citizens of *Venice* took the Troubles of the worthy distressed King, ascribing the Blame to the Negligence of the *Portuguese*, that undertook the Managing of his Liberty, into whose Hands they had committed him safe and found; forasmuch as, in those Lords Presence, they seemed to acknowledge him; under which Pretence they pressed before the Senate to signify unto them a Truth, beseeching them to allow him some other Solemnity in Proceeding, than they use to a common or private Person, and to respect him as a King. The fourth Day, I returned to *Padua*; the seventh I was at Breakfast in *Mantua*, where I was well entertained by the reverend and virtuous Prelate, the rare and honourable Lord, Father *Francis Gonzaga*, Bishop of the said City. And, soon after I had been in my Convent, and received the chief Prelate's Benediction, I went to salute the Duke and the Ducheſs, to whom I carried certain Letters; who received me with no less Shew of Account,

Account, than they could have made to an Ambassador, that had been employed in the most Christian King's Affairs.

The self-same Day, to accompany this my glorious Entertainment, the despicable Gout made a Return into my feeble Limbs, and there sojourn'd with me seventeen or eighteen Days, in the same City. In which Space I drew a Tree with Branches, expressing the Genealogy of the House of *Gonzaga*; where-with the Duke seem'd so well pleas'd, that he gave me a great Present in Gratification. I protest I should never have dream'd, that *Mantua* had been honour'd with a Prince so noble for Virtue, so rare for honourable Courtesy, so peerless for Bounty, so familiar in Histories, so conversant in Languages, so great a Lover of rare Properties, so intire a *Christian*. I sifted divers of his Court as narrowly as I might possibly, and I discovered them to be true and faithful Well-willers to our Country of *France*.

On the Feast-day of *St. John Baptist*, somewhat late, I set forward in my Journey towards *Ferrara* through *Bologne*: On the eight-and-twentieth Day of the last Month I came to *Ferrara*, being *St. Peter's Eve*: The next Day, being the Feast-day, after my Morning Repast, I went to the honourable Duke, delivering him certain Letters, which he received with a smiling Countenance, and made very fair Weather to me by his honourable and courteous Entertainment; so did likewise his Dukes. All this While making no Mention to me of the King, nor of the *Calabrian*, nor I to any Man: The Duke and Dukes severally demanded of me: what News I heard of *France* or *Lorraine*? And so sleighted me off with Licence to depart, saying, we will take another Day fitter to handle these Causes more at large: So I departed for that Time. The next Day following, the Duke came into our Convent of *St. Mark*, where I remained; and our Prior intreated me to bear the Provincial Company to entertain his Highness at the Church-porch, where the Duke took Notice of me, and talk'd with me all the Way passing through the Entry; and, at his Departure, said, I will choose a more convenient Time to talk with you more at large. After Breakfast, I went to the Archbishop of *Pisa*, and deliver'd him a Letter from a very Friend of his, in regard whereof he did me many kind Offices. And I telling him, I had under-

taken this Journey for the Dispatch of Business that concern'd my Order, and myself particularly (for so was the Tenor of my Passport) and to acquaint myself in the Families of the Princes of *Italy*: After long Deliberation, and Pausing for the Space of an Hour, he demand'd of me, if I had not heard any Speech of a *Calabrian*, that nam'd himself *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*? To whom I answer'd, that, being in the Court of *Lorraine*, I understood by Letters sent from *Milan*, that there was such a Counterfeit, and Abuser, and that therefore I would not meddle neither with him nor his Affairs. And he replied unto me, that he thought it not amiss for me to know what pass'd, and was done in that Business. When I found his Purpose, I prepar'd myself to hear him as patiently as I could, and he very pleasantly began this Invektive which followeth:

This Man, that would be call'd *Don Sebastian*, &c. is a *Calabrian*, a Merchant, whose Name is *Marco Tullio Catizzone*, that hath both Wife and Children alive, which have been compelled to come from *Messina* to to go to *Naples*, to justify the Truth. And the same *Calabrian* hath had Access to *Portugal* for Matters of Traffick, where some Religious Professors of our Order have perswaded him to call and proclaim himself *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*: And the Monk hath burn'd and branded him with hot Irons, in the same Places, with the like Marks that *Don Sebastian* had; and the Scar, which he carrieth in his Arm, was forced by a Gash given of Purpose with his own Hand, and the Monk that on his Head. Besides, when he was first taken, he had only two Crowns about him: And, as soon as the *Venetians* discharged him, the *Portuguese* consulted how they might embark him at *Livorne*, and send him presently into *France*: Whereof the Great Duke being speedily advertis'd caus'd all the Passages to be laid betwixt *Florence* and the Sea-coast, that he could escape no Way. And, as soon as he saw himself prevented and caught, he straightway discover'd his Legerdmain, saying, That he was no longer able to endure these Torments and grievous Imprisonments to maintain such foolish Delusions and Cosenage: Presupp'os'd that, before he made this Confession, he indent'd to have his Life assur'd him; which they ascertained him of, comforting him, that he should not die. And, after that he was detect'd in *Naples* by the

the Presence of his Wife, Donna Paula Catizzone, he was instantly sent into Spain, without any Violence done unto him, and was there openly and generally shewed to all the World, to the End that the Portuguese should no longer abuse him, and that it might be published to the World, that he was a very Impostor, a Counterfeit, and a Deluder. After I heard so many foolish and gross Absurdities uttered so confidently, my very Soul was so deeply plunged into extreme Grief and Vexation, that I was forced to crave Pardon of that reverend Lord for not Answering, being sore perplexed, knowing assuredly, that that Marco Tullio Catizzone died in Portugal, while he endeavoured the Dispatch of some Business, the King sent him thither about; which is evident by a Letter sent from one Don Raimond Marqueti, a Knight, dwelling in Messina, by whose Means and Persuasion the King sent this Marco into Portugal: Which Letter was sent by Marqueti to Venice, to have been delivered to Don Sebastian, which came to the Venetians Hands, whereof the Lords of Venice caused a Copy to be taken; and the Original remains in the Custody of one Constantine Nicoline, Citizen and Inhabitant of the same City, from whence a Transcript was made, which I have about me to shew. This Constantine, seeing the Agents of Spain to justify an Untruth so impudently, without Blushing, saying, That the Prisoner was called Marco Catizzone, shewed this Letter openly in St. Mark's Church, to stop and confound their Malice: Which Letter when they had seen and perused, they were never afterwards so bold as to prosecute the Matter any further, but kept Silence. Moreover, it appeared, that this Prisoner could not be Marco Tullio, by another Letter, written by the Prisoner to Don Prospero Baracco, which he shewed me in Padua, which I craved earnestly to have delivered me to bring with me; but I could only obtain a Copy thereof, which I have also in my Custody. The same is likewise testified by an Italian Gentleman attending the most Christian King. Whosoever is desirous to see the said Letter, shall find it in the Beginning of the Book, called, *Admirable Adventures*, &c. which was printed in France, before I came from thence towards these Parts. I have set down these Proceedings in Writing to your Lordship, to acquaint you with the Forgery and Devices of those De-

tractors, called *Castilians*. Now to return to the Archbishop of Pisa, whom I cannot but charge with great Abuse, to report that those natural Marks were inscribed with an hot Iron, and to lay it upon a Religious Monk of my own Order. But, to set aside many Reasons and Proofs, that might easily confute his Allegations, this one shall serve to satisfy all Men, that have any Spark of Discretion or Judgment: It is impossible, that any Man should, by Art, Force, or Skill, make a Man's right Arm and Leg bigger in all Proportions, than the left; that is only reserved to God that made him.

And further, this reverend Lord would have persuaded me, that the Religious Man, that so marked him, was Don Sempayo; which was impossible to be true; for the said Father never once saw the King, since he departed from Lisbon to go into Africa, until the Eleventh of December last past, when he was set at Liberty by the Venetians. Besides, this Don Sempayo never knew any privy Marks of the King's Body, until the Year of our Lord 1599, when he went into Portugal to inquire of them. Hearing so many Reports so much differing, and knowing how hardly this Archbishop could hide his own Error, and considering, that to answer him peremptorily might rather hurt than further my Purpose, and to save myself from Peril, being within his Jurisdiction, I was fain to suppress my inward Passion, but said unto him: My Lord, Seeing you understand, that the Imprisonment of this Man was the chief Cause of my Arrival in these Parts, and as I understand the honourable Knight came from thence, being four Times sent for by Letters from Paris, to the Great Duke, since I was in Lorrain, whatsoever, or shall become of his Person or Affairs, I resolve hereafter to take little Care, but mean to follow the other Employment, I recounted to your Lordship. Notwithstanding, as one that hath some Interest in the Cause, I will render your Lordship my Censure and Resolution in a Word, and make you Partaker of my inward and secret Contemplations. Forasmuch as your Lordship hath been acquainted with this Impostor and Deluder's Confession, Dissimulation, and Trumperies, I can do no less, than grieve thereat very much; and the rather, that he escaped without Punishment, being, as your Lordship assures me he is, so vile and so notorious an Offender; marvelling

marvelling you would suffer so pestilent and damnable a Wretch to live, that hath been the Cause of so many Men's Disasters, Confiscation of Goods, Ruins, and Extinguishments, by undertaking Misadventures by Sea and Land, and what not Indemnities for his Sake; abandoning Country, Father, Mother, Wife, Children, House and Home, Rest and Safety. And I wonder it pleased God to suffer such an one to be born; that his Mother, in his Conception, before her Deliverance, had not been transformed into a Stone, or presently been dissolved into Smoke, or Air.

What unhappy Man could have caused me to forsake my Place in *Paris*, where I was well and quietly seated, to thrust my Life into Peril, but only he? That wicked and ungodly Man. I have twice in this unlucky Journey been afflicted with the Gout; divers Times almost overwhelmed with Snow, drenched in Waters, tormented with clambering Rocks and Hills, sustaining all Hazards that Sea and Land might present me, with Thunder and Lightning from Clouds: And is it Justice think you, my good Lord, that a Man, occasioning so many Troubles, should live unpunished? This Man hath troubled me much, and grieved my very Soul. This noble Duke might, by the Approvement of many, have caused him to have been indicted, arraigned, and condemned, and have ministered to him some extraordinary Death, to the terrible Example of all others, and have manifested the same to all the World. In my Conceit, my noble Lord, this Execution had been most expedient and convenient, to the Commendation of Equity and Justice. The Archbishop, hearing these Words pronounced with such vehement Passion, as though my Soul had given frank Consent to my passionate Utterance, in Lamentation of my hard Success, said: I am much grieved for your Vexation; notwithstanding I cannot so heinously accuse nor condemn the Man, but only for his Folly to call himself *Don Sebastian King of Portugal*; for, surely, he was a reverend Man for Virtue and Sincerity of Life. I could rather agree to accuse that religious Traitor, by whom he was first persuaded and suborned to take the Name of King upon him. These, and many such like Words he used, as well to

justify himself, as to recover me out of that Affliction, which he perceived his Speeches had thrust me into; but, in the End, I took my Leave of his Lordship, and returned to my Cloister of *St. Mark*, where the religious Fathers received me with many Courtesies and kind Welcomes. The like Entertainment I found in all other Convents as I went, especially at *Mantua*, where I was importuned to remain many Days. God give me Ability and Grace to requite them, that I may not be found unthankful; for I assure your Lordship, I cannot express the Merits and Favours I found at their Hands, much less see which Way I may yield them due Recompence. From *Mantua* I thought best to go to *Rome*; in Hope, by the Friendship of the Cardinals, and other noble Lords and Gentlemen, to find some Furtherance in my Affairs, to the Bettering of my unhappy Prince's Fortunes. That he should be my very King and Lord, I am greatly fortified in Hope, and find many good Signs and apparent Arguments amongst the most serious and religious Men of Estimation, Princes, Lords, and others; finding it not expedient to nominate all the Favourers of this Enterprize, desiring your Lordship to pardon me for not satisfying you in every Particular, concerning my Success at this Time, according to your Request; which Defects I will repair in my Intelligence from *Rome*, from whence I hope to send your Lordship more exact Advertisements, concerning the Life and Success of this Prince since the Battle in *Africk*, from whence he hardly escaped by Flight; with all that past here in the Time of his Imprisonment; how, in what Manner, what Day and Hour he departed from hence. Father *Seraphin Banchi* hath hitherto much assisted me in the Business, and was very joyful of the honourable Greetings from your Lordship, desiring his Continuance in your honourable Favours. By his Means I am so much furthered, as I trust To-morrow Morning to be dispatched hence. The Almighty bless your honourable Person in all you desire. *Florence*, the Third of *July*, 1601.

Your noble humble Servant,

Fr. Joseph Texere, Portuguese, &c.

A Letter written by the said Father Texere to the Bishop before saluted.

IN my last Letter, written to your excellent Lordship from *Florence*, I promised to perform as much, or rather more at my Arrival at *Rome*; wherein I fear I shall fail, for many Causes checking my Will and Endeavour, to keep Touch with your Lordship. First, Because I came not hither so soon as I intended, being hindered by reason of my Sickness, which lengthened my Journey; for, being in *Viterbo*, I sojourned seven or eight Days in the House of our Lady *De la Quercia*, a Monastery of our Order, distant some half League from the Town, where God, by the Intercession of the Virgin, doth many Miracles, to the Benefit of the Well-believers. So soon as I was entered into *Rome*, which was Sunday the fourteenth of *July*, I sought out my very Friend, of whom I gathered, that his Holiness, and all the Lords of the Court of *Rome*, conceived, and were persuaded verily, that the Prisoner which the Duke of *Florence* caused to be sent from thence the Three and twentieth of *April*, at Eleven of the Clock at Night, and delivered into the Hands of the Governor of *Orbitello*, was Don *Sebastian*, the true infallible King of *Portugal*. Of him I learned, how he was conducted from *Orbitello* to *Hercules's* Port, and from that Port in a Galley to *Naples*, and last to *Castlenovo*. This Galley the Enemies made the Subject, to give Notice to the whole World, that the said Don *Sebastian* was condemned to the Gallies, and after to the Castle *Del Ovo*. Further, I was shewed the Copy of a Letter, which the Count of *Lemos*, Viceroy of *Naples*, wrote to the Duke of *Sessa*, Ambassador from the King of *Castile* unto his Holiness, giving him to understand, that the same Prisoner was Don *Sebastian*, the true King of *Portugal*. I have also found out which of the Cardinals and Prelates favour the Cause of that virtuous and holy Prince. A Friend of mine lent me his Coach, wherein I went directly to the most excellent Prince, the Cardinal of *Florence*, and kissed his Hand, of whom I had the Evidences your Lordship is advised of; and, after an Hour and a Half's Conference with him, I departed in the same Coach to visit Sir *Alexander Giusi*, Justice *de la Rata*, our dear Friend, From whom, so

soon as I was departed, I met near his Gate with another of my familiar Acquaintance, that discovered unto me certain Plots and Circumventions, attempted and suggested by the Duke of *Sessa*, informing against me in the Consistory of *Rome*, that I was a seditious Man, prejudicial to the State of *Christendom* generally; for that heretofore the Christian Princes had used to associate themselves in a League jointly to make War against the Infidels; which I had been a Cause to hinder, by interposing Division and Contention between those Princes; and, as a principal Reason to induce them to believe the same, he shewed publicly the Discourse which I sent your Lordship from *Lyons*, intituled, *Admirable Adventures, &c.* which, for the more familiar Understanding, was translated into *Italian* and *Spanish*. The common Dispersing of which Discourse, was like to breed much Dishonour and Damage to Don *Philippe the Third*, King of *Castile*, his Master, and so purchase unto himself, being his Agent, infinite Disgrace and Harm by his Displeasure. For my Part, I answered, that I merited no Punishment for traducing into Writing such true Accidents, as they were, the Confirmation whereof increased with the Time, considering they were not of mine own Invention or Stamping. Relinquishing this Friend, I hastened straight to the Cardinal of *Offat*, into whose Hands, when I had delivered Letters, and informed him thoroughly of the Cause of my Repair thither: He advised me not to shew myself so openly there, until such Time as I understood what my Enemies had conspired to object against me since my Enterance into this City, which could not be concealed, for that the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was and is General of the Order of *St. Francis*, a *Sicilian* born, and so much the more my forcible Enemy, by how much he was zealous for the King of *Castile* his Master, had a Glance of me in the Cardinal of *Florence's* House. My Occasions detained me so long with this Cardinal till Night grew on, so that his Lordship caused me to remain with him until the Morrow, from whence, after the Hearing of his Mass, I departed to my first Friend's House; whither

whither divers Persons of Quality repaired to visit me, signifying unto me, that the Ambassador for *Castile* intended to work me all the Mischief he could possibly; and, seeing he found no sufficient Means to endamage me before the Estate, he had a Purpose to bring me within the Inquisition, alledging these Accusations that follow: First, he objected against me, that I had been in *England* six or seven Years, and that I ever favoured the Proceedings of Hereticks; that I composed divers Books fraught with Heresies; that at *Lyons* I made and began to imprint a Book against his Holiness, and the Inquisitors-General of *Portugal*; with many other Matters, which I let pass, for Fear of troubling your Lordship. To all which I answered, without Blemish to my Honour or Reputation, in this Manner: I thank God, all the Time I was in *England* I lived amongst Men that were religious, as mine Enemies can testify; and, for my Continuance in *France*, I hope to acquit myself easily from Misdemeanor there. To the most capital Matter and of greatest Importance, that I wrote and began to print a Book at *Lyons* against his Holiness, and the Inquisitors-General of *Portugal*, I can purge myself purely, and pass as clear as the most unpotted Innocent, being always approved religious and zealous, wherein I appeal to the Sincere of all the Brethren of mine own Order: In that he terms me a Rebel and a Traitor to the King his Master, for shewing myself serviceable and faithful to a foreign Prince, his Enemy; in that he is assistant to my Affairs, recommending my Estimation by opening a Gap, to decipher the Traiterous in *Portugal*, Backsliders, Enemies to their own Friends, and very *Castilian* Hypocrites; that I am a Disperser of many Lyes in Conventicles, at this Instant. That Article is worthy of such Men's Preferring as they seem to be, and not fitting Men of Worth and Lovers of Religion. As it happeneth, I have the Book about me, that was printed at *Lyons*; which shall confute and display the Malice and Impudence of him that caused the rest of my Books to be burned. The Remainder, that concerns these Affairs, is best known to your Lordship, and therefore, to conclude this Point, I crave Pardon for being so tedious.

Now to return to my former Subject. Sunday being the 15th of *July*, the Monday following, after I had finished the principal Part of my Latention, I determined, by the

Counsel of my Friends, to return directly to *France*. And, being advertised that the Duke of *Sessa* had sent beforehand some of his People to way-lay me in the ordinary Way, I changed my Course by *Umbria*. I departed out of *Rome* the Fourth Day after my Arrival; and, passing by the Cities of *Narne*, *Tarne*, *Spolete*, *Feligni*, and *Affise*, I came to *Peruse*, which I did only pass through, and shaped my Course by *Siene*, *Florence*, and *Bologne*, through the Confines of *Modena* and *Mirandola*; and, before I could reach to *Mantua*, my Horse fell upon me, and hurt one of my Legs very grievously, which caused me to stay in this Place, where I might provide the best Means for my Recovery. I assure your Lordship, I took this Mischance to be ominous, that God would have it so, for that, by my Return this Bye-way, I gathered some Certainty of much that happened to Don *Sebastian* the King, since his Flight out of *Africk*, until he was discharged out of this Commonwealth: And now I begin to make your Lordship a true Relation, certain, and without Controulment. When it was spread at *Rome* that I remained in this Town, and that, by Reason of my Hurt, I could not suddenly depart from hence; a Friend of mine certified me by Letters the 6th of *August*, in what Manner *Paula Catizzzone*, with her Daughter, arrived at *Naples*, being shipped from *Messina* by the Catholick King's Agents, to come and acknowledge this Prisoner for her Husband; and the said *Paula* meeting in the Ship with a religious Man of the Order of St. *Francis*, of her Acquaintance, she discovered the Cause of her Travel unto him, assuring him, she knew undoubtedly, that that Prisoner was not *Marco Tullio Catizzzone* her Husband, saying, That same Prisoner that they call Don *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* had sent him into *Portugal*, which the trusted would make well for that Prisoner, and do him no Hurt at all, and that she came rather to justify, than to condemn him. The same Man, my Friend, promised me of particular Advertisements of whatsoever shall be effected in this Business. I beseech you consider the Cunning the *Castilians* use in the Expedition of their Enterprises, who are both terrible and wary in all their Practices. Although they know that *Marco Tullio Catizzzone* died in *Portugal*, yet, notwithstanding they continue their indirect and false Course, with Inventions and Sleights con-

louring their Projects, to seduce and blind the World. This Woman, a Subject of the *Spanish* King's, was threatened, upon Pain of Death, not to hinder any of the King's Proceedings; therefore she must take upon her to know this Man, and justify him to be her Husband *Marco Tullio*, &c. though she had never seen him before, be the Matter never so false, as it is most untrue, and so proved by many Reasons and Letters, whereof I made Mention to your Lordship in my Letters from *Florence*. I have sent a Copy to my Friend in *Rome*, to be delivered to his Holiness, and another to your Lordship, with these Presents, to controul all those that shall belye this Action. Beside this Testimony, there newly arrived a grave *Portuguese*, a Man of good Authority and Credit, that, understanding at *Rome* which Way I was departed, took Post-horses, and came after me. Beside, that, he was one of

my old Acquaintance, he brought Letters in his Bosom of Recommendation to induce me to trust him, and that he might open his Secrets unto me, which certain Lords of *Portugal*, that sent him, charged him to do. This Man named the House in which *Marco Tullio Catizzzone* died, to the Owner whereof he brought and delivered certain Letters from the King, and there were counter Letters written, which were never, as yet, delivered to the King. I trust I shall not have Cause to stay in this Town to write any more Letters unto you, but purpose, by God's Help, to make small Delay to come myself to your Lordship; and excuse all other Messengers. : Beseeching the heavenly King to bless your excellent Lordship. From *Venice*, the Thirteenth of *August*, 1601. Most humbly,

at your excellent Lordship's Service,
Father Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE.

The Copy of a Letter written by Don Raimond Marqueti, with this Inscription: To Don Sebastian, calling himself King of Portugal, being at Venice.

I Received Letters from your Lordship, the Fifth of *September* last past, wherein I perceive the Resolution your Lordship hath taken, to commit your Care and Trust to *Marco Tullio Catizzzone*, a Man as worthy, as able, to manage such a Business. Further, I render your Lordship a thousand Thanks, for the good Opinion and Confidence you have reposed in my Person; in Discharge of which Trust, I will repair my Diligence, to learn News of that *Marco Tullio*, who, as yet, is not returned into these Quarters. As for the Letter to *Donna Paula Catizzzone*, I hold it no Policy to deliver it her, considering it as a loose Adventure, in such Dangers, to trust a Woman. Neither will I neglect to be careful, for the

Honour of the said *Paula Catizzzone's* House, as your Lordship required me; and, in the End, the Effects shall shew. To conclude, I desire your Lordship to excuse me for not using so reverend a Stile to your Lordship as I could wish, which I hope you conceive I refrain to do, because I would not be discovered in your weightier Affairs; holding this the best and safest Course to do your Service: Wherein I beseech the Almighty God to prosper your Lordship, and grant you due Success, to whose Tuition, with reverend Kissing your Hands a thousand Times, I commit your Lordship. From *Messina* the Eighth of *October*, 1598.

Don Raimond Marqueti.

The Copy of a Letter by Don Sebastian King of Portugal, while he was Prisoner in Venice, sent to Padua to the most reverend Don Prospero Baracco, Almoner to the Cathedral Church in that Town; the Original remaining in the Hands of Sir Georgio Bustarelli.

MOST Reverend *Don Prospero*, I am to signify unto your Lordship, how much I have been grieved for your meritable Afflictions, having suffered Imprisonment for my Sake, by the Pursuit of the *Castilians*, mine Enemies. But seeing Thing past are irrecove-

rable, and are only to be overcome with Patience, considering you are not ignorant of the whole Complotment: And, soasmuch as I am so restrained from Writing at large, that I cannot express unto you my secret Meaning, I only request you to send some trusty Messenger

ger to *Messina*, diligently to enquire and search, whether *Marco Tullio Catizzone* be returned thither with any Directions, or not. And, to that End and Purpose, your reverend Lordship may use my Name to *Don Raimond Marqueti*, to whom I wrote heretofore being at *Moran*, if you forget not, that I received also Answer from him. And this Gentleman you may inform of all that hath passed since that Time, if you think good; and, when *Catizzone* shall happen to come thither, he may direct him covertly to this Place, where he may secretly give me Knowledge of the Expedition in my Affairs. And, for the Love you owe to the Almighty, fail not in one Whit in a Business to me of so great Importance, considering how much it may avail, to bring my long Travels to a good End; and weighing,

that the Lords of *Venice* will not be brought to the true Period of Justice, notwithstanding I have oftentimes laboured unto them to do me Right, and make me known personally to the World; saying, That, if they find me not to be *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, without Favour let them worthily punish me. For all this Suit, they neither yet would, nor will come to the Center of my just Cause, and wrongful Imprisonment, saying, That they loved not to be mocked and trifled withal, offering always very readily, that, if I would deny, or not profess myself to be *Don Sebastian*, &c. they would set me at Liberty, &c. Love me still as I have done you, and so farewell. From *Venice* the Fifteenth of *April*, 1599.

Don Sebastian, King of Portugal.

Another Letter written by the aforesaid Fr. Texere, a Portuguese, to the same Bishop.

I Wrote to your excellent Lordship from *Venice*, the 13th of *August*, and departed from thence the 18th of the same, being then not thoroughly well; for which Reason I made the Way more long and tedious than I purposed. I staid many Days at *Soleurre*, because *Monfieur de Vic* would not let me pass, until *Monfieur de Sillery* came to Town. After whose Coming he staid me to see the Order of that Town, in entertaining the Cantons, and other Provincials, at their first Feast; and this Commandment I could not well disobey. This Importunity, and such other were the Impediments, that I could not reach unto *Paris* before the 14th of *October*. Then presently I went to *Fontainebleau*, to kiss his most Christian Majesty's Hand, who entertained me very princely, shewing himself glad of my safe Return. For, to tell you true, I had no assured Being, but in *France* (so offensive and dangerous was the *Spanish* Indignation unto me.) At my Return from *Fontainebleau*, I met with your Lordship's Advocate Agent, praying him to give your Lordship Advertisement of my Return; promising to write unto your Lordship shortly after, which I did not effect, partly for mine unapt Disposition, being vexed with slanderous Lyes and Tales, which mine Enemies found Occasion to spread in my Absence; who, for the Satisfaction of their Malice, having neither Care of

the Law of God, nor of his Fear, stick not to suppress any Truth, to further the Confusion of their Neighbour, or Christian Brother: And, to gorge their wicked Appetites, respect neither the Honour of the King, his Safety, nor the Firing of *Portugal*, which they had lately kindled and disturbed; and more than that, being blinded in Fury themselves, think no Man else can perceive their Intents, be the Matter never so plain and manifest. But of this Theme let this suffice, considering your Lordship is not ignorant of *Castilian* Broils.

At my first Entrance into this Place, I found certain Letters written from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Padua*, and other ordinary Passages in *Italy*; all which gave me credible Intelligence, that the King, my Lord and Master, lives, and that he is well treated in Prison in the Castle *De Ovo*. And my *Roman* Friend, being joyful of my good News, wrote unto me in this Form following: 'Forasmuch as your Afflictions, Dangers, and Travels, have received some Hope of good Event, and for that it is certain, that the Troubles of those that fear God shall be converted into Prosperity, so it may fall out, that *Hæc olim ministe juvabit.*' These Words and Tidings seemed very common and vulgar; which being conferred with those Things that fell out happily in *Rome*, for the Good of my Sovereign, I conceived great Hope yet once again

to see him re-established in his Kingdom. By the same Letter I understand, that my Intelligence hath bred him great Contentment, and that also he conceived no less Pleasure by those Copies which I sent him, to present unto his Highness; which were the Transcripts of those I sent your Lordship from *Venice*, which prove that *Marco Tullio Catizzone*, is one, and *Don Sebastian* another. A Doctor and a Friend of mine, dwelling at *Lyons*, shewed me a Letter which a *French Gentleman* his inward Friend, of good Calling dwelling in *Rome*, after he had recorded many Things concerning the King my Master, revealed as followeth: 'The Count of *Lemas*, Viceroy of *Naples*, is very favourable to *Don Sebastian*, his Prisoner, honouring him very much, allowing him some small Liberty; which when he heard that the King of *Castile* took in ill Part, he began presently to restrain and kept him shorter. When he was allowed to hear Mass amongst other Prisoners, they did honour him with much Reverence, saying among themselves, that they discovered in his Countenance and Carriage a princely Majesty. And, without all Question, he must needs be *Don Sebastian*, the King of *Portugal*, or some Devil in his Likeness. The Viceroy, as it is said, craved Licence of the King of *Castile* to go into *Spain*, because in *Naples* he could not recover his Health, which the King would in no wise grant him.' There be other Letters sent into these Parts, not from *Portuguese*, or any other by their Appointment, the Contents whereof are here expressed: 'Heretofore it hath been lawful and tolerable for this Prisoner, that termed himself *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, to speak with any *Portuguese* or Men of other Nations, that desired to see the said Prisoner, that said they had seen him before; and since they verified him to be *Don Sebastian*, the true King of *Portugal*, he is more straightly kept from the Sight and Speech of any than before.' Another Letter, having recounted something concerning this King, addeth: 'The Count *Lemas*, lying in his Death-bed about the Last of *October*, said to his Son, in the Presence of his Wife and divers other Prisoners, that he should look well to the Place and Charge he had, both of the Viceroyship and his Prisoners: For you see, said he, that I am upon the Point to go to God, to render Account for that I have done during

my Life; and here I must cease and end my worldly Business: For the Disburdening of my Soul and Conscience, I protest, that this Prisoner here, whom the Vulgar call a *Calabrian*, is the very true *Don Sebastian*, lawful King of *Portugal*. I know it assuredly, having examined him, and for that I have had often Conference with him before his Imprisonment. Therefore I command and intreat you to use him well. This done, he gave him a Letter, which, said he, is written to his Majesty, I mean the Catholick King, touching these Affairs, and use all the Diligence you can in those Things I have given you in Charge. The Father being dead, the Son respected the Prisoner with much more Reverence than he did before, but allowed him less Liberty than he had in the old Count's Life.' I have also two Letters from Doctor *Sampayo*, the one bearing Date the Eighteenth of *November*, the other the Fourth of *December*, which confirm the same Contents before mentioned. There be many other Letters here lately sent from *Portuguese* to the same Purpose, reinforcing the Truth: And here lately passed a *Portuguese* by this Town, that protesteth he spoke with *Don Sebastian*, declaring Marks and Tokens of his Apparel, Chamber, and Bed, and other Appurtenances. The same *Portuguese* said further, the King inquired of him for certain Persons, which this Party, being then but young, could not remember, and therefore gave him no direct Answer. We have here many Rumours from divers Places near about. One wrote out of *Portugal*, which divers other coming from thence confirm, that upon St. *Anthony's* Day of *Padua*, the last Year, they rung the great Bell at *Villila* in *Arragon* in the City of *Coimbre*, an University of *Portugal*, where befall a very admirable and rare Wonder. In the same Town there is a Convent of *Canons Regulars*, of the Order of St. *Augustine*, sincerely reformed, great and rich, in the which is interred the Body of *Don Alphonso Henriques*, the First King of *Portugal*, whom they adore for a Saint. In whose Behalf, they say, God hath shewed some Miracles unto Men, to confirm their Opinion of him, that they believe not amiss. Many religious Men, for this four-hundred Years Space successively, continuing this Saint for their Intercessor to God, *ut ferunt*, have obtained much Release and

and Consolation in their Afflictions, as well Strangers as the natural Countrymen: And to this Effect they have a Book written, recording all the Benefits received thereby: So that this House never harboured any other, than those that were devoted to this holy King. The last Year an old Man, whom Age had made feeble and decrepit, used ever to kneel down and pray at the Sepulchre of the said King; and, upon St. *Anthony's* Day the last Year, he there, in happy Time, offered his solemn Prayers, and continued a long Time in Meditation before the Sepulchre, where he remained until he was stiff, and not able of himself to rise, but by the Assistance of his Juniors and Religious Brethren, who, beholding all his Face bedewed with Tears, demanded of him how it came to pass? This old Man answered, I am very much displeased and grieved at the Negligence of our Kings and Princes of *Portugal*, as well dead as living, I mean descending from this holy King, that being assured by infinite Miracles, that he is in Heaven in eternal Glory, and lives in the Presence of God, and we never yet knew any Man that travelled to canonize him. To whom one or two answered, That Hour shall come: And, Father, seeing your Devotion and Love is so great to this holy King, beseech him to be a Mediator for the Liberty of Don *Sebastian*, descending of his masculine Line, that he may be restored to his former Dignities and Realms; and that good Deed will cause him to be canonized.

We have heard lately more Reports by the Passengers from *Italy* and *France*, that he, whom the *Venetians* imprisoned and released the last Year, is Don *Sebastian* our true King and Lord, and that he seems no whit to degenerate from the Steps and Traces of his Ancestors.

As those Religious Men were advising and contemplating upon the Vision of this *Alphonso*, which was mentioned in the *Admirable Adventures*, &c. and considering the Promise God made unto him, when he appeared unto him in the Field *Orique*, the Sepulchre resounded unto them three Strokes, hearing the Echo with Ability to judge from whence the Noise came. The Sound being past, they approached nearer unto the Tomb, continuing their Discourse; and suddenly again the Tomb gave three other great Blows, so terrible that they were forced to recoil for Fear; and the Echo con-

tinued so long, that they were all amazed, and became as pale and wan, as Men use to be in the Horror of Death. When afterwards they came to themselves, recovering their Senses and perfect Understanding, and conceived that it came by the old Man's Prayer, they went and revealed this Accident to the Bishop of that City, who, in all the Time of Treaty between *Portugal* and the King of *Castile*, approved himself as rank a Traitor to his Country, as he proved a true Servant to the King of *Spain*; who, for his Recompence, was established in that See, and created Bishop of *Coimbra*, Count of *Arganill*, &c. with fifty-thousand Ducats of yearly Annuity. This Bishop, advertised of the Noise, came to the Convent, and made Inquisition, and, finding it a Thing so extraordinary, said: 'You *Portuguese*, that wonder at these Toys, and give Credit to Baubles, know, that the Soul of this Saint, being aloft in Glory, is so sore offended with you, that God suffereth those senseless Monuments to give Testimony of your Fopperies.' These Words were so ill taken by the People of the Town, assembled about that strange Noise, that the Bishop was constrained to unsay what he had said, and to confess it was very wonderful.

Furthermore, there are many Letters come of late from *Portugal*, that testify, That at *Lisbon*, the Last of *October*, in the Year 1601, the Church and Hospital of the King, called *All-Saints*, suddenly fell on Fire by Night, and flamed so furiously, that the Roof was burnt, and all the Images of the Kings of *Portugal*, that were painted upon the Wall, only the Pourtrait of Don *Sebastian* was left undefaced. The self-same Ruin happened to the Arms of the Kings and Princes of *Portugal*, which were drawn in Escutcheons upon the Wall. The Day following, being the Feast of *All-Saints*, in the Forenoon, fell an infinite Number of Hail-stones, as big as small Eggs, red of Colour, which bred as great Cause of Wonder, as the Rain that fell the Day following; which was so extreme, that, as I have heard credibly reported by many, the People of that Town durst not go out of their Doors all that Day, for Fear of Drowning. These Things to me, as well as to others, I assure your Lordship, seem marvellous, and can find no Reason of their Rareness; God of his Divine Mercy turn them to Good! I could have written to your Lordship

more

more News of great Consequence, if my Paper had not been injurious. But now to return to our first Subject, which I will intirely deliver unto your Lordship; and, seeing I have recovered my Strength, I will proceed to declare unto you the Success of Don *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, since his Escape from the Battle in *Africa*; which I intreat your Lordship to cause to be printed, that all Princes may have free Knowledge of the History. *Paris*, the Twelfth of *January*, 1602.

Immediately after my last Writing, I received Letters from my Friends at *Venice* and *Padua*; by which I understand, the Agent of that Signiory, being Resident in the Catholick King's Court, hath written a Letter to that State, which hath been openly read at *Pregay*; Part of the Contents whereof are: 'That the Count *Lemos*, Viceroy of *Naples*, before his Death, wrote a Letter to the King his Master; wherein he did assure him, that that Prisoner, which he caused to be sent him from the Duke of *Tuscany*, under the Name and Title of a *Calabrian*, was Don *Sebastian*, the very true King of *Portugal*, which, in the Year 1578, lost the Battle in *Africa*; which he affirmed with many assured Reasons and Trials, as having thoroughly examined him of divers Things, wherein he had dealt with him both in *Portugal* and *Castile*. This Viceroy never received Answer of this Letter, in his Life; and therefore, being then almost at the last Gasps, for the Disburdening of his Soul, he detested this Secret to his Son, that succeeds in his Place, in the Presence of his Wife, his Confessor, and divers other Persons of good Account; giving him also a Letter for the King, wherein is ratified the same he spoke before. The new Viceroy sent to the Catholick King a Nobleman of the House of *Mauriques*, of whose House proceeded the Dukes of *Najara*: This Signior he sent with his Father's Letter; and it is reported, that the King returned Answer of

'the same Letter to the Count *Lemos*, commanding him to treat that Prisoner well, and take especial Care, that no Disaster chanced unto him.' These News forced me to enlarge this Treatise. I would to God they were like to be true, and that the Catholick King would answer his Title with due Correspondency to Christianity, according to his Christian Stile, by yielding Liberty to his Cousin-german, and restoring all that to him belongeth; which were an excellent Branch of Honour and Magnanimity, and an assured Means to settle *Christendom* in Peace, and to avoid the Danger of present War, which now the lowering Heavens and malicious Inclination of Stars do assure us to fall upon us. I confess, that so many extraordinary Accidents do persuade me to expect a good Issue out of all these Troubles, that they may be both happy and profitable to the whole Commonwealth of *Christendom*. Pleaseth it your Lordship to remember, that, about the Infancy of our Amity, I said, That, if the *Portuguese* and *Castilians* be not separated, it will be impossible to maintain a general Peace in *Europe*, justifying my Opinion with many evident Demonstrations; and yet, to this Day, I hold the same Resolution; in which many Noblemen, both of the Council, and others of great Calling, do accord, saying, They from Day to Day see more apparent Reasons so to judge. To that End, do I daily offer up my Sacrifices and earnest Prayers to intreat the Almighty God, That it may please him, of his Divine Mercy, to inspire the Hearts of all Christian Princes to combine in one Knot to set this Cause aright before the Increase of more Mischief; for, so much the longer as they defer this good Work, so much the greater will be the Ruin of *Portugal*, and Peril of our universal Destruction.

Your Noble Lordship's humble Servant,

FR. JOSEPH TEXERE, Portuguese.

The P R E F A C E.

Gentle Reader, forasmuch as I have done you the Favour by my Travel to discover in Writing unto you a Peregrination so much desired : I shall intreat the like of you again, in giving Credit to that I will most faithfully deliver unto you, concerning the natural Inclination of the *Portuguese*, and the Disposition of the King.

The *Portuguese* have two especial Qualities, happily differing from other Nations, which are as familiar to them, as to laugh is proper to all Men. The first is, they are extremely scrupulous of Conscience : The second, they are exceeding constant in their Resolutions, especially when they are assured that they are warranted by the Law of God, and concern his Glory : For the first, I will recommend unto your Judgments two Examples : The first, after the Death of Don *Henry*, supposed King of *Portugal* ; the Succession of that Kingdom, being left to the Inheritance of Women, came directly to Donna *Catharine*, Duchess of *Braganza*, Daughter to the Son of Don *Duarte*, Brother German to the said *Henry* ; who caused her Title to be disputed of in the University of *Coimbra*, which Disputation was published in Print and compiled in a Book confirmed by the Hands of fourteen Doctors subscribing thereunto ; all whose Sentences were pronounced in the Favour of the said *Catharine*. The like Censure was exhibited by the Doctors of *Bologne*, *Pisa*, and other Universities in that Part of *Europe*, the Succession of the said Realm of *Portugal* being adjudged to the said *Catharine*, and Don *John*, Duke of *Braganza*, her Husband and Cousin German ; by Reason whereof (while the Cardinal lived, being induced, or rather informed by the Agents of Don *Philip*, the second King of *Castile*, not to publish the said Donna *Catharine* to be his Heir, did respite the Publication, pretending that Donna *Catharine*, Don *Antonio*, and Don *Philippo*, being all at once with other Competitors to the Crown, might set some Variance among the People about the Title, leaving it after his Death by certain Judges that he had appointed and named) he swore to stand to the Sentence of those Judges, and would not pronounce him King of *Portugal* himself, but said it might be a Means for him to come to the best Assurance of the Enterprize before any other ; for that he had on his Part, not only the most of the Princes of *Portugal*, descending from that Line, but also many Cities and Towns in that Realm, whereof he was Owner and Lord, being about fifty with Castles, beside the City of *Braganza*, and had under his Government above two-hundred-thousand Subjects of Account, by Reason whereof he was the greatest and the richest Prince Subject, among the Christian Princes of *Europe* : Considering withal, that out of the City of *Braganza*, and two other Towns called *Chaves*, which the *Romans* termed *Aguas Flavas*, he was able to make and bring into the Field thirty-thousand Men, between the Age of five and twenty and fifty Years. And it is to be noted, that the Men bred in those Parts are hard and valiant Soldiers, and have been so approved in the Battles and Victories which the *Portuguese* have had against the *Spaniards*, by whom they have been often vanquished in ranged Battles. This Prince's nice Conscience was the Cause, why he extended not his Force to defend his Right, but withdrew himself into a Corner, without Purpose or Intent to marry either one or the other ; by which Means he left the Crown to him in the Right of his late Wife, and his Life in short Time after.

The second Example :

The Lord Don *Antonio*, the Prior of *Crato*, likewise supposed King of *Portugal*, by reason of his Oath at *Santaren*, where he was chosen, and after at *Lisbon*, in which Election he was confirmed by the Deputies of the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, promised by Oath that he would make no Bargain or Agreement with any of their Enemies, but leave the same Realm at Liberty. The Catholick King, Don *Philip*, offered to make him Viceroy of *Naples* for his Life-time, with four-hundred-thousand Ducats of yearly Rent, and the Bestowing of certain Offices and Benefits, and fifty-thousand Ducats presently to pay his Debts to go into *Italy*; and likewise to restore to their former State, Dignity, Houses, and Goods, those Persons from whom they have been confiscated by his Occasion, and to give both Honour and Riches to all them that should accompany and attend upon him, according to every Man's Place and Calling; upon Condition he would renounce and disclaim all his Right and Interest in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, by Vertue of their Election: And if withal he would swear never to give Attention to any, that might persuade him to the contrary. His Answer was to all these great Offers: That his Conscience bound him to do nothing prejudicial to the Contract he had already made, and that he had rather live poorly and die miserably in a simple Chamber with Credit, performing the Duty of a good Christian, than to live in great Pomp and Pride in sumptuous Palaces, disclaiming the Law and Commandments of God.

Courteous Reader, no Man can speak so assuredly, or so sensibly in this Matter as I: For in the Year 1582, upon St. *Augustine's* Day, being Prisoner at *Lisbon*, Don *Christopher de Nora* (for that Time appointed Viceroy of *Portugal*, with whom his Catholick Majesty sent a Gentleman of his Chamber for me) assured me, that I might talk with him as boldly as with himself, telling me that the King meant to employ me to Don *Antonio* about these Affairs. This was not then effected, for that I escaped out of Prison; since when, in this Country, and in *England*, I conferred with him divers Times about this Business, being his Confessor, who often said unto me; God forbid I should do a Thing so contrary to my Conscience; if I should, said he, I persuade myself that every Chink or Furrow in the Ground would open and swallow me up presently, by Reason of that Offence. God first I desire to take away my Life: I had rather live laden with Afflictions, accompanied with Misery and Beggary, reserving my serious and publick Promise, than to lead a perjured Life in great Prosperity, Pleasures, and Delights. Thus he died, obtaining, as I think, for the Preservation of his Integrity, as well Reputation among Christian Men, as Re-compence at God's Hand, desiring always to live and rest in Peace: And, in Regard of his small Ambition, could have contented himself with the Tenth Part of the King's, his Cousin's, Offer, had it not been for the Respect to his Oath at their Election; and could have found in his Heart, to quit the Right and Claim he had by his Father, while the Right was in him, but could not dispense with the Oath they bound him with when they elected him, having Power to do the first, but not the second.

This is sufficient, as I take it, gentle Reader, to prove unto you my First Proposition, That the *Portuguese* dwell upon the Severity of their Conscience. Now coming to prove the Second, which is, That they are most constant in their Designs, when they resolve to build upon the true Law of God, and his Honour; I am to intreat you to defend me against the Murmurers, our Enemies, in two Respects: That

is to say, not only in the principal Point that shall concern our Subject, but that they may become Censurers of me and of the Cause; saying, That, in the First History of Two, I speak not religiously, and that I give Cause of Offence to the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, or that I incite you to take Arms against them. To the First Objection I answer, That when a Person, of what Estate soever he be, deliver any Thing to good Purpose, or utter, by Chance, that which is come to pass; in that he offends not, being thereunto obliged in Duty and Conscience. As for the Second, where they suggest, that I transgress against *Christian* Princes, they are much deceived: For, though a Man make fine Gold into a Chain, yet, for all that, it loseth neither the Beauty nor Reputation of Gold, nor the Name of the most excellent Metal of all others: So let it be supposed, that a Man, descended of a princely Race, become a mean Subject, yet cannot any Man say, he loseth, by his Dejection of Fortune, his Nobility that came by Nature: For *David's* Sheep-hook was no Disgrace to the Scepter of *Judea*; nor *Justin's* Wallet, nor the Halter of *Gratian*, Father to *Valentine*, were any Blemish to the Imperial Crown. Therefore I conclude, that no Man can accuse me of Rashness, in the Narration of my History, speaking to a good End accidentally; though I prove, that many Kings and Princes of *Europe* have been derived out of mean and vulgar Houses.

The Chronicles of *Portugal* offer unto us, among the Traditions of our Ancestors, a notable History, well worthy the Reporting and Observing: In *Portugal*, in the Province of *Alentejo*, otherwise called *Transtagana*, there is a Town called *Veyros*, by Estimation about the Bigness of *Manto* upon *Seine*, situate upon a Mountain, at the Foot whereof Westward, there runs a River which hath the Beginning from the North Part, the Current passing into the South. Not far from that Town, upon the highest Part of a little Mountain, regarding the West, for the most Part, this River seems to have an Issue towards the East; and there is a Ford where Men are constrained to pass, under this Promontory: The River hath made a sandy shallow Place, as it were, Knee-deep, where the Women inhabiting the said Town use to wash their Linnen, Maids as well Noble as Vulgar. It fell out upon a Day, that Don *John*, Natural Son to the King of *Portugal*, was to pass by that Point with Don *Petro*, Justicier, and Great Master Overseer of the Cities, and, by reason of that Office, was endued with Spiritual and Temporal Honour and Authority. He being a young and lusty Gallant, and Governor of the same Town, beholding these Maidens with their Cloaths trussed up, as Women use going about that Labour, this Nobleman began to jest with the rest of his Company at the bare-legged Wenches; and passing by them, some Part of his Train yet to come, one Wench amongst the rest, as the History reporteth, in a red Petticoat, as she was tucking up her Cloaths, discovered her Legs somewhat high, and, giving herself a Clap with her Hand on the Calf of her Right Leg, said aloud, Here is a white Leg, Girls, for the Master of *Auiz*. Which being overheard by some of his Followers, whom she took no heed of, hearing and seeing what the Wench had both said and done, came no sooner into their Lord's Lodging, but they reported unto him what they had heard a young frolick Wench say, and see her do. Wherewithal this noble Gallant being stirred, sent for her presently, and, finding Means to have her secretly, upon her begot a Son. And this Maid was a Shoemaker's Daughter of that Town, very rich and of good Account; who understanding that his Daughter was sent for to such a Nobleman, and being informed that her own Speech and light Behaviour was the first Cause, and being assured she was disflowered by her own frank Consent; took it so heinously, that, at her Return Home, he

reviled her with most opprobrious and despiteful Words, and beat her out of his Doors openly: And to manifest unto the World, how much he was inwardly vexed with the Spoil of his Daughter, he never after would eat at any Table, nor sleep in a Bed, nor put on any Shirt; never pared his Nails, polled his Hair, nor cut his Beard, which grew so long, that the People called him *Barbadon*, for it continued uncut till it reached beneath his Knees. This Malecontent lived so long, that his Grandson, called *Don Alphonso*, grew to be a Man, and Duke of *Braganza*, created by the great *Auize* Master, his Father, who, by the Election of the People, afterward became King of *Portugal*, and, for his worthy Acts, was firnamed Memorable, and *Barcelos*, by the Right of his Wife, the sole Daughter and Inheritor to the Constable of *Portugal*. This Town of *Veyros* stands between seven or eight other Towns belonging to the said Duke, and is distant but four Leagues from *Villa Vicoça*, where his Palace is. This Vicinity was the Cause that he had perfect Intelligence of the Shoemaker his Grandfather, and the Reports, he heard of him, made him so desirous to see him, that he determined to go seek him out himself in his own Town; where, meeting him in the Streets, he alighted from his Horse, and kneeled down before him bare-headed, and desired him to give him his Hand and his Blessing withal. The Shoemaker, having an Eye to the Duke's Train that attended upon him, and seeing his base Humbleness, and hearing his Speeches, amazedly conceived him to be some great Personage, unknown to him, and said: Sir, Do you mock me? The Duke answered, So God help me, I do not; but in earnest I crave I may kiss your Hand, and receive your Blessing, for I am your Grandchild, and Son to *Ines* your Daughter, conceived by the King, my Lord and Father. As soon as the Shoemaker heard these Sayings, he clasped his Hand before his Eyes, and said, God bless me from ever beholding the Son of so wicked a Daughter, as mine was. Yet, soasmuch as you are not guilty of her Offence, hold, take my Hand and my Blessing, *In the Name of the Father*, &c. But neither the Duke, nor his Followers, could persuade him to pull away the Hand that covered his Eyes; so confident this old Man was in his Discontentment; neither would he talk any longer with the Duke. Shortly after, this old Man died, and, before his Death, he took Order for a Tomb to cover him, whereupon he commanded to be engraven all Manner of Tools that belonged to a Shoemaker, with this Epitaph:

*This Sepulchre Barbadon caus'd to be made
(Being of Veyros, a Shoemaker by his Trade)
For himself, and the rest of his Race,
Excepting his Daught' Ines in any Case.*

I have heard it reported by the ancientest Persons, that the fourth Duke of *Braganza*, *Don James*, Son to *Donna Isabel*, Sister to the King *Don Emanuel*, caused that Tomb to be defaced, being the Sepulchre of his fourth Grandfather.

As for the Daughter, after she was delivered of that Son, she continued a very chaste and virtuous Woman all her Life, and the King made her Commandress of *Santos*, a most honourable Place, and very plentiful, to the which none but Princesses are admitted, living, as it were, Abbesses and Princesses of a Monastery, built without the Walls of *Lisbon*, called *Santos*, that is, *Saints*, founded by reason of some Martyrs that were there martyred. And the religious Women of that Place have

Liberty

Liberty to marry with the Knights of their Order, before they enter into that holy Profession; the Order is called *St. James*, bearing the same Cross. In this Monastery the same *Donna Ines* died, leaving behind her a glorious Reputation for her Virtue and Holiness. Observe, gentle Reader, the Constancy that this *Portuguese*, a Shoemaker, continued in, loathing to behold the honourable Estate of his Grandchild, nor would any more acknowledge his Daughter, having been a lewd Woman, for purchasing Advancement with Dishonour. This considered, you will not wonder at the Count *Julian*, that plagued *Spain*, and executed the King *Roderigo* for forcing his Daughter *la Cava*.

The Example of this Shoemaker is especially worthy the Noting, and deeply to be considered; for, beside that it makes good our Assertion, it teaches the Higher not to disdain the Lower, as long as they be virtuous and Lovers of Honour. It may be, that this old Man, for his Integrity, rising from a virtuous Zeal, merited, that a Daughter, coming by Descent from his Grandchild, should be made Queen of *Castile*, and the Mother of Great *Isabel*, Grandmother to two Emperors, *Charles the Fifth*, and *Ferdinando*; and confute the Proverb in *Spain*:

*De cien en cien annos los Reynes Villanos :
Y de cientos en seys los Villanos Reyes.*

Which is,

From a hundred to a hundred Years Kings become Villains; and, from a hundred to six, Villains become Kings: so here the Plough was converted into the Scepter, in less than threescore and ten Years.

For the Proof of my Second Proposition, I must necessarily refer you to the History expressed in the Discourse of the Twelfth Letter, intituled, *Admirable Adventures, &c. concerning Don Sebastian, the true and lawful King of Portugal*: Where it is reported of *Don Alphonso*, the *African*, King of *Portugal*, that seeing King *Lewis the Sixth* deluded him, in not giving him Aid, according to his Promise made at the Beginning, when he first arrived in *France*, by which Means, for two Years Space, he left *Portugal*, not being able, for Want of Power, to bring his Purpose to any good Pass, for, at his Return, being ashamed to be seen of the *Portuguese*, for that he lost a Battle against the *Castilians*, determined with himself to steal as unknown out of *France* secretly, and place himself in a Monastery near unto *Rome*. And, to effect that Design, he disguised himself in a strange Habit, taking with him but two of his People to accompany him; but he and they were intercepted, and taken by the Way of *Robinet*, termed the Ox of *Normandy*; which *Philippus Comineus* also confirmeth, with this Addition, that King *Lewis* was much offended with *Robinet* for that Piece of Service; forcing him to supply him with an Army, and embark him for *Portugal*, where he ended his Life, as I have already more at large declared unto you elsewhere.

That which I have said, gentle Reader, I think to be sufficient, to acquaint you with the natural Disposition of the *Portuguese*. And, to induce you to believe what likewise hath been verified concerning *Don Sebastian*, my Lord and Master, it is convenient for you to know, that he resolved never to discover himself, or to make it apparent to any Man, what he was; but was fully persuaded to pass the rest of
his

his Time uncouthly; and so to finish his Life in Silence; because he wilfully took upon him, contrary to the Advice of *Xarifa*, and all the Princes, Lords, and Commanders that accompanied him, to give Battle to *Muley Maluco*, in the Hour, the Day and Place, that, in their Judgment, was not thought fit for his Advantage; and the King, acknowledging his Error and Oversight he committed that Day, so afflicted his Soul, that the Memory thereof bred him more inward Torment and Vexation, than any Misfortune that ever befel him in all his woeful Days. For the Confirmation whereof, I will give you to understand, courteous Reader, what I heard an old Man say, being a Man of great Authority, an ordinary Assistant, and a common Reliever of afflicted Persons, be they never so abject, and a religious Man of mine own Order, and Archbishop of *Spalato*, a *Venetian* born, a Maintainer and Supporter of Truth, who, during this Realm's last Troubles, wrote in Behalf of his Christian Majesty. This reverend Prelate, while I lay sick in his House, distant some half League from *Venice*, sitting by the Bed-side, said unto me, In this very self-same Bed lay *Don Sebastian* your King, tormented with a Fever, before his Imprisonment in *Venice*, at which Time, in my Hearing, a Father of the Order of *St. Bernard*, a Doctor in Divinity, very famous for his Profession, intreated him to tell him how it came to pass that he lost the Battle in *Africa*; and, because the King condescended not to his Demand, he reiterated the same again: Then suddenly I beheld Tears gushing from his Eyes as big as Pease, and in such Abundance, as they did wet not only his Handkerchief, but his Shirt, the Sheet, and a silk Quilt that lay upon him. This Passion was without Weeping or Sobbing, for that he never could do, but ever shewed himself all one, no Changeling, come Prosperity or Adversity. At length he requested us instantly, to use some other Communication, saying, The Remembrance of that intolerable Mishap was to him such a Torment, as it deprived him of Reason and Judgment, and made him desire to abandon both the Sight and Conversation of all Men. All this Grief could not supplant his Sickness, which persecuted him so sore, as he was out of Hope or Care of his Recovery, often tempting him to end his Misery with his own Hands. I considered, it was great Inhumanity to add a Torment to his Affliction, in seeking to extract that from his Knowledge, which his extreme Sorrow would not give his Tongue Leave to utter; so I desired the Nobleman to depart with me, and give him Time to rest a While; for that, the Night before, he had slept very little, or not at all. To conclude, The Shame and Grief he sustained inwardly by his rash Attempt, as is before rehearsed, committing so great an Error, and so prejudicial to Christianity, enforcing him to obscure and hide himself from all his Acquaintance and Familiars; imitating *Alphonso*, his Predecessor, both in Temerity and Repentance; or to equal *Bolislau*s, King of *Poland*, who, to kill *Stanislau*s the Bishop of *Cracovia*, left both his Crown and Scepter, and retired himself into *Hungary*, where, some say, within few Years after the Execution of his bloody Purpose, he slew himself. Others say, that he was devoured with Dogs in a Forest; but the most certain Report saith, that he served a Cook in a Monastery at *Carinthia*, called *Ofia*, a little distant from the Town named *Felikirchen*; and, after the Sufferance of many Troubles and Travels, he died, and was known by a Writing, which was found in his Bosom, the Contents whereof was: *I am Bolislau*s, *some Time King of Poland, that slew Stanislau*s, *Bishop of Cracovia*. In the same Manner, I believe, had *Don Sebastian*, the King of *Portugal*, died, had he not been a religious Man, bound in Conscience to shew and reveal himself, and take Pains to seek to be restored to his former Rights and Dignities, so provoked to do by secret Illumination from God himself, who otherwise had

had resolv'd to end his Life in an Hermitage; which Intent he manifested in certain *Italian Verses*, compos'd by him while he was in Prison in *Venice*, which I have about me, uttering all his Success since he lost the Battle in *Africk*, &c. There were four Examiners, appointed by the Senate, to attend that Business all the Time of his Imprisonment there, which Examinations and Verses he sent, inclos'd in a Letter, to his Holiness, which also are in Custody. The Advocate, Judge, Counsellor, and Inquisitor testify, that he gave them a princely, sententious, and a pithy Answer, rehearsing all Things that had pass'd, concerning himself and others, since that Battle in *Africk*, with the Names of the Generals, Colonels, Captains, Lords, and Gentlemen, that accompanied him in that Action; the Number, and the Diversities of Nations, the Day, the Hour, the Situation of the Place, where it was fought; how, and in what Manner he escap'd.

I am again to intreat you, friendly Reader, to give Credit to that I shall report unto you, and not to measure the Nature of *Portuguese*, by the light and lewd Dispositions of other Nations.

When I was in *England* with Don Antonio, the putative King of *Portugal*, as I told you before, I was solicit'd by Father Diego of *Chaves*, a Professor of my own Order, with great Importunacy to relinquish and give over this Signior Don Antonio, and incline towards his Catholick Majesty, whose Confessor this Diego was, and his sole Governor; assuring me, that, if I would yield to his Request, I should be very bountifully rewarded; and wrote unto me most confidently, that my Entertainment should not want one Mite of twenty-five or thirty-thousand Ducats yearly in Revenue, to be duly paid; which Allowance would not only serve competently to maintain me in honourable Estate, but I might also deduct a Surplusage therefrom to enrich my Kindred and Friends withal, whom also the King promised to prefer and advance for my Sake (*This Confessor was my Mother's Cousin-german.*) assuring me, that all my Actions, Intents, and Purposes whatsoever, prejudicial to his Catholick Majesty, should be quite buried in Oblivion, and no Blame for any Investives, or Writings in Derogation of his Majesty, should be once objected against me. And, to the End I might the rather yield unto him, he recapitulated all the particular Offices and Favours, he had performed in my Behalf at the Time of my Imprisonment; that he purchased my Deliverance, and sav'd me from being adjudg'd to the Gallies, and also prevented me from being stretch'd upon the Rack; and, further, obtained Pardon of his Majesty for Emanuel Texere, my Uncle, that was condemn'd to lose his Head, and caus'd all his Goods to be restor'd, that were confiscat'd for being in Employment with Don Antonio against the King; and, when he could not obtain a Grant at my Hands, of that which he demanded himself, he incited my Friends and Acquaintance to do their uttermost to win me from my constant Resolution, hoping, in Regard of the great Distance and Separation from my Country, and what by the Want and Necessity I endur'd in *France*, with my aged Constitution of Body, I would retire from that Place, and end my Age in *Portugal*, where I began my Youth, attempting afterward, by Rating and Reviling, to make me recant, when other Provocations would not prevail; all which Enticements, mix'd with bitter Taunts, mov'd me nothing at all; and at this Instant, if I would vouchsafe Acceptance, I might receive the same Entertainment before offer'd. It is not yet two Years past, since a very dear Friend of mine in this Town press'd me, with vehement Persuasions, to return into *Portugal*, assuring me of as much Advancement there, as I would desire; but God forbid, that ever I should accept it; for I had rather be a poor religious Beggar in *France*,
than

than a great discontented Bishop in *Castile*, or in *Portugal*, considering the Country is not itself, but in Bondage, most servilely subject to *Castilian* Tyranny. In this Town, a Nobleman of *France*, accompanied with some religious Men of my own Order, often persuaded me to leave the Habit of St. *Dominick* and betake myself to another, assuring me, in Lieu thereof, of an Abbey (which he had in his Power at that Time to give) and afterwards a Convent of eight or nine thousand Livres annual Rent; and, to make me capable thereof, he promised to procure me a Dispensation from his Holiness to allow the Exchange of my present Habit; all which bountiful Proffers could not once move me to change my Shape, like a mutable Weather-cock, or an airy Chameleon. For, if the Spirit of God forsake me not, I will die, as I have lived, a religious Votary to St. *Dominick* and a natural *Portuguese*; and the same blessed Stability possess all those that seek and spread my Reproach and Defamation. And, to those that make a Scorn of me, I answer nothing, but that I am a true religious *Portuguese*, of the same Disposition that others of my Countrymen be, I mean, the godly, virtuous, and loyal *Portuguese*; neither will I admit any for my Associates, in this Case, but such as be most intirely sincere and constant. So I end my present Narration in the Name of God, and purpose to proceed to the Handling of my promised Discourse; which, albeit I cannot so exactly relate, as I desire, not being an Eyewitness of all that hath been done and suffered by this miserable King, my Lord and Master, I have gathered out of the greatest Probabilities and Assertions of the Justest and Honestest, that I could possibly learn, or understand, that were able to give me the best Intelligence; which Diligence I was bound in Duty and Conscience to exercise; and am withal forced, by the Importunity of many, meeting me in the Town and Field at every Corner, to discourse unto them my Master's Adventures. Therefore, to satisfy them and all the World, and to meet with their tedious Inquisitions, I have effected this Collection, to rid myself of Trouble, and to quench their inordinate Thirst after the Truth, referring all, that can read, to this and my former Discourse of *Admirable Adventures*. Farewell.

A Narration of Things done by Don Sebastian King of Portugal, since the Battle he lost in the Fields of Alquiber in Africk, fighting against Muley Maluco, an Infidel, Anno 1578, until this present Time. Written by Father Joseph Texere, a Portuguese.

AT my being in *Venice*, gentle Reader, I understood by divers, that the Opinion conceived of many, and the Rumour commonly spread concerning the Death of Don *Sebastian* the King of *Portugal*, my Lord and Master, was false; and believed rather, that their Reports were more like to be true, that maintained the contrary. For that it was confidently justified by credible Persons, that he was seen alive and safe since the Battle in *Africk*, namely, by *Cid Albuquerque*, *Emanuel Texere*, my Uncle, *N. Murselo Higuera*, and many other Gentlemen and Personages of great Quality and Account. He escaped by Flight among

the Rout, being sore hurt in his Head and in one Arm, and passed as a private Man to his Ships, and was embarked amongst the Remnant of his Army, that saved themselves by Flight, as he was forced to do. After a few Days, he arrived in *Portugal*, in a Town called *Neu feu de mille fuentes*, near unto St. *Vincent's* Cape, where he refreshed himself, and sent for a Chirurgeon from *Faro*; his Name I have forgotten, but well I remember he was reckoned excellent in his Art. There the King sojourned, accompanied with the Duke of *Anciro*, and *Christopher Tavora*, and divers other Lords, until he was perfectly healed. The Tidings of

his being at the Cape were suddenly spread at *Lisbon*, and was soon published generally throughout all *Portugal*. And it was affirmed, that he was seen at the Convent of Capuchins, built upon the Point of *St. Vincent*, amongst his Companions. This Rumour was soon quelled by the Policy and Authority of *Petro de Alcaçova*, great Secretary of *Portugal*, in the Behalf of *Don Philip* King of *Spain*, with whom he had before-hand concluded, when *Don Sebastian* the King employed him in Ambassage into *Spain*, before his Departure into *Africk*. And for that Cause this *Peter Alcaçova*, a damnable Politician, and a monstrous Traitor, as soon as the first News came, that the Christians had lost the Day, and his King and Master slain, this *Jew* gave secret Intelligence to the King of *Castile* of all that happened; signifying unto him, that now were a fit Time to surprize the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and bid him make ready for the Purpose. I respected the Handling of the second Establishment of Union between the King my Master before his Departure, and the King of *Castile*, which is expressed by one *Comestay* at large, who, being a Man of good Respect in *Portugal*, came Post to seek me from *Rome* to *Venice*, and, amongst many other News, he reported unto me, that, as soon as ever it was bruited Abroad in *Portugal*, that *Don Sebastian* the King was living, and Prisoner in *Venice*, there were many Devices revived concerning this Bruit, that long Time before lay buried. And withal you must note, that *Don Diego de Sosa*, the Admiral, which conducted the King into *Africk*, re-embarked him from thence into *Portugal* again, and gave continual Intelligence unto his Kindred and assured Friends, that their King was living, and that he had secretly received him a-board, among the scattered Troops, and gave them an especial Charge that they should conceal it. And further, that he gave him a secret Sign, whereby he might know him hereafter, if Need required; which Privy *Don Diego* discovered unawares, when a Counterfeit (suborned for the Purpose) came to that *Diego's* House, sending for him into the Field to come Home to speak with *Don Sebastian* the King; to whom he said abruptly, Hath he delivered any secret Token betwixt him and me, whereby I might credit thee? By which Question he published that, which he secretly had bewrayed before to his Allies. Whereupon the Cardinal *Don Henry*, Great

Uncle to the King, took Occasion to send a trusty Servant of his, called *Emanuel Antunes*, to *St. Vincent's* Cape, charging him to use all the Industry he might, in finding out what Certainty he could learn of the King his Nephew. All which this *Emanuel* performed, with as much Endeavour as he might possibly use; and, by his diligent Inquisition about the said Cape, found that the King had been in the Monastery; and was there certified; that he was both hurt in the Head and Arm, and, in a manner frantick, not only for the exceeding Anguish and Vexation of Mind which he suffered for the Loss of Victory, but withal the Shame did ever perplex him, when he considered the Overthrow came by Indiscretion and Rashness, and that, by his Default, the Flower and Prime of all *Portugal* was defeated and cut off. *Antunes* brought a very large Testimonial hereof to the Cardinal, under the Seal of the Father Guardian, and all the rest of his Brethren of the said Monastery; which the Cardinal received with his own Hands, commanding his Servant to impart this Secret to none, which he, for his own Part, buried in his own Bosom. And not being able to find out what Course his Nephew, and his Company, took for their Escape out of the Country, gave over the Expectation of his Recovery either of his Crown and Scepter while he lived, though it were his due. But, when it was known in *Portugal* that the King lived, *Antunes* began to acknowledge the Pains he had undergone in these Affairs, by his Master's Appointment; which was no sooner conveyed to the King of *Castile's* Ear, but he sent for this *Antunes*, of whom he had a liberal Relation of all that he knew concerning that Business; and, soon after *Antunes's* Return into *Portugal*, he died. Whereby it appeareth unto me, that God lengthened his Life some Space, to reveal a Truth, that seemed before to be very intricate and doubtful. Shortly after, the *Portuguese* began to murmur among themselves, boldly saying, that *Don Philip* the King had made away *Don Sebastian* their King, his Nephew, going to him to crave his Aid before his Departure into *Africk*, because he had a Meaning to gain the Kingdom of *Portugal* to him and his Successors, and hold it by Usurpation. And this Scandal was never extinguished, because Fame divulged his Arriving at the Cape called *St. Vincent*, and no Certainty appeared to the World, what Way he passed from thence. But since it is proved, that from

Spain he got Shipping and travelled into *Alexandria*, and there lived in *Prester John's* Court with his Followers, some twenty Months, unknown of what Quality he was, professing that he had a Desire to see the World, and travelled only to that End and Purpose; for of Want he made no Shew, he and his Company being well furnished with Gold and Jewels of great Price. From *Ethiopia* they passed over the *Red Sea*, and so directly to the Mount *Sinai*; from thence to the Great *Sophi*, called *Xatama* King of *Persia*, whom he served as a Commander five or six Years against the *Turks*, where he atchieved many Victories, and divers Wounds in his Body, with much Honour and Reputation. In Requital whereof, the King of *Persia* did him many honourable Offices, and gave him rich Presents of inestimable Price, with the which he and his Company departed. I heard at *Venice* of his Conference with Colonel *Cigogna*, a Man of great Experience in the Wars, which assured the Lords of the Senate, that he never talked with any more wise, learned, or better experienced in Military Discipline, than this noble Person; and he protested he could be no other, than the same he professed to be. The excellent and most reverend Lord the Archbishop said, he heard the Discourse between the King and the Colonel, which delighted him exceedingly. This Archbishop I could not speak withal at my being in *Venice*, for that he was employed in *Dalmatia* in the Affairs of the State.

The King, leaving *Persia*, went towards *Jerusalem*, from whence he travelled by firm Land to *Constantinople*; which, after certain Days, he left, and came into *Italy*, from thence to *Hungary*, and from thence fetched a Compass by *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Swedeland*, and *Denmark*, where he took Shipping for *England*; and in *London* it is reported, he saw Don *Antonio*, the supposed King of *Portugal*. From *England* he passed into *Holland*; from *Holland* by *Almain* back to *Antwerp*; from thence to *Paris*, Anno 1586. It comes to my Memory, that, in the latter End of the same Year, one *Antonio Fernandes Pignero*, a Priest, which had sometime been Almoner to the said Don *Sebastian*, &c. and was with me in Service from the said Lord Don *Antonio*, told me, that the same Don *Antonio* had heard it credibly reported, that Don *Sebastian* the King was living, &c. whereat Don *Antonio*

seemed to be fore amazed and perplexed. About which Time I craved License of Don *Antonio* to go out of *England* into this Country, which he gave with some Shew of Discontentment therewith. By reason whereof, and to avoid all Suspicion, I moved no Question to him concerning the Particularity of this Matter; and I must tell you, by the Way, that *Pignero* had all this Discourse in Writing, *sub sigillis confessionis*, which although, said he, I make the same known unto you, yet I pray you conceal it from Don *Antonio*, because it may be very prejudicial to him of whom I heard it. In the Year following, after *Easter*, in the Time of *Ember*, when I was come to that Town, whither I made the Scope of my Journey, I heard the like concerning the same Business which I before had heard in *England*, whereof I seemed to make no great Care; and coming to *Paris*, after his Christian Majesty had entered the Town, Don *Newvolet* assured me, in the Presence of divers *Portuguese* and *Frenchmen*, not once or twice, but many Times, that it was as certain and assured that Don *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, had been lately in *Paris*, as he spoke to me; describing him to me by many Circumstances; to all which I gave no Credit, esteeming all he said to be mere Fables. Not that I held any Opinion or Conceit that he was slain at the Battle in *Africa*; but my Imagination could not receive any Impression that he could be guilty of any such rare Dissimulation, to pass so many Cities and Regions without Discovery.

The last Year writing to the said Doctor to *Annist*, where he dwelt, of the News which I heard, that my Lord and Master should be set at Liberty by the Consent of the Seigniory of *Venice*: I intreated him to write unto me at large, that which he had oft recited to me in this Town, concerning the Estate of that King. And because his Answer was, that he could not agree to the Satisfaction of my Demands, I ceased to importune him any further in that Behalf. But forasmuch as, at my being at *Venice*, some of the chiefest of the Seigniory of that State, asking me, if I were able to say any Thing concerning what the King had answered upon his Examination; saying, that he had been in *Paris*, and there conferred with a *Portuguese* fled out of his Country for Don *Antonio's* Cause, being his Cousin. And further, that he met with a Gentleman of *Switzerland* at *Saleurre*, departing

departing from thence towards *Amiffi*, by whom I sent a Letter to Don *Nouvelet*; in the which I most instantly desired him to set down in Writing all that he had declared to me at *Paris*, concerning my Master Don *Sebastian*, &c. At my great Importunity, it pleased him to grant me my Desire; and here I have annexed the same, copied out *verbatim*, as it was written, in Manner and Form, with the Recommendations he assigned me to do to

his Friends, named in the same Original, Men of good Esteem for Birth, Office, and popular Affection. So that to his Truth and Sincerity no Man can take Exception, being a Professor in his Art, both very learned and excellently experienced, in his Life and Manners never detected. Therefore all Suspicion, either of the Matter or the Man, is prevented.

The Copy of a Letter, sent from Don Nouvelet, to Father Joseph Texere.

S I R,

I Received your last Letter, dated the Eighteenth of the Month past; whereby you make me recall to Mind the Grief, I conceived by your Letters preceding, concerning the Troubles of *Emanuel Godigno*, a Gentleman born in *Portugal*. I had long since expressed in Writing, and sent it you, if I had conjectured your Disposition had been apt to entertain News: So ready and willing I am to apply my Endeavours to do you Service, in any Thing you shall please to command me: But the Consideration of your rare Perfection of Memory made me decline from Doubt of any Defect therein, and so much the slower in committing that to Writing, which I had before so observantly uttered in your Hearing, and in the Presence of many Persons of good Respect, as well of your Country, as of other Nations; imputing this Imposition rather to your Desire to be better assured, *obsignatis tabulis*, than to any Want of Carriage in your understanding Parts, I thus address my Pen to confirm my Tongue's Discourse: In the Year of our Lord 1588, being at *Nantz*, in Employment and Service of my Lord the Cardinal of *Gondie*, about the Affairs of my Lord the Bishop of *Paris*, his Nephew, that was called Abbot of *Buzai*, I took up my Lodging in the Convent of the *Jacobins*, where I found good Opportunity to ingraft myself in the Favour and Friendship of the reverend Father, Dr. *Sampayo*, a Man much commended for his liberal Erudition in Letters, but recommended for his Integrity and Zeal; one of your own Order, and of your antient and approved Acquaintance, and, being both godly and learned, united in more assured Bonds of Love and Amity, than are exercised among the Vulgar. Mean While, that League of Friendship, then planted between that good

Doctor, *Sampayo*, and me, took so good Root in us both, that it continueth without Peril of Supplanting until this Day, and is like, for your Sake, to fructify abundantly, as well by Increase of Love, as of Acquaintance with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen of good Sort and Condition. Among the rest of the ordinary Frequenters, came Sir *Emanuel Godigno* to visit Dr. *Sampayo* at my Lodging, and, taking some Acquaintance of me, continued the same as long as I lay at *Nantz*, till I retired towards *Paris*, leaving, to my great Sorrow, the sweet Conversation betwixt Dr. *Sampayo* and myself, loving each other dearly. This *Godigno*, loth to let slip out of Use the Compliments that had past between him and me at *Nantz*, at his Coming to *Paris* frequented my Lodging daily, to understand of Doctor *Sampayo's* Health and Welfare; whereof I not being able to give him any certain Intelligence, he began to mourn and look heavily, whom I could not chuse but in that Passion to accompany, envying any Man's Affection should exceed mine in Zeal to my Friend. It followed that, upon a *Sunday*, in what Month I remember not, this Signior *Godigno* received the Communion very devoutly, ministred by the chief of the *Jacobins*, which made me refrain for that Time to salute him, or he me; for, in Truth, I think he saw me not, and I, not willing to interrupt his Devotion, let him pass without any Ceremony on my Part performed. Notwithstanding, the same Afternoon he repaired to my Lodging, and as his Custom was, demanded what Tidings I heard of his Friend and mine, Doctor *Sampayo*; and I, having no better Means to inform him than before, desired him to excuse my Ignorance, being unable to give him any Contentment by Intelligence of him, or from him. At which Answer, the kind Gentle-

man seemed very pensive and appaied, sitting still a long While mute and silent; whereby I imagined he had somewhat that inwardly distempered him, for I might perceive the Tears trickle down his Cheeks. Which Perturbation, breaking out at his Eyes, afforded him some Liberty to utter these Words following: 'Sir, I consider the great Love that was betwixt Doctor *Sampayo* and you, that manly appeared to me at *Nantz*; and withal, the Confidence he reposed in your Fidelity towards him; which persuades me, that I cannot commit a secret Matter of great Consequence to a Man that can more assuredly conceal it than yourself. And I doubt not but the same shall be as safely guarded in the Treasury of your Constancy, as in his, if you will vouchsafe to give me your unfeigned Promise so to do.' Whereunto I answered: 'Sir, if it be a Secret never as yet by you revealed unto any Man but unto me, you may boldly speak it; but if you have already trusted any Man, or shall hereafter declare the same to any other, it may so fall out, that you may lay some other Man's deserved Blame to my Charge. Therefore in this doubtful Case I beseech you trust yourself, and tell me nothing; for I will not have you ransack your Inclosure upon my Protestation, although I presume so much upon your honest Sincerity, being a Gentleman both honest and religious, you will utter nothing unto me that shall not be like yourself; considering beside, I have seen you this Day participate a sound Mystery most reverently and devoutly among the *Jacobins*, which assures me, that you cannot produce any thing out of your Mouth either profane or wicked.' Whereunto he replied, That he was expressly prepared to receive the Holy Communion upon this Day, to the End God might inspire him with the Understanding what was fittest for him to do in this Case, and resolved absolutely to tell it me, that I might disclose it to Doctor *Sampayo*, fearing lest he might die burdened with so great a secret as concerned the Good of all *Christendom*, holding his Conscience greatly charged with the Weight thereof, conjuring me seriously to deliver it safe to Doctor *Sampayo*; mean While if it please God to take him out of this transitory World, it might be lawful for me to publish it openly before my Death. This and such other like Speeches

being ended, he began to unbosom his Conceit in this Manner: It was my Chance to meet with a Gentleman in this Town, my Countryman, between the which and me there had been antient Amity; after many Days Conference at secret Meetings, he told me that Don *Sebastian*, the King of *Portugal*, was not dead; whereat the said *Godigno* seemed to be astonished, and said, he did not believe it, until he had seen him alive with his own Eyes, and then, said he, I may have Reason to be of your Mind. Which the other promised should be effected, and, to that Purpose carried him to Dinner to the House where Don *Sebastian* was lodged, which was as I remember in *St. James's Street*, or in *Harp Street*; whether the first or second Day, or shortly after he had used that Place, he could not certainly name the Time; but a Friend of his, a *Portuguese*, came and inquired at the House for Don *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*; and, as he was coming up the Stairs, *Godigno* hastened down the Stairs to stop his Passage, and took Occasion to carry away his Friend, feigning some other Affairs with him, because he would prevent the King from Discovery, who was very jealous of publick Notice. But, the Morrow after, the same Gentleman came again about his former Business, and inquired earnestly for the King, and, being there denied him, ceased not to ask, of every one he met throughout all the City, for Don *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*; but, not prevailing at all, he fell into an extreme Agony, and desired not from Inquisition to little Purpose; and, surprised with great Care what to do, was at length inspired with a Motion from God to profess a solitary Life, and take upon him the Habit of an Hermit: So, being disguised, he travelled towards *Spain*, and, arriving, at the Court, found Means to speak with the Catholick King, saying, That he had Matters of great Importance to reveal unto him, and to none but the King. And, after long Attendance, he was admitted to the King's Presence to have Audience; to whom he protested he had lately seen Don *Sebastian* in *Paris*, and confirmed it by many Signs and Tokens of Verity. The King presently forbade him by any Means to utter it to any Man living, and willed him to go Abroad every where to search out and discover what he might possibly; allowing him present Money to bear his Charges, delivering him

him a Letter to Don *Bernardin Mendosa*, then his Leager-ambassador in *France*, to give him any Money he should have Cause to use, not signifying unto him for what Cause or Intent; and thereupon he shewed me Letters, which made the Matter evident, that he had been in *Spain*, as is afore said; but for the Particularities of the said Letters I do not well remember, but that I hold myself satisfied thereby, that he had been in *Spain*, &c. But, to continue his Tale, he told, he had travelled so long, that, his Money being well-wasted, he was forced to go to *Mendosa* to be supplied in his Necessity; to whom when he would not reveal the Cause of his Coming into those Parts, and having Letters of Intelligence out of *Spain* from some great Man, that he should deliver that *Godigno* no more Money, being but an Impostor and a Deluder, as they termed him, *Mendosa* was soon confirmed in that Parsimony, intending before to shut up his Liberality, and to give him never a Denier; at which Denial this *Godigno* began to lament, and burst forth into bitter Tears: As I judge, his Lamentation was, because he was crossed and prevented for Coming to the Type of his Enterprife.

In the End, protesting before God and his Angels, and by Vertue of that holy Sacrament he had that Day received, that all that he had uttered to me was true: In the End, without Protestation of Believing, or Shew of Infidelity, I promised him my Secrecy, as he desired. Some few Days after this Conference, he returned unto me, as he used to do, inquiring what News I heard of Father *Sampayo*; to whom I answered, I understood of him no more than before. Mean While, I was, as it were, distracted in Conceit, seeing this Gentleman's Relation a Paradox adverse to the Fame and vulgar Opinion of Don *Sebastian's* Death: And, weighing this Gentleman's Integrity, Zeal, and Communication, with the *Jacobin's*, could not in my Conscience condemn him for a Lyar. But, whether it were true or false, according to my Promise I concealed it, though it were in some Sort an Offence so to do. It came to pass in some little Space after, in the House of an Apothecary, dwelling in the Suburbs called *St. Germain's*, near the Gate, whose House was razed at the Siege of *Paris*, that this Man died: Here is all that I can say concerning this Subject, which I never opened to any Man, saving to Dr. *Sampayo*, which was a good While after,

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but the Time I do not justly remember: And one Cause why I was loth to speak of it, was, for that I was afraid to be thought deluded. And, methinks, this I have written unto you may seem very strange, notwithstanding the common Report at this Hour is, that Don *Sebastian* was seen alive two Years after he was detained in *Venice*: But I tell you, the greater Part of the World suppose that he is a Counterfeit, suborned, &c. God knows what he is, who ever send you a happy and long Life: So, with my humble Recommendations to your reverend Self, I leave you. From *Annisi*, the Last of September, Anno 1601.

I forgot to tell you, that *Emanuel Godigno* added to that before-mentioned, that the *Catholic* King gave him in especial Charge to tell Don *Sebastian*, that the *Catholic* King requested him by any Means to hasten his Return without Delay to him, desiring nothing so much as to render him the Possession of his Realm and Kingdom, and to bestow his eldest Daughter upon him in Marriage.

I am farther to desire of you so much Favour, as to send me these Books from *Lyons*, here mentioned in a Catalogue, inclosed in this Letter, and I will faithfully repay whatsoever you shall lay out to that Purpose. Here follow the Titles: All the Works you can find, *De Regno Christi temporali*. I beseech you salute for me Monsieur *le Fevre*, recommending my faithful Service unto him: Of whom, if it please you, you may crave Assistance in my Business, for he is a Man *multæ lectionis*.

Good Lord! I had forgotten my Duty to Monsieur *de Tyron*, to Monsieur *Pellejay*, to Monsieur *de Marnay*, and to my loving Friends of *Amboise*, three Brethren, reckoning myself much bound to them all: Notwithstanding, I fear they little trouble themselves with the thinking upon so mean a Man as myself; and this Conceit half dismays me to trouble you so far, as to recommend me, in all Humility, to my Lord Bishop of *Eureux*. Whatsoever you shall think convenient to perform in my Behalf, either to add or diminish, I refer to your Discretion.

Your most humble Servant,
CL. D. Nouvelet.

The Superscription.
To M. *Texere*, Portuguese, Counsellor and Almoner to the King, &c.

A Declaration.

THE King, *Don Sebastian*, departing from *Paris*, travelled through *France* directly into *Italy*; And I know not who followed him, or where he forsook his Company; but most assured I am, he resolved to give over the Pomp and Glory of the World, and to retire himself to live privately; and being in *Dalmatia*, he made Choice of an Hermitage for his Habitation, contenting him therewith, in Lieu of his former princely Palace. This poor Hermitage was situated on the Top of a Mountain, near the City of *Lefine*, where he abode for the Space of three Years: In the Issue of which Time there arrived a Ship of *Portugal*, from whence some Passengers going a Pilgrimage to that Hermitage, seeing the King, knew him incontinently, and said aloud: *Behold, yonder is our King Don Sebastian*; and spread this Rumour presently about the City. The King, perceiving that he was discovered, grew much displeased therewith, and, upon that Discontentment, determined with himself to forsake the Place, to the great Crucifying of my Soul, for there he lived in great Tranquillity of Mind, with no less Consolation. Being in a bodily Fear, lest the *Portuguese* should come thither and search for him, he thought good to go: And, before he went from *Lefine*, he distributed all his Moveables and Household-stuff amongst his Friends: Three of the which, coming to *Venice*, were called before the Senate, before whom they confirmed all which the said King confessed upon his first Examination, touching his Estate, and Accidents in those Quarters. The Senators called them to come before the King Face to Face, in open View of the whole Senate and Assistants, and they knew one another very well; and one of them brought a Picture with him, which the King had left behind him, upon the which was painted *Jesus Christ* crucified, with *St. Sebastian* and *St. Anthony of Padua*. And this Act is so common in *Venice*, that they talk thereof without Controulment.

The King departed from *Lefine*, wandering here and there, seeking some convenient Place to retire himself into, fit for his Design, lodged himself in a Mountain near *Pisa*, where he spent his Time as you shall hear. He had

Hose, and what else I know not, but no Hat, nor other necessary Thing that might serve instead thereof; by reason whereof you must needs imagine his Complexion, of Force, must alter, which, from Swarthy, became Black: His Hair grew long, but not unseemly, for he used to cut it: His Garments were of coarse Cloth, and his Food Herbs, Roots, and Fishes, which were given him for God's Sake: He frequented the City, where, the first Months of his Arrival, he gave Money towards the Dowries and Marriages of poor Maidens; and, at his own Charge, delivered many out of Prison, discharging their Debts. And, having distributed all he had for God-sake, he was fain to receive again for God-sake, and took that in good Part which was given him in the Town, only to serve the Necessities of his Person, which were few, considering the Austerity of his Diet, and hard Penance which he willingly endured, relieving Prisoners with the Surplusage of his poor Fortunes, if he had any, to whom he did many Services by his Travel and Labour, to dispatch their Business whensoever they requested him. One reported unto me, that he had many charitable Alms at a *Portuguese's* House in the Town, who ministered unto him Cloaths and other Necessaries, without Knowledge what he was, or where he was born; which he, by his own Confession, took very thankfully. The like befell him in *St. Alexis*, where he afterward arrived; and after in *Edeffa*, a City in *Syria*, he received Benevolence of his own Servants, that wandered almost through the habitable Parts of the World to seek him.

After he had remained certain Years in these Mountains, there appeared a Vision unto him by Night, wherein he thought God commanded him to repair Home into his own Kingdom, and leave this desolate and solitary Life, and abandon both Hermitage and Mountains: But, afterward misliking his former Opinion, he began to suspect the same Apparition to be diabolical, or merely fantastical, and revoked that Purpose for to proceed in his Journey Homeward: But a very old Man dwelling near unto him in the foresaid desolate Place, with whom he lived in a great League of Amity, because he was a virtuous Man, exercising himself

himself wholly in Devotion and Prayer, made him revoke that unreverent Conceit of his Vision, saying that it was a good and a godly Motion, and therefore could not proceed from an ill Spirit: And therefore a godly and a divine Vision, and perswaded him to do his Endeavour, to execute that, which therein was given him in Charge.

The King listened unto this old Man's Advice, and so much the rather, for that he discovered unto him before many strange Things, and foretold many Matters that he had seen take Event according to his Predivination. Whereupon the King wiping away the Tears from his Cheeks, which his woeful Heart had sent outward as Messengers of secret Sorrow, took his Leave of his Fellow in Affliction, like one deprived (by Grief) of ready Use both of Reason and Judgment: So, abruptly leaving his loving Friend and religious Companion, trotted onwards of his Journey from one Place to another, until he came to *Messina*, a City in *Sicily*. In which Place it is supposed he had left (passing that Way before) some Pieces of Gold and Jewels of Value, which to recover, to serve his present Turn, and to furnish him in good Sort, he was forced to discover himself to his Companions, from whom he had stolen long before.

In this Voyage he sent *Marco Tullio Catizzone* into *Portugal*, with divers Letters, to many Persons of Quality (as is said before in my Treatise called *Admirable Adventures*.) And at *Messina* he shipped himself in a Galley belonging to his Holiness, bound for *Genoa*, being fraught with Silks, and afterward came to *Civita Vecchia*. From whence without any Delay he posted to *Rome*, and was lodged near unto *St. Peter's Church*, where as he was sleeping in his Chamber, he was robbed by certain of his Servants, whom he had newly entertained into his Service, not long after his Coming to *Rome*. And very near as shortly after my Departure from thence, hearing of the Rumour, I sent to a Friend of mine there, to give me Intelligence of the Certainty of these Tidings, and spoke with his Hostess, being a Widow, and with her Children and Servants, which reported all that had passed in that Business, saying they well discerned by his Behaviour, that he was some honourable Personage, or some very great Lord, and said they were very much grieved with the unfortunate Rumour that was spread there, that he was de-

clared to be *Don Sebastian*, the true King of *Portugal*; which by his Gravity and majesticall Behaviour assured them no less, than that he was some great Prince.

Conferring this I now learned, with these Circumstances collected before in this Country, and afterwards confirmed at *Venice*, any Man may be assured that this Report was true. At *Venice* one shewed me an Inventory, written with his own Hand, of those Parcels of Treasure that had been stolen from him: Amongst the rest there was a Chain of Gold garnished with precious Stones, which the great *Sophi* presented him, with a Diamond of great Value, and Rings with precious Stones most exquisitely set, with many other Pieces of good Estimation and Value. And, while he was distemp'ered for the Loss of these Jewels, he missed certain Papers, the Purports whereof were of great Importance: All which were slipperily conveyed away; which being kept had been direct Testimonies to serve his Turn, in the doubtful Opinions of them that were to try and sift him, whether he were the same *Don Sebastian* he pretended to be. And, having Understanding of some Ambushment laid to intrap him by the Passage of *Umbria*, he altered his Course and went by *Narne*; and when he came thither, and heard no News of his Enemies in his Way, he went forward by *Tarne*: Where he had Intelligence that his Holiness would go to our Lady's of *Loritto*. Then he addressed his Journey to that Place directly; and, when he came to *Newvaine*, he understood his Holiness had changed his Purpose, and was resolved to go by *Bologne*, and so to *Ferrara*: The King, after his Devotion ended, bent his Travel towards *Bologne*. Whether when he came fore wearied and tired miserably, he heard of another Alteration, that his Holiness, by Means of some Sicknes, that came upon him suddenly, had no Intent once to budge from *Rome*, being forced to keep his Chamber. This Tossing and Reeling to no Purpose troubled the poor King exceedingly, having broken the Neck of his Designs: Not knowing then what Way to take, thought with himself to go some Way at a Venture; not resolving upon any one, his Fortunes grew so variable, that at last he directly past to a Village, which belongs to the Count of *Verotta*, in the Midway to *Mantua*, which some call *Nogara*. And, when he came to that Borough, a strange Imagination possessed him, that one

violently withstood him, for Going any further that Way. Then he, supposing himself to have Day-light enough to guide him to *Mantua*, was contented to be checked in the other Passage; finding his Mind assailed with a thousand variable Cogitations, which so afflicted him, that he could not utter any one Period of his Vexations, to him that accompanied him. All this Time I had no certain Report of the King's being in that Place; which is the Cause I made no Mention of the Day, as I used to do of his other Passages.

The King being at *Mantua* told a Gentleman of *Loretto*, that, when he was at our *Lady's* there, he named himself, *Juan Poet.* This Gentleman, being entered into very good Terms of Amity with the King, did him many kind Favours and Courtesies, entertaining him at his Lodging in the best Sort he could devise: And shortly after accompanied him to *Ferrara*, where he apparelled the King in Silks and Velvet. Shortly after this Gentleman had performed these Offices to the King, his urgent Business called him from that Place: But, before he went, he conducted the King to his Taylor's House; and there took Order for Supplying of his Wants, and gave Charge for his special Entertainment, willing his Host to call him *Joanne Baptista Sartori della contrada de Santa Maria la Fratra*. This Man was of good Years, very virtuous and rich, into whose House the King entered the Fourth of *October, Anno 1597*. In which Year, the King, understanding the Pope was to make his Entry into *Ferrara*, accompanied with this Taylor, about the First of *May* set forward towards the same City: Whither when the King confessed himself to *Friar Alonso*, a religious Professor of my Order, a Man of great Virtue and Sincerity (but very simple) who came, and found not his Holiness there, he determined then to attend his Coming; in which Space the King, thinking to do well, did that which fell out to be very ill, in reporting to divers Nobles and Gentlemen, that *Don Sebastian* the King of *Portugal* was in the City, attending the Presence of his Holiness: And as it happeneth, that one Evil seldom comes alone, the Taylor being acquainted with a Gentleman of *Portugal* (whose Name I know not, some called him *Baron*) this Gentleman the Taylor conducted Home to the King's Lodging to Dinner. This *Portuguese*, sitting at the Table, often beheld the King advisedly as he sat at Meat, and observed him in every Re-

spect. Soon after Dinner was done, the King rose and departed to his Chamber. After his Retiring the Gentleman said to his Hosts, and the rest of the Company that dined with them, the Taylor also being present: 'Gentlemen (said he) this Gentleman, that sat here at Dinner amongst us, is surely *Don Sebastian* the King of *Portugal*. I am that Countryman and know him well, for I have seen him many Times before his Departure into *Africa* to war against the *Infidels*. All we *Portuguese* hold it for an assured Verity, that he escaped at that Time very sore hurt, and that he was seen afterwards in *Portugal*, from whence he fled, but how or what Way we could never yet learn.' The Taylor no sooner heard these Words, but he went presently and told them to the King. This Speech much offended the King, and grieved him not a little; and withal, remembering that *Friar Alonso* had in his mere Simplicity betrayed him: And moreover, considering that the King of *Castile's* Agent was advised that he was in that City, and plotted against him, being in great Fear what Evil might happen unto him, resolved presently to steal away secretly, without taking Leave either of Host, Confessor, or Taylor.

This Discourse the Taylor himself uttered unto me, with many other Particularities, in the Temple of *St. Silvester* in *Verona*, confirming the same in his own House afterwards, with the Effusion of abundance of Tears running down his Cheeks and Beard, with such zealous Lamentation, as he forced me to accompany him in the self-same Manner of grieving. He told me also that he remained in his House with him seven Months at the least, and was attended on by his Daughter, being a fair young Maiden: And in all that While he protested the King did not once look directly in her Face, commending him for his temperate, affable, and exceeding virtuous Behaviour, and that he observed his Fasts very severely, praying almost continually: And said farther unto me weeping: 'Father, I fear that Prince is much injured: I beseech the Almighty God to preserve him: O that it were lawful for me, and for his Safety, that I might keep him within my simple Habitation, not as he is a Prince, but in respect of his Bounty and Honour: and, if I should happen to die before him, I could leave him sufficient to live on all the Days of his Life.' Trust me the Simplicity of this poor
old

old Man pleased me exceedingly, and induced me the rather to believe him. He also informed me by what Title the Senate of *Venice* called him, and inquired of him if ever he entertained him in his House, and whether his Answers to divers Interrogatives were true or not, and whether all that he told the Lords were true or false? To which he answered justly, and failed not a Jot; and he maintained him to be the true King of *Portugal*, having many Reasons so to persuade him: The one was the confident Assertion of the *Portuguese* Gentleman that dined in his Company at *Ferrara*, saying he departed out of *Portugal* secretly, yet proved by many Circumstances: And this old Man assisted me much when the Senate convened him before them, asking him how long he kept Company with him before he came to *Ferrara*, and whether he were the same Man that lodged in his House. Then he kneeled down before his Feet, embracing them, and, looking towards the Senate, said: *This is Don Sebastian King of Portugal, which lodged in my House, whom afterward I accompanied to Ferrara.* And when the King was asked of the Judges, whether he knew that old Man or no: He answered, that he had never seen him before this Day. At which Answer, the old Man told me he was more perplexed, than he was with his sudden Departure from him at *Ferrara*, and wept most bitterly. I must excuse the King for thus Confuting the old Man before the Senate, for that he understood at *Venice* and *Padua*, a little after he departed from the Presence of the Senate, that they had straightly imprisoned and punished one *Monsieur Jeronimo* at *Venice*, for entertaining him in his House, and had punished divers others for doing him the like Favour. And the King, fearing that the like Rigour might be offered this silly old Man, made him disclaim his Acquaintance: Which the King, upon his Return to Prison, revealed incontinently to Count *Cæsar Martinengo*, to Count *Charles* his Brother, and divers others his fellow Prisoners. And the Lords said unto me, they called me to see one *John Baptista Sartori* de *Verona*, and asked me if I knew him; and for that I was much bound to this good old Man, for many good Offices done unto me, and for that I saw it turned them all to Displeasure, that did me any Good, I answered for his Safety, that I knew him not, nor had ever seen him:

Which the poor old Man digests very heavily: And, if any good Friend would but deliver this my Excuse unto him, I will acknowledge myself much bound to him for that friendly Courtesy. The self-same Act, in the like Words, a Cannon of *Bresse* reported unto me, meeting me in that City, accompanying me as far as *Lac*, happening to speak of the King, and of the Opinion that was delivered of them generally that had seen him: That it was thought verily he was *Don Sebastian* the King most assuredly, not knowing me to be a Favourer of his Proceedings: Telling me that all, he knew of the Matter, he heard of these Counts and Gentlemen that were in Prison with him, for the Space of five Months: Whereof he recited unto me many Particulars: And this Canon (as I take it to be) was called *De Lone*: So after long Conference, the Night approaching, I took my Leave of him, &c.

The King, departing from *Ferrara*, held on his Way to *Padua*, and being there, he thought it fit he should attend the Answer of his Letters he sent into *Portugal* by *Marco Tullio Catizzone*: His Devotion performed to *St. Anthony*, he determined to go to *Venice*, where all these Things happened unto him, which we have already reported in the former Treaties, intitled, *Admirable Adventures*, &c. as you may read in a Letter sent to me from *John de Castro*; and in that, which the King wrote to his Holiness: Where it is at large specified, how he was betrayed into the Hands of the *Castilians*, by one of his own Servants for Reward, and so committed to Prison. This treacherous Varlet, being convinced and re-proved by some of the King's Friends, that had Understanding of his perfidious Service, being already brought and corrupted with a few Pence, following the perjured Faction like a masterless Curr, fell into the Art of Slandering, and Banding against his loyal Master with hot Pursuit, and vehement Accusations, as Sodomy, Coufenage, in Prison and Abroad. Notwithstanding all this Villainy, God, that weighs all Men's Causes in equal Balance, will not suffer his Servants ever to quail under the Burden of Iniquity: The Hearing of his Cause was committed to Sir *Marco Quirini*, which was at that Time *Sabio de la terre firme*, and at this Day is *Sabio Grande*, one of the four Judges, Commissioners allotted for this Circuit. The said *Quirini*, reporting to the Senate

nate what he had heard concerning his Accusations, and what also was testified in his Defence, said, ' That he not only found this ' Man innocent and guiltless of the Crimes laid ' to his Charge, but thought him generally to ' have lived a harmless Life.' This Sentence was well approved and allowed by the Senators: And as soon as it was published, which was in the Beginning of the Year 1599, they freed the King from the Dungeon where he lay before, and placed him in a more favourable Prison, a Place of some Liberty. You shall read hereafter the Pains and Punishment *Don Sebastian* the King my Master endured since his Misadventure in *Africa*, until the Day of his Manifestation to the World. I beseech you hold me excused, though I satisfy you not so plentifully and so orderly as you expect or desire: It is all I could learn, and it is hard to gather so much in these Parts, where the Truth hath been so ingeniously laboured to be suppressed and smothered: Besides, the

great Hazard of my Person in Travelling to obtain this little, assuring you that our Hope withers not, but springs daily, to see my Lord *Don Sebastian* to be as absolute King of *Portugal*, as it is justly due unto him by the Law of God and Nations: Then shall my Pen trample upon the Vail of Tyranny and Oppression, that now so imperiously curbs poor Patience and Equity.

Seeing God hath hitherto been both his Lamp and Shield, to lighten and guard him, through so many dark and dangerous Ambushments: Why should we not be assured that he, that can, hath a Purpose to make us rejoice, and wonder as much at his Advancement and Dignity, as his poor Friends and Servants are grieved and dismayed with his Fall and Misery; hoping all Christian, magnificent, and majestic Princes will join in Intercession to the Almighty, to restore my poor, yet princely Master, from his woeful Imprisonment, to his Crown and Liberty.

A Declaration.

NOW it is requisite, that I report unto you somewhat concerning the Ring, that hath been so famous throughout the World, and of the rare Virtues it was esteemed for; and so proceed to handle other Matters, whereof some make for his Purpose, and others as much for his Hindrance.

You have heard, gentle Reader, of one that shewed this King a Ring, &c. thus it happened: As soon as he was come to *Venice*, there was a Warning given to the Goldsmiths, both by himself and some other of his Friends, that he was robbed of certain Pieces of Gold and Jewels at *Rome*; then he gave them the Marks and Tokens, desiring them, that if any such came into their Hands by Chance, they would make Stay of them, until he, or some for him, came to challenge them. Not long after, a Goldsmith lighted upon a Ring of Gold, whereon was engraven the Arms of *Portugal*, which Ring he presently brought to Monsieur *Jerónimo*, of whom you have read before, an Inhabitant of the same Town, who was jointly apprehended with the King for Lodging in his House, and was not delivered until five Hours after the King was set at Liberty. *Jerónimo* took the Ring, and brought it secretly to the King, lodging privily in his

House. As soon as the King beheld the Ring, he said, This Ring is none of mine, but belongs to *Don Antonio*, my Cousin. This Relation I had from *Jerónimo* himself, at *Venice*, in the Presence of many Witnesses, and how the Goldsmith happened to get this Ring. In *Moran*, an Island some half League from *Venice*, there is an Abbot called *Capelo*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, a grave Personage, and of great Authority, hearing that the King laid Wait for certain Jewels that he had lost, hoping thereby to recover some of them, having a Diamond in his Keeping, with the Arms of *Portugal*, came to the Town to the Conventicles of *S. Francis*, called *Frari*, where the King lay concealed, for that he was pursued by some that meant him no Good; who no sooner beheld the Ring, but he said, Verily this is mine; and I either lost the same in *Flanders*, or else it was stolen from me. And, when the King had put it upon his Finger, it appeared otherwise engraven than before. The Abbot inquiring of him, that brought him the Ring, How he came by it? He answered, It is true that the King hath said. There hence arose a strange Rumour of a Ring, that, by turning the Stone, you might discern three great Letters engraven, *S. R. P.* that is

as much to say, *Sebastianus Rex Portugalliae*. Ignorant People, not conceiving aright of the Thing, raised thereupon such Rumours, as their own Imaginations could gather; and at all Times, so often as the Abbot shewed the Ring to the King, he had many Witnesses to testify the same. I sojourned three Weeks in the same Isle, very near the Abbot's House, after this had passed.

To the Second Point: Although the King was lean and weak, by Reason of his Travel and Troubles, as it is like he could not be so strong and puissant as he was when he reigned in *Portugal*, being there full-fed and corpulent; yet in *Padua*, in the House of Don *Prospero Baracco*, he was seen to lift up two Men at once with great Facility, one of which was called *Pasquino Morosini*, the other *Bernardino Santi*; both these together, putting his Arm between their Legs, he heaved from the Ground, without Straining or Wrenching, in the View of many. He did the like in the Isle of *Moran* to two others, the one called *Jerónimo Calegari*, the other *Pasquillo Calegari*, and there was present the Archbishop of *Spalato*, at the like Performance of his Puissance, with other Men of Quality; and this *Pasquillo* was a Man both tall and corpulent. A *Venetian* Gentleman, of the House wherein the King was Prisoner, oftentimes took Occasion to scoff at the King, saying, It was impossible he should be the Person he reported himself to be, with other jeering Frumps; whereto the King said earnestly, Sir, I pray you tell me the Reason of your Incredulity, and whereupon it is grounded; and *Moliner* answered, Because I have heard it often reported, that the King, *Don Sebastian*, was a lusty strong Man, of Power to pull a Horse-shoe in sunder with his Hands, and able to tire six Horses in an Hour; and you are but a spare, poor, meager Shrimp, and a Gristle in Respect of such a one, and scarcely able to tear four Cards asunder, if they be well joined together, nor like to tire one Horse in an Hour. Well, said the King, if Force will prove me to be *Don Sebastian*, &c. and the Matter rest only upon that, it may be, that one Day I may satisfy you in that Point. So long this Gallant continued in his former Jeering and Railing, that, one Day above the rest, he moved the King's Patience, and made him angry, and constrained him to shew him by the Force of his Hands, that he

was *Don Sebastian*, &c. and made him confess the same; for, being in a Rage, he came upon him directly, and took him by the Girdle with his Right-hand, and, heaving him higher than his Head, carried him round about the Prison in that Manner, to the great Admiration of all that beheld it; and this Gentleman, never after, durst abuse him any more, but used him with the Honour and Reverence that was due unto him. In like Manner, he took up in the same Prison, by the Girdle, one *Gaspardo Turloni*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, with his Right-hand, and *Baptista Marsoto* with his Left-hand, and lifted them both up from the Ground at one Time. He also, in the same Prison, took up, putting his Arm between their Legs, two other Gentlemen, one very gross and corpulent, namely *Messier Lucio de Messine*, and *Alexander de Alexandria*, and lifted them both of a good Height; the Opportunity of this Gentleman made him do it in Prison; and at *Padua*, and at *Moran*, he was disposed to shew his Force, to pleasure his Friends thereby. That, which before was spoken of the Ring, and of his Forces, were the two Things I thought necessary first to give you Notice of.

To add to the two first two others: In *Venice* there is a rich and an honourable Merchant, who, hearing of this King, what Marks and Tokens he had on his Body, and what he had said and done, took Occasion to go to him, and made Means to deserve his Love and Amity, by the Performance of many kind Offices towards him. This Merchant was a *Piedmontese* by Nation, by Name called *Monsieur John Bassanese*, and his Mother, being a Widow, married after to one *Bartholomæo Verneti*, a *Piedmontese* born also, who often used to check and reprove his Son-in-law for Going so much to the King, saying, He was an Impostor and a Counterfeit; and his Son-in-law boldly defended the King, by all the Means and Reasons he could devise. During this Contention betwixt the Father and the Son-in-law, the old Man said, Come hither, hear me: *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, sent an Ambassador to *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, his Nephew, Son to his Cousin-german, which Ambassador brought him a Present, and returned back again from the said King with an Answer, and another Present from the King to the Duke; the Ambassador's

Name was *Dominico Belli*, whose Servant I was at that very Instant, by Means whereof I saw, and was privy to all the Parcels, and placed them myself in the Casket, and likewise saw advicably what was returned from the King. Now, Sir, if you can persuade that Man, that says he is *Don Sebastian*, &c. to tell me what Parcels those were, that were sent to and fro, directly, you shall bring me to be of your Mind, and to confess, that he is the very same Man he nominates himself to be. *John Bassanese* hearing these Words, bethought himself which Way he might come to have Conference with the King, to understand the Right of this Matter; and, as he was studying how to bring his Purpose about, he dreamed of a Stratagem, which should effect his Design, which was, That he would perpetrate some light Crime, in Hope therefore to be committed to the Prison, where the King was: Whereupon he resolved to take a Cudgel under his Cloke, and go to the *Realto*, the chiefest Place in *Venice*, and there quarrel with one or other, and bastinado him until he had drawn Blood of him, for which Act he doubted not but to be committed: He proceeded according to his secret Determination, and, when he was come near the *Realto*, he met with a Friend of his, who perceiving by his Countenance, that he was troubled in Mind, said unto him, Sir, I see by you there is somewhat amiss. *John Bassanese* being well assured, that he was a faithful Servant to the King, laid open his Intention unto him, who found Means to get a Note, in Writing, under the King's Hand, of all the Parcels, that passed from the one to the other. This Memorandum was put into the Hands of one *Leonardo Donato*, one of the *Sabio Grande*, that first examined the King, and was thought to owe him little Goodwill; but, after he surveyed his Cause, and found it so just and true, travelled earnestly to the Senate, to pronounce him *Don Sebastian*, the true King of *Portugal*. All this I have heard confirmed by many very worthy Persons: The Original I could not bring with me, for that *Donato*, at my being there, was employed as General of five and twenty-thousand Foot, and five-thousand Horse, in the County of *Bresse*, which Force, the Seigniori had levied the Year before, for their Defence, upon some Intelligence, &c. But, as soon as *John Bassanese* had got the Writing, he hied him Home to his Father-in-law, and they agreed

between them, that one should stand at one End of the Table, and the other below, and the Father wrote the Pieces he knew, and the Son, by his Note, was able to inform the old Man of divers Parcels that he had forgotten; and the old Man said, It was Haste made him overslip somewhat; those four white Horses, said he, I did not well remember, but I think verily it was true; and the old Man wondered not a little, how his Son came by this Intelligence, and said, He had devised it himself; but, seeing himself vanquished, said to his Son, Visit the King, my Son, at your Pleasure, and do him what Good you may, and I beseech God to assist him.

Forasmuch as I know the curious Sort of People desire to view the Particulars, and to make our Proof the more authentical, I have here set them down in Order, as they were inventoried.

The Parcels presented by the Duke to the King.

A Case full of Silks, of divers Colours.

Another, full of Cloth of Silver, of divers Sorts and Colours.

Another, full of Cloth of Gold, of divers Colours.

A Diamond set in a Ring.

An ancient Garment, of very great Value, being a Trophy, taken from the *French* at *St. Quintain's*, embroidered and garnished about the Neck with many Jewels; four white Horses, which the old Man had forgotten, and divers other Pieces not named.

Those Parcels that were sent from the King to the Duke.

A great Chain of Gold of very good Value, two Peutrils, two Bits, two Pair of Stirrups, all garnished with Diamonds, Rubies, and other Stones of great Price.

One Diamond set in Gold, which *Bartolomeo Verneti* said was as big as the Nail of his Right-thumb.

Many *East-Indian* Dishes, of sundry Colours, with other rich Things of good Esteem.

For the Second of the last Proofs, being the fourth and last, you shall understand that there be four Merchants at *Venice*, Men endued with Wealth, Honour, Estimation, and Charity, that in my Hearing have named these four

Witnesses

Witnesses *Barnaba Rizzo*, *Jean Bassanese*, *Constantine Nicoli*, who keeps in his Hand the original Letter of *Don Raimond Marqueti*, by which it is manifest that *Don Sebastian* is one Man, and *Marco Tullio Catizzone* another: which Letter he shewed publicly at *St. Mark's*, to convince the Falshood of the *Casilians*, and their Adherents: For the which and such other like Services, the *Spaniards* could not be appeased without Revenge. The Nineteenth of *October*, I had Intelligence by Letters, that one came into this honest Man's Shop, his Servants being all sent out of the Way, and cut him on the Head with a Cutlass, and in divers other Places so dangerously, that he was in great Peril of his Life. The Malefactor escaped unknown. The fourth and last is called *Baptista Dolphin*, and these four have been ever good Friends to the King, both by entertaining him and travelling in his Affairs, to the uttermost of their Power, to set him at Liberty, without Intermision of any Minute of Opportunity, that might be spent in his profitable Service. But the *Castilian* Agents considering and knowing the Zeal of these Personages, and observing their Constancy, that, both with all their Might and Main, defended the Cause of the King my Master: Seeing that neither fair Promises, Persuasions, nor Threatenings, could make them desist from their vowed Fidelity and Assistance, entered into this devilish Practice. First they began to publish these Witnesses to be Fools, Coufeners, and Rogues, and persuaded certain Bankers and Brokers to lay Wagers with them, that the Prisoner was not *Don Sebastian* the King: Assuring them that they might offer to give a Thousand for One, if ever it were proved or published; for that they knew assuredly, that he was a *Calabrian*, a Sodomite, a Thief, a Coufener, and a Counterfeit, and that 'ere long they should see him hanged upon one of the Pillars of *St Mark's Church*. These Usurers believing this to be true, and desirous to make Gain of any Thing, began to enter into the Course of laying Wagers, as the *Casilians* had advised them. The Witnesses hearing they offered so frankly a Thousand to One, if the Prisoner were judged to be *Don Sebastian*, &c. knowing certainly that it was he (believing that the Senate, in regard of such especial Marks, Tokens, and Proofs, would not refuse to publish him, what they had found him) were easily drawn to bargain

with these Bankers, to some of the which, the simple and honest Men gave out twenty, some thirty, some fifty, some ten, some five Crowns, in Hopes to be paid a Thousand for One: So that they had given out some three-hundred Crowns or more; and, shortly after they found out the Wrong and Hindrance they had done to the poor King's Cause, by their Money, they began to repent themselves exceedingly of their Folly: The Account was cast, that the Repayment would amount to three-hundred thousand Crowns. And the Bankers seeing themselves engaged for so great a Sum of Money; and if the Senate should chance to publish that which they knew to be true, that they were like to be stripped of the greatest Part of their Substance, began to complot and oppose themselves to countercheck the Truth, which fell out to be a great Prejudice and Bar to the King my Master's Cause; for that many chief Men, and the Factors of many principal Houses, were interested in this Hazard of Indemnity: As those of the House of *Astroci*, *Caponi*, *Baglioni*, *Labia*, *Jacoba Begia*, *Antonio Simone*, *Pietro Tobon*, *Bastian Garinoni*, and many others of their Parents and Allies, for their Sakes: Among which were divers that bare Offices in the Commonweal, as *Jacoba Fescurini* a Proctor in *St. Mark*, that was ever an Enemy to the King my Master. In the End this devilish Invention, and *Castilian* pernicious Policy, wrought us much Woe, and multiplied our Enemies infinitely: For it was so commonly known and spoken, that little Children, as they went for Mustard, could say, that this was the principal Cause why the Senators would have had *Don Sebastian* say, he was not *Don Sebastian* but a *Calabrian*, and they promised straight to set him at Liberty; and not that Favour alone, but they would do what else for him, he could or would require. Whereupon he wrote a Letter to the Pope, complaining justly upon the Senators of *Venice*, for Requiring at his Hands so unlawful a Thing, to whom he declared in his Letter, that he answered them, that he had rather die a tortured Death, than confess so palpable an Untruth, to gain an ignominious Life and Liberty. O that it were possible for me to speak all that is true in this Case! But I must let pass infinite Injuries, lest the Revealing all might rather aggravate than relieve my Master's Miseries. If I durst, this Discourse should have been more ample, and better understood

derstood ; if it were lawful that I might say what I could say, that the Monarchs and Princes of *Christendom* have done the King my Lord secretly and openly much Good and Ill, and are unwilling either of both should be manifested to the World in Writing. Notwithstanding I will never bury in Silence an Answer that a grand *Sabio* of this Commonwealth made to a magnificent Prince in *Europe*, of great Understanding, but of no great Antiquity. This *Sabio*, going to visit this Prince, was intreated by him to tell him what Ground the Seigniorie of *Venice* had, to proceed upon the Prisoner in that Form, which called himself *Don Sebastian King of Portugal* ? For (said he) if they found him to be a *Calabrian*, why did they set him at Liberty without Chastisement ? And if it were verified unto them by good Proofs and Evidence that he was *Don Sebastian King of Portugal*, why did they use him in that Manner ? The Grand *Sabio* publickly made this Answer in the Presence of many. Sir, forasmuch as the Affairs concerned the Estate of *Spain*, the Seigniorie would not presume to judge whether it was he or not. This Man was committed for Disobeying a Commandment the Seigniorie laid upon him, and therefore restrained two Years of his Liberty, to the End he might repent him of his Fault, and after the Expiration of two Years again dismissed him upon the like Commandment. And to be plain with your Excellency : The Man would follow no good Advice, but was wilful, turbulent, and of ill Government,

by which Means much Ill is come unto him. That Word, *ill advised*, might have been well interpreted, for that he would not deny himself to be that which undoubtedly he was. It was not my Fortune to be present at this Act, being elsewhere employed out of those Parts : But at my Return it was related to me, by a learned Person that was there present ; which afterward the same Prince himself did ratify unto me, assuring me that the Answer of that *Sabio* Grand did verily induce him to believe, that that Prisoner was *Don Sebastian*, the very true King of *Portugal* : For if the Seigniorie had held this Man to be a *Calabrian* : Said this Prince, To what Purpose did the *Sabio* hold me with such a long Discourse publickly, considering he knew the Privy of the Affairs ? If he had been proved a *Calabrian*, it had been sufficient to have said in a Word, Sir, he was a *Calabrian*, an Impester, and a Cousener, without any more ado. But you see how the World fares, and how it sways abruptly, and so ends my pitifull Narration ; advising, intreating, and conjuring you (gentle Reader) to shun the Snares and Trips of these subtle Enemies : For I can assure you, by the Testimony of a good Conscience, that they be those that *St. Chrysostome* terms the Pharisees, *Qui portabant mel in ore, & fel in corde* : They will flap you in the Mouth with Honey, which when you begin to chew, perhaps you shall taste sweet, but, in the Digestion, you shall find it most bitter in Operation. Farewell.

The Judges Judgment. A Speech penned in the Beginning of the Parliament against the Judges.

Per ignotum quendam.

Printed for *John Ashton*, 1641. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

Mr. Speaker,
IT was a Custom amongst the *Romans* (who, as by their Power they once gave Laws, so, by the happy Success of their long flourishing Government, might they well give Examples to all the World) that in

their Senates the youngest Men spoke first : Partly, that they might not have their weaker Notions anticipated by the more knowing Senators ; and partly, for that the Senate might not be diverted from the mature Resolutions of the more antient, by the Interpositions of the younger

younger Men; they, as all free States, ever allowing free Members to express themselves according to their several Capacities: And methinks it was a happy Method. So your Opinions and Inclinations of the Assembly being discovered and ripened to Resolution by such Gradations, the Sentences of the Sages founded as Judgments, not Orations; their Wisdom and Gravity put a seasonable Period to others, perhaps otherwise endless Discourses.

Their Precedent encourages me (who worst may) to break the Ice. Children can lay their Fingers on the Sore, point out their Pain; and infant Graduates in Parliament may groan out the Grievances of a diseased Commonwealth; but they must be Doctors in the Art of Government, that can apply apt Remedies to recover it.

Mr. *Speaker*, Antient and approved hath been that Parallel of the body Politick with the body Natural: It is the Part of the Patients in either distempered, to impart freely their Grievs to the Physicians of the Body or State, if they expect a Cure.

This Commonwealth is, or should be, but one Body: This House the great Physician of all our Maladies; and, alas, Mr. *Speaker*, of what afflicted Part shall we poor Patients complain first? Or rather, of what shall we not complain?

Are we not Heart-sick? Is there in us that which God requires, Unity, Purity, and Singularity of Heart? Nay, is not Religion (the Soul of this Body) so miserably distracted, that, I speak it with Terror of Heart, it is to be feared, there is more Confusion of Religions amongst us, than there was of Tongues at the Subversion of *Babel*: And is it not then high Time that we understand one another, that we were reduced to one Faith, one Government?

Sir, Is the Head whole: The Seat of Government and Justice, the Fountain from whose sweet Influence all the inferior Members of this Body should receive both Vigour and Motion: Nay, hath not rather a general Apoplexy, or Palsy, taken, or shaken, all our Members? Are not some dead? Others buried quick? Some dismembered, all disordered, by the Diversion of the Course of Justice?

Is the Liver (Nature's *Exchequer*) open; from whose free Distribution each Limb may receive its proper Nutriment; or rather is it

not wholly obstructed? Our Property taken from us? So that it may properly be said of us, *Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra*; our Ancestors drank the Juice of their own Vines, reaped and eat the Fruit of their own Harvest. But now the poor Man's Plough goes to furrow the Seas, to build Ships: We labour not for ourselves, but to feed Excrecences of Nature, Things grown up out of the Ruins of the Natural Members, Monopolists.

Sir, These are *Maxime vitalia*; Religion, Justice, Property: The Heart, the Head, the Liver, of this great Body; and these distempered or obstructed, can the subordinate Parts be free? No, Sir, the Truth is, all is so far out of Frame, that to lay open every particular Grievance were to drive us into Despair of Cure: In so great Confusion, where to begin first, requires not much less Care than what to apply.

Mr. *Speaker*, I know it is a plausible Motion to begin with Setting God's House in Order first: Who presses that, moves with such Advantage, that he is sure no Man will gainsay him. It is a well-becoming Zeal, to prefer Religion before our own Affairs; and indeed it is a Duty not to be omitted, where they are in equal Danger: But, in Cure of the body Politick or Natural, we must still prefer the most pressing Exigents.

Physicians know that Consumptions, Dropsies, and such-like lingering Diseases, are more mortal, more difficult to cure, than slight external Wounds: Yet, if the least Vein be but, they must neglect their greater Cures to stop that, which, if neglected, must needs exhaust the Stock of Nature, and produce a Dissolution of the whole Man.

A Defection from the Duties of our Religion is a Consumption to any State; no Foundation is firm that is not laid in *Christ*.

The Denial of Justice, the Abridgment of our Liberties, is such an Obstruction as renders the Commonwealth Leprous; but the Wounds in our Property let out the Life-blood of the People.

The Reformation of Church-Government must necessarily be a Work of much Time, and, God be thanked, the Disease is not desperate: *We serve one God, we believe in one Christ, and we all acknowledge and profess one Gospel*. The Difference is only *de modo*, we vary but in Ceremonies; to reduce which to the primitive Practice, must be a Work of

great Debate, is not a Work for us alone to settle.

The Stop of Justice can yet injure but Particulars. It is true, there may be many, too many Instances of strange Oppressions, great Oppressors; but it will be hard to judge the Conclusion. *Et sic de cæteris.*

But, take from us the Property of our Estates, our Subsistence, we are no more a People; this is that Vein, which hath been so deep cut, so far exhausted, that, to preserve our Being, we must, doubtless, first stop this Current; then settle Rules to live by, when we are sure to live.

Mr. *Speaker*, he, that well weighs this little Word, *Property*, or Propriety in our Estates, will find it of a large Extent; the Leeches, that have sucked this Blood, have been Excise, Benevolences, Loans, Impositions, Monopolies, Military Taxes, Ship-money, *cum multis aliis*; all which spring from one Root.

And is it not high Time to grub up that Root, that brings forth such Fruit? Shall we first stand to lop the Branches one by one, when we may down with all at once? He, that, to correct an evil Tree, that brings forth bad Fruit, shall begin at the Master-Bough, and so lop downwards, is in Danger to fall himself, before the Tree falls. The safer and speedier Way is to begin at the Root; and there, with Submission to better Judgments, would I lay to the Axe.

The Root of most of our present Mischiefs, and the Ruin of all Posterity, do I hold to be that extrajudicial (Judgment I cannot say, but rather) Doom, delivered by all the Judges, under their Hands out of Court, yet recorded in all Courts, to the Subversion of all our fundamental Laws and Liberties, and Annihilation, if not Confiscation of our Estates: That, in Case of Danger, the King may impose upon his Subjects, and that he is the sole Judge of the Danger, Necessity, and Proportion; which, in brief, is to take what, when, and where he will: Which, though delivered in the Time of a gracious and merciful Prince, who, we hope, will not wrest it beyond our Abilities, yet, left to the Interpretation of a succeeding Tyrant, if ever this Nation be so unfortunate to fall into the Hands of such, it is a Record, wherein every Man may read himself a Slave, that reads it, having nothing he can call his own, all prostitute to the Will of another.

What to do in such a Case we are not to seek for Precedents; our honourable Ancestors taught us, in the just and exemplary Punishments of Chief Justice *Trefilian* and his Accomplices (for Giving their Judgments, out of Parliament, against the established Laws of Parliament, how tender they were of us, how careful we ought to be to continue those Laws, to preserve the Liberty of our Posterity.

I am far from maligning the Person, nor in my Heart wish I the Execution of any Man; but, certainly, it shall be a Justice well becoming this House, to lay their Heads at his Majesty's Mercy, who had laid us under his Feet, who had made us but Tenants at Will of our Liberties and Estates.

And, though I cannot but approve of Mercy, as a great Virtue in any Prince, yet I heartily pray it may prove a Precedent as safe and useful to this oppressed State, as that of Justice.

Mr. *Speaker*, Blasted may that Tongue be, that shall in the least Degree derogate from the Glory of those Halcyon Days, our Fathers enjoyed, during the Government of that ever-blessed, never-to-be-forgot Royal *Elizabeth*! But certainly I may safely say, without Detraction, it was much Advantage to the Peace and Prosperity of her Reign, that the great Examples of *Empsen* and *Dudley* were then fresh in Memory. The Civility of our Laws tells us, That Kings *can* do no Wrong; and then is the State secure, when Judges, their Ministers, *dare* do none. Since our Times have found the Want of such Examples, it is fit we should leave some to Posterity. God forbid, that all should be thought, or found guilty! There are, doubtless, some Ring-leaders, let us sift them out. In publick Government, to pass by the Noent is equal Injustice, as to punish the Innocent. An Omision of that Duty, now, will be a Guilt in us, render us shamed in History, cursed by Posterity; our gracious and, in that Act of voluntary Justice, most glorious King hath given up, to the Satisfaction of his afflicted People, the Authors of their Ruins; the Power of future Preservation is now in us; *Et qui non servat patriam, cum potest, idem facit destruenti patriam.*

What though we cannot restore the Damage of the Commonwealth, we may yet repair the Breaches in the Bounds of Monarchy; though it be with our Loss and Charge,

we shall so leave our Children's Children fenced, as with a Wall of Safety, by the Restoration of our Laws to their ancient Vigour and Lustre.

It is too true, that it is to be feared the Revenues of the Crown, sold out-right, would scarce remunerate the Injuries, or repay the Losses of this suffering Nation since the Pronouncing of that fatal Sentence. What proportionable Satisfaction, then, can this Commonwealth receive in the Punishment of a few inconsiderable Delinquents? But it is a Rule valid in Law; approved in Equity, that, *Qui non habent in crumena, luant in corpore*; and it is without all Question, in Policy, exemplary Punishments conduce more to the State, than pecuniary Reparations; Hope of Impunity lulls every bad great Officer into Security, for his Time; and, Who would not venture to raise a Fortune, when the Allurements of Honour and Wealth are so prevalent, if the Worst, that can befall, be but Restitution?

We see the bad Effects of this bold erroneous Opinion; what was at first but corrupt Law, by Encouragement taken from their Impunity, is since become false Doctrine; the People taught in Pulpits, They have no Property; Kings instructed in that destructive Principle, That all is their's; and it is thence deduced into necessary State-policy, whispered in Council, That he is no Monarch, who is bounded by any Law.

By which bad Consequences, the best of Kings hath been, by the Infusion of such poisonous Positions, diverted from the sweet Inclinations of his own natural Equity and Justice; the very Essence of a King taken from him, which is the Preservation of his People; and, whereas *Salus Populi* is, or should be *Suprema Lex*, the Power of undoing us is masqued under the Stile of what should be sacred Royal Prerogative.

And is it not high Time for us to make Examples of the first Authors of this subverted Law, bad Counsel, worse Doctrine?

Let no Man think to divert us from the

Pursuit of Justice, by poisoning the clear Streams of our Affections with jealous Fears of his Majesty's Interruption, if we look too high. Shall we therefore doubt of Justice, because we have Need of great Justice? We may be confident, the King well knows, That his Justice is the Band of our Allegiance; that it is the Staff, the Proof of his Sovereignty?

It is an happy Assurance of his Intentions of Grace to us, that our Loyalty hath at last won him to tender the Safety of his People; and certainly (all our Pressures well weighed, these twelve Years last past) it will be found, the passive Loyalty of this suffering Nation hath out-done the active Duty of all Times and Stories: As the Poet hath it,

Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

I may as properly say, *Fideliter fecimus*, We have done loyally to suffer so patiently.

Then, since our Royal Lord hath in Mercy visited us, let us not doubt, but, in his Justice, he will redeem his People. *Qui timide rogat, docet negare*. But, when Religion is innovated, our Liberties violated, our fundamental Laws abrogated, our modern Laws already obsoleted, the Property of our Estates, alienated, nothing left us, we can call our own, but our Misery and our Patience; if ever any Nation might justifiably, this certainly may now, now most properly, most seasonably cry out, and cry aloud, *Vel sacra regnet justitia, vel ruat cælum*.

Mr. *Speaker*, the Sum of my humble Motion is, That a special Committee may be appointed to examine the whole Carriage of that extrajudicial Judgment; who were the Counsellors, Solicitors, and Subscribers to the same; the Reasons of their Subscription; whether according to their Opinions, by Importunity, or Pressure of others, whether *pro forma tantum*; and, upon Report thereof, to draw up a Charge against the Guilty; and, then, *Currat Lex, fiat justitia*.

AN *Oxford Incendiary* is a Court Salamander, whose proper Element is *Fire*: An *Englishman*, yet lives by Antiperistasis to his native Climate, and turns our Northern Temperate into the Torrid Zone. All antient Philosophers are by him confuted, having made one Region more of Fire than they dreamed of; nor is it any Wonder, seeing he creates new Prodigious every Day.

I suppose him lineally descended from St. *George's Fiery Dragon*; and, if you please to inquire of Doctor *Heylin*, he may chance to make good the Heraldry. But, whosoever was the Sire, Mother he hath none that I can hear of; nor do I believe that Nature, our common Mother, will own the Monster. For his Name, you may, if you please, make bold with *Ovid*, and call him *Phaeton*, for he rules the Chariot of the Sun, and, having gotten the Reins in his own Hand, hurries all into Combustion; yet the desperate Wretch cares not, so he may work a Metamorphosis upon the Nation, or mingle his own with the Kingdom's Ashes.

His Birth-place I take to be Mount *Ætna*; there *Empedocles* acted the Man-midwife, and delivered him out at the Tonnels. If the Pope want a Leiger for Purgatory, none can fit him better; he being of a Constitution and Religion suitable to the Service.

But his Employment must be altogether at Home, else the deluded Fraternity will grow chill in their Designs here; and to them there's no Sport without a Fire Drake, or an *Ignis Fatuus*.

To be a little more plain; an *Oxford Incendiary* is the Excrement of ill-governed Monarchy; the vast Volume of Treason wrapped up in an Epitome; one that feeds the Vulture Prerogative with the Carcase of the Commonwealth, that it may disgorge into his own Coffers; and makes a Mule, to say no worse of Majesty, to carry him through all his own private Designs against the Publick.

Yet, notwithstanding his proper Sphere is the Court, there he shines a bright Constellation of Royal Favour, though the whole Kingdom beside take him for a prodigious Comet, and behold him with the same Countenance as they did that in the Year 1618. Nor is it without Reason, when the meanest Prognosticator cries, that he portends the

Ruin of some great Princes. Upon his Influence depends the Almanack of Treason, exactly calculated for the several Meridians of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*; for from thence you may judge of all Eclipses between King and Parliament, or tell what Weather will be in *Great-Britain* the whole Year following.

Thus *Jupiter* and *Mars*, meeting in Conjunction at *York*, with a direful Aspect threatened Misery to the Nation; though it produced no Effect, till an Interposition of Malignants at *Shrewsbury*, and an oblique Course of *Venus* from *Holland*, bade us expect a Deluge of Blood.

Indeed it may serve for *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, with very little (or no) Difference; for the Tragedy and Actors are the same, only the Scenes are several, the better to dress out the Plot, and make it seem more intricate: Thus the rare *Irish* Commission was begotten of *English* Parents, when the Earl of *Antrim* was made a Godfather to the Design; though *Ormond* had rather forfeit his Honour and Conscience, than say they were *English* Hands which cut the Protestants Throats with an *Irish* Knife.

But this is not all, the Train of Gunpowder reaches to *Scotland*; and there they light Matches to blow up the Fidelity of that Nation: Which not taking Effect upon the Heads, then Squib-cracks are tied to the very Breech of *Thule*, to set Fire on the Highland Wilderness; for in such barren Places is their Harvest: Rare Vipers! who thrive best out of the Sun-shine, in the dark Caves of Barbarism and Ignorance.

But stand off, or provide an Antidote: The most prodigious Serpent comes crawling this Way; some monstrous *African* or *American*, for sure it is not of the *British* Brood; yet every Cavalier carries it in his Bosom, like a tame Snake: It is the Commission of Array, a very flying Dragon hatched in a Conventicle of Spit-fires; an illegitimate By-blow to supplant the Militia. It was spawned at *Whiteball*; there the Cock-brained Crew ingendered with their Master's Female Understanding: At *York* it became an Egg, O that it had then been crushed! But afterwards, scarce Pen-feathered, it ventured a Flight toward *Hull*; yet fell short, and was sore bruised. Notwithstanding this, it crept to *Nottingham*; and

and there, in Hope of Recovery, voided a Standard with a Declaration or two, evident Symptoms of a Bloody Flux at Hand.

But the Leeches, not able to draw Blood there, betook themselves Westward toward *Wales*; and then fell to Sucking at the nether Postern of the Kingdom: It was Time then to cast the Water of the State, and purge out the Excrements of the Body Politick.

Now the Game begins; Room for the *Roman* Actors: Here the Bishops rack themselves in a Pulpit, vomiting up Daggers, like *Hocus*, to amaze the People; Doctrine Cannon-proof, and let the Devil make Application, so he can convert all to his Majesty's Use. If the Pope be Commander in Chief, it is but Reason they should be Major-Generals; and for inferior Officers, Deans and Arch-deacons the only Colonels; Prebends Lieutenant-Colonels; Big-bellied Parsons Majors; Vicars Captains; Curates Ensigns: And for the rest, they cannot be wanting, when there are whole Swarms of the same Breed of Caterpillars in both Universities.

These are Spaniels to the Incendiary in Hope of Preferment: He leads them in Couples, breeds them to fetch and carry after his own Humour, and to be at the Word of Command: But the Sport is, to see a Dog handle a Drum-stick; yet these docile Creatures will do it, and beat up their Drums in all Churches and Chapels, to alarm the People against Reformation and the Parliament. This black Brigade are of the same Lineage with the Incendiary, he hugs them as his white Boy: And to say the Truth, there is not a Hair's Difference between them; the Chief of the Prelatical Clergy being the principal, if not the only Fire-men: And therefore it cannot be amiss to present them in the first Rank of Tragedians, seeing our Scene is the precious University of *Oxford*.

As the Prologue before the Play, enter *Canterbury*, the Pope's Pigmy-Champion, the meritorious Traitor, the Catholick Demi-Culvering, the Reverend Granado; who lived to fet all on Fire, yet escaped the Martyrdom of Hanging to be quenched upon a Scaffold; whereas the other Kind of Death had been more suitable to his Life, having always been a Pendant in the Ear of Majesty. This is he that took Water lately at the *Tower*, being bound for the *Red-Sea*; but that, for his Presumption in comparing himself with Christ

and his Apostles, and threatening *Charon* with the *Star-Chamber*, he over-turned the Ferry-Boat, and let him drop into Purgatory: Thus it is to quarrel with a Waterman.

A Broom, a Broom; Sweep the Stage: Here comes Religion in Slip-shoes and Sandals; Mistress Novelty's Gentleman-Usher clad in Robes of Antiquity; the Bell-man of the *Jewish Temple*; *Aaron* in the last Edition; *Wren* turned *Robin-redbreast*, as gay as the Bird of *Paradise*, with his Man *Pocklynton* at his Heels: These two, like Lightning and Thunder, never parted; two Diocesan Exorcists, that conjured away all godly Ministers by Bell, Book, and Candle: Their Charms were so strong, that nothing could lay them but a Parliament, the Kingdom's Antidote.

Now single out *Pocklynton* from his Master, and couple with him *Heylin*, two of *Canterbury's* prime Beagles, and as famous as his Breed of *Smyrna* Cats. These two held a Conspiracy against the Sabbath; helped to rear up an Altar, with the Title of *Christianum*, set up the Ten Commandments over it, where they might plainly read themselves Sabbath-breakers and Idolaters; and yet continued to worship both it and the Candlesticks, committing Fornication with Gold and Timber. Nor is this all; *Heylin* can shew more Tricks than one for a Bishoprick: To make good the *Roman* Calendar, he will prove *St. George* a real Saint; and then upon this sandy Foundation creates an imaginary Honour to the most honourable Order of the Garter; as if the Protestant Nobility of this Kingdom would be taken with *Romish* Gewgaws, or pleased with such trifling Fetches: Yet believe me, as the Times went, it was a politick Fetch for Preferment.

And now we talk of Preferment, enter *Owen Glendour* on Horse back, *Brute's* Cousin-german, and the Top of her Kindred, *Welch Williams*, the *Prelate of York*: This is the pepper-nosed Caliph, that snuffs, huffs, and puffs Ingratitude at the Parliament, though they freed him from Prison, and put his Adversary in his Room. Tell him of Reformation, and you transform him to a Turkeycock: A *Jack-a-Lent*, made of a red Herring and a Leek, will not more inflame him, than the Name of Presbytery: Some kind Heart take this Incendiary and cool him, or Vexation will consume him to Ashes.

But I wonder how it comes to pass, that *Aragh* should be ranked here: The Case stood otherwise

otherwise once; nay, he ebbed so far from his Archiepiscopal Dignity, as to turn Lecturer, and so brought himself into a Possibility of Heaven, till the old Man began to doat upon the World again. I cannot tell to what I may attribute his Apostasy; to his Climate, or his Conscience; his Country, or his Religion, or both; yet we have found him a right *Irishman*, and a second *Spalato*.

It is a rare Mystery, that this Pageant should be so persecuted by the Rebels, as to fly for his Life out of *Ireland*, and yet be able to digest them and their Councils at *Oxford*. But, was it ever seen, that a Bishop would be out with any that were in at the Court? This is the Prelates Heaven; there they are all parallel; though distant in their Ends, as in the Circumference, yet united in the Center: Give their Ambition Line enough, and you may decoy them whither you please: Thus our *quondam Saint Patrick* slipped into the Bog at *Oxford*.

I should have done with them now, but that I find another in over Head and Ears; I mean the Brewer in *Pontificalibus*, *Duppa* the formal Dray-horse, that carries about Holy-water in Rundlets, to furnish the Court, Camp, and University: *Davis* the Barber shaves his Majesty with the very same; for there needs no Wash-balls, when the Exorcism scours beyond Soap-suds. This is he that puts down *Gunter* in his Firework Protestations against the Protestant Religion; and then, in his Majesty's Name, charges them upon the People. For the same Purpose also, he frames enchanted Prayers for *Christ-church* Chapel; and so makes the Organs, at once, pipe out Impiety against Heaven, and Treason against the State. God bless Prince *Charles*, for this is his Tutor: He cries to him, when you pray, Say thus; but what? A *Pater-noster* or two, with a little Collect and Litany, after the Tradition of his Fathers; from which, my Litany shall be, *Good Lord deliver him*.

But if you would know him better, let *Stewart*, the Ghost of *Arminius*, appear, to bring in the Catastrophe. These two are Brothers, both having the Whore of *Babylon* for their Mother; and the Sons of *Pelagius* by heretical Adoption. The Foundation of old *Rome*, saith History, was laid in Blood; and these *Romuli* take the same Course to be Founders of new *Rome* here in *England*: The

Name of Peace puts them into a Fit of the Cholick; it stings like a *Tarantula*, for Nothing will cure them but the Musick of War.

Now sound aloud: Avaunt ye Black-coats, the Court-pageants are entering; *Strafford* without a Head: But, let him pass for a dumb Show; the Tyrant hath had his Exit already by Order of Parliament.

Who comes next? What, *Henrietta Maria*! Sure our Incendiary is an Hermaphrodite, and admits of both Sexes: The *Irish* Rebels call her their Generalissima; what she willed they acted: She set them on Work, and they pay themselves their Wages out of the Protestants Estates. Because the Pope is turned out of Doors, she makes the fatal Sisters and Furies of her Privy-council, and proceeds so meritoriously manful, that *Kenelm Digby* consults now with his Holiness, to have her set in the Rubrick, by the Name of *St. Nemesis in Breaches*. How many breeding Fits hath she had since the Coming over of *Madam Beldam*? And no sooner delivered of one Plot, but, within the Month, a Conception of another: I wonder at *Neptune's* Rage against these two, Mother and Daughter, for they never crossed the Sea but a Tempest followed; which shews, that they were not of the *Halcyon* Brood.

But the Flame rises not high enough yet; therefore hasten away the two Bellows-menders from *Holland*; *Rupert* and *Maurice*, *Simon* and *Levi*: A Miracle, that a Phenix should bring forth two such Vipers! If this be too bold, know that the Game is begun, and then all Fellows at Football: But I spare them, though they are so unnatural, as not to spare that Nation which bred them up.

Next, enter a Gentleman in Disguise, newly landed out of the Ship called *Providence*; *Ahitophel junior*, with Store of *Sampson's* Foxes and Firebrands: Pull off his Vizard, and his Name is *George Digby*. This is the beardless *Solen*; *Lycurgus* newly whipped out of Long-coats into the Privy-council; Treachery's Man-midwife, and *Machiavel's* Catamite; for by him were spawned those desperate Aphorisms and Positions, of his Majesty's wandering from his Parliament. What we wonder at in the rest, is natural to him, being a native *Spaniard*, to have an Antipathy to the Weal of our Nation; for an Atheist, that hath neither Religion, nor Conscience to sway him, follows the Constitution, and ingrafted Principles

ciples of his Climate. The Truth of this they knew well enough, that fetched him out of the Senate to the Court, and the *Spanish Gilt-head* swallowed the Bait immediately: Faces about; farewell to Religion, Honour, Parliament, common Honesty, and all; for he waited but for such an Opportunity, as well as *Cadaver* and *Dying*, though the latter missed it.

More Spaniards yet? Bristol and Göttingen, rare Peccadillo's! Imps of *Spinola*; two of *Godemar's* Jockies, that posted between *Whitehead* and *Madrid*, till at length they mortgaged *England* with the Protestant Religion, for a Pension of Spanish Galleons, and Bars of Silver; which they have striven since to repay, together with the Interest of pernicious Counsels, and secret Practices. Upon a Return of the *Indian* Plate-fleet, these Hirelings will do any Thing, even sacrifice their Country, to those Gods of *America*.

Here comes a Gentleman of the Long-robe; *Littleton*, the egregious Pickpocket, that would have stolen away the Kingdom's Purse from the Parliament; which renders him, by the known Laws, a most intolerable Traitor. He promises his Majesty to make all good by Law; but first intends to banish *Daim*, *Caste*, and the rest, as Heterodox, Pettyfoggers, and seditious Authors. If no Body will believe he can maintain the Slander of Rebels, yet his Impudence can disdain all such Scruples, though with Arguments grounded upon a manifest Contradiction to the State's Fundamentals.

What he cannot do, *Heath* will: This Tetter converses altogether with old outworn Records, to make good the Case: He might do well then to come and search in the *Tower*, if he dare venture his Neck upon the Point, in a legal Trial. In him we find it true, That an old Man is twice a Child; for he stands in Fear of every bigger Boy at Court: Besides, he makes a fine Hobby-horse of the Prerogative; and tricks it ever and anon with illegal Ribbands. He procreates Proclamations also in private, yet avows the spurious Issue as legitimate as Acts of Parliament, and so, upon Pain of high Displeasure, the Subjects must own them; like the needy Fornicator, that lays his Brats at other Men's Doors.

There are more Adulterers of the Law: But Ray, here is a Post come to Town with ill

News: Oh *Brigid!* *Brigid* is lost! Up starts the *Yankee*; Westward Hoi! Off goes their Parliament-purple, and away to *Oxford*. This rotten Limb of the Representative Body boasts itself as healthful and found as the Whole; and, having been catechised a while at Court, would answer to no Name but Parliament. O prodigious! Nay, the Renegade Conventicle had the Impudence to fit and vote the Kingdom Slaves; and, for this, thought themselves highly recompensed with a Smile or two, from the supreme Petticoat. No Heaven now but there; they offer Incense to Traitors, and have the Conscience to idolise an *Irish* Rebel, a Murderer of Protestants; imitating, herein, the naked *Indians*, who worship the Devil for Destroying their Kindred.

But the best of it is, this Firework never did much Mischief, though all Ways have been tried, from the Squib to the Cannon; for they never durst stand to it yet: Always in Motion; the Curse of *Gain* pursues them, as a just Reward, that these, who chuse to live, should also die Runagates.

What think ye then of *Montrose*? This Lapwing-incendiary ran away half-batched from *Oxford*, to raise a Combustion in *Scotland*: As his Tutors in *England*, so he thrives best there, where is most Ignorance. He raked up the Remains of ancient Barbarism, and folded them together with Creatures of like Metal from *Ireland*; the very Drofs of both Countries coagulated into an Army. The first Sight of them would convert a Sadducee, and make him confess a Resurrection of the old Heathen *Pests* and *Kerns*: Strange Names they have! And, should a Herald venture to reckon the Genealogy, he might be taken for a Conjuror: The Repetition of twenty *Mac's*, *O Connor's*, *O Brian's*, and *O Donnell's*, were a Charm for the Gout, or an Ague, beyond all the Magneticks in Chymistry.

This mountainous Breed of Pagans, like the old Earth-born Giants, fight against Heaven, bidding Defiance to *Christ* and his Gospel; concerning which they know no more than what belongs to Blasphemy: Miserable then is that Prince who counts such his best Subjects! Most abominable is that Cause, which cannot stand but with such Supporters! Of late they domineered with superlative Tyranny, and had, in Conceit, swallowed up all *Scotland*; but now the Monsters surfeit with

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their own Blood : And, if ever they recover their Stomachs, it will be but for a running Banquet.

There is *Ormond* too, the juggling Marquis, the new Popin-jay Duke, and, to give him all his Titles, Lord Protector of the Rebels ; for the Wolves are brought now into the same Fold with the Sheep. They say commonly now, that there is not a Rebel in *Ireland* : Are they not good Men then at *Oxford*, to fight so long till they have left never a Rebel ? But the late Peace confirms them good Subjects, though Rebels before : Thus, by entertaining this Paradox for Truth, the Pye-bald Marquis got his Dukedom of *Offory*.

Antrim is a Rebel not worth the Naming, nor that precious Piece of Iron-work, his Duchefs ; yet I must needs say, she was a Lady rarely marked out for two eminent Husbands, the Beds of *Buckingham* and *Antrim* ; this latter more pernicious than a Bed of Scorpions.

Yet there is one Marquis more, a wife one, God wot, *Winchester*, the Man of *Basing* ; but let him pass, he has not Wit enough to be an Incendiary. And for *Newcastle*, he is but a counterfeit Marquis ; at the best but a Play-wright ; one of *Apollo's* Whirligigs ; one, that, when he should be fighting, would be fornicating with the Nine Muses, or the Dean of *York's* Daughters ; a very Thing ; a Soul tradducted out of Perfume and Compliment ; a sullen General, that ran away beyond Sea in a Sailor's Canvas : He, with his Tinder-box of Authority, first lighted the Fire in the North, yet was so kind to see it quenched again, e're he left us.

But the Western Squib, *Hopton*, holds out still, and rages beyond Gunpowder with *Aqua vite* ; but there are other Ingredients of Atheism joined to him, which make the

Blaze in the West shew so big, for he of himself is nothing now : The Man lives toward the Sun-setting, treads *Antipodes* of late to Victory, and despairs of appearing East again ; yet, to comfort him, because the Parliament lay Claim to his bald Pate, the King hath given him a Peruke of Honour.

I had almost forgotten *Goring*, her Majesty's Jeweller ; she plundered the Crown, and he conveyed away, converting all into Arms and Gunpowder : Rare Philosophical Transmutation ! But this is the least Part of his Skill ; for, in Time of Peace, he was so expert an Alchymist, that he turned Rags, and worse Things, into Gold and Silver.

There is butcherly *Fermyn* too, contemptible *Harry*, the Left Leg of a Lord ; he that wraps up his Treason in fine Linnen : He Master of the Horse ? Mount the Chicken upon an Elephant ; for he is a Man of some Substance, though little Revenue ; somewhat too ugly, in my Opinion, for a Lady's Favourite, yet that is nothing to some ; for the old Lady, that died in *Flanders*, regarded not the Feather. This Feather-bed Traitor must pass also for an Incendiary ; for Justice put the Gentleman into such a Fright, that to make one Shift he avoided another ; and, at an ill Season, took his long Journey in *Spanish-leather* Boots.

There are other Whelps of *Cataline* ; but it were endless to reckon up all. I shall conclude thus : What the Poets feign of *Hercules's Hydra*, is Truth of our Incendiary : It is a fertile Monster of many Heads, for, by lopping off one, up starts a miraculous Generation of many more : Then, as it cannot be imagined how he conquered that prodigious Enemy, but by striking off all the Heads at a Blow ; so the ready Way to quell this, must be to bring the whole Rabble at once to Execution.

The Life of Henry the Second, King of England. Shewing what Troubles beset in his Reign, concerning the Wars between him and his Subjects ; and also the Manner how he set up his Standard near *Rudland*, *Henry* of *Essex* being General, and the Manner how he lost his Crown ; necessary to be observed in these dangerous and distracted Times of ours.

ours. Printed at London for H. B. 1642. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

IN the Year of our Lord 1154, *Henry* the Second was crowned; he was a Man of a low Stature, and fat of Body, of a fresh Colour, a valiant Soldier, a good Scholar, and of good Expression in his Speech; very wise, and much delighted with Peace.

In the second Year of his Reign a Council was held at *Wallingford*, where the Nobles were sworn to the King and his Issue, by an Oath of Allegiance composed by the King and his Council for that Purpose; after which *Geffery* the Kings Brother rose in Rebellion, and did much Hurt, but was afterwards overcome by the King, and all was yielded into the King's Hands.

In the third Year of his Reign the *Welshmen* rose against him, and the King raised an Army, and made *Henry of Essex* his chief General of the Army; and, when the King was come into *Wales*, *Henry of Essex* by the Commandment of the King raised the Standard, and open War was proclaimed, and many from their own Habitations (as also out of divers Prisons) came to assist the King, and there was a great Battle fought near to *Rudland*, where there were many Men slain on both Sides; but the King recovered the Castle, and marched towards the Castle of *Basingwerk*, where there was a great Slaughter on the King's Army, by reason whereof the Army was much discouraged, and *Henry of Essex*, and those under him who had the Trust of the Bearing of the Standard, did at that Time let the Standard fall down to the Ground in the Battle, which did so exceedingly encourage the *Welshmen*, that they pursued with great Eagerness; the King himself was exceedingly dismayed hereat, and fled to save his Life, but the two Armies fought daily, for by the Help of the Earl of *Clare* it was raised up again.

Now the King had appointed a Navy of Ships also to go forth against them, and *Madoc ap Merideth* was Admiral of the Seas, who had spoiled divers Churches, and done much Hurt in the *Isle of Man*, and *Anglesey*; but after much Blood-shed they began on both Sides to be weary of War, and there was an Agreement and Peace concluded, and on the next *Christmas* Day after King *Henry* being at

Worcester went to Church, and going to Prayers with the Congregation took his Crown off his Head, and laid it on the Communion Table, and would never wear it after.

In the seventh Year of his Reign there being great Troubles in *Ireland* about the Rudiments of Faith, and Ecclesiastical Rights, the King called a Council, and *Nicholas of Wallingford* and *William Fitz-Adelm* were sent over to *Ireland* by the Authority and Consent of the King and Council, at which Time was this Confession, or Creed, published, viz.

‘ **I** Beleeve in God Fadir Almichty, Fppiper
‘ of Heaven and Earth, and in *Ihesus Christ*
‘ his oneleih Son ure Loverd, that is ivange
‘ Thurch the holy Ghost, bore of *Mary*
‘ Maiden, Tholede pine under *Ponce Pilat*,
‘ picht on rode Tree, dead and is buried, licht
‘ into Hell, the tridde Day from Death arose,
‘ steich into Heaven, sit on his Fadir richt
‘ Honde God Almichty, then is comminde
‘ to deme the Quickke and the Dede; I be-
‘ leeve in the holy Ghost, all holy Chirche,
‘ Mone of alle Hallwen, Forgivenis of Sine,
‘ Fleiff uprising, Lif with aaten End.’ *Amen.*

The King also caused an Oath of Fidelity to be drawn, for his Subjects to swear to his Son Prince *Henry*, concerning his Inheritance under their Fidelity to the Kings, in case the King should die before his Son, which Protestation was taken through the whole Kingdom.

In the eighth Year of his Reign there was a Sect sprang up called *Publicans*; the chief Leader of them was one *Gerard* a good Scholar, but his Fellows were most of them silly and ignorant People.

They denied the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church, Matrimony, Baptism, the Supper of the Lord, &c.

These were so stiff, and stood so stoutly to their Opinions, that they would not be convinced of any Error in their Tenents; and, when *Gerard* the Chief of them was brought to *Oxford*, he would not recant from any of his Tenents, wherefore Judgment was denounced against them.

1. That they should be stigmatised in their Foreheads. 2. That they should be whipped. 3. That they should be turned out of the City. 4. That they should not be received into any Town. 5. That none should give them any Relief. 6. That none should afford them any Succour.

These Men nevertheless suffered joyfully, singing as they went, 'Blessed are ye when Men hate you, Blessed are ye when Men hate you, and so wandered in the Fields till, with the Cold and Hunger, they all died, for no Man durst relieve them.'

In the ninth Year of his Reign, *Henry of Essex* was accused of High Treason before the Nobility, and these Articles were exhibited against him.

1. That the said *Henry of Essex* did in the Expedition to *Wales*, in narrow and hard Passage (at *Collesbell*) most fraudulently throw away the King's Standard.

2. That he did with a loud Voice pronounce the King to be dead.

3. That he turned back those that came to relieve the King's Army against the *Welchmen*.

These Articles he denied, and after great Debate thereof, before the King and Council, the Matter was judged to be tried by Combat, and *Henry of Essex*, supposed to be slain, was carried away, but he revived, and spent the rest of his Days in Reading.

In the twelfth Year of his Reign the King appointed a Collection to be made through all the Countries, in this Manner, *viz.*

1. For every Pound in moveable Goods being so valued for the first Year, 2 *d.*

2. For four Years after for every Pound so valued, 1 *d.*

3. For Arable Lands, and for Vines, the Charge and Cost of them not reckoned for every Pound thereof after the same Manner also.

4. He, that hath an House valued to be worth one Pound, to pay one Penny.

5. He, that hath some Office Agent, one Penny.

After the Payment whereof, the King caused his Son *Henry* to be crowned, by the

Persuasions of *Robert*, Archbishop of *York*, thinking it would prove to the great Quietness of himself and his Realm, but it proved otherwise; for the young King received the Fealties of the Earls and Barons.

Henry, the Younger, rebelled against his Father, and many Earls and Barons fled over to him, and many great and bloody Battles were fought between them; but, at the last, the old King subdued this Rebellion, and, finding that the *Scots* had joined against him, gave to many of the young Nobility, whom he had found to be loyal unto him, the most Part of the Land in *Scotland*, and imprisoned and fined many of the *English*, for this Rebellion.

In the twenty-first Year of his Reign, a Brother of the Earl of *Ferrers* was slain in the City of *London*; whereat the King was much displeased, and vowed Revenge against the City; and there were great Troubles between the Court and the City, insomuch that the City was distracted and disquieted within itself; for, in the End, there were many unruly Citizens, who did give themselves to the Pillaging and Robbing of rich Men's Houses, of whom one *Andrew Buckequint* and *John Ould* were chief; but the grave Wisdom of the King soon suppressed them; and there was Peace between the young King and the old, and the Father and the Son did eat and drink at one Table, and all was ended in Peace; and, shortly after, the disobedient Son was cut off, and the old King reigned quietly alone.

Then the King called a Convocation of the Clergy at *London*, and the Pope's Legate sat in the Chair, and, next to him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on his right Hand, as Primate of *England*; but, when the Archbishop of *York* saw, that he must sit on the left Hand of the Pope's Legate, he disdained the Place, and did strive to croud his Arse between them; but, because the Legate was not to remove, and the Archbishop would not remove, therefore he most unmannerly swopped him down on the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Lap, for which he was thrown down to the Ground; and, after his Complaint made to the King, of whom he thought to have found Relief, but was deceived, he was well laughed at for his Remedy.

In the twenty-fifth Year of his Reign there was again a Rebellion, after great Taxes laid upon

upon the Subjects for the Voyage to *Jerusalem*; whereat the King's Majesty was so perplexed and troubled, that he cursed the Day wherein he was born, and none about him, neither Clergy nor Nobles, could comfort him; through the Extremity whereof he was brought to a grievous Sicknefs: After he had reigned thirty-four Years, being above sixty Years of Age, and leaving in his Treasury above an hundred-thousand Marks, he died.

When this Royal King was carried forth to be buried, he was first apparelled in his

Princely Robes, and his Crown upon his Head, and rich Gloves on his Hands, and Boots on his Legs, wrought with gold Spurs on his Heels, a Ring of Gold on his Finger, a Scepter in his Hand, and a Sword by his Side; and, lying thus, like a Prince in State, though a dead Corpse, he was uncovered, and, looking upon him under his Robes, he looked with a most sweet and pleasant Countenance, as if he had only slept; who was again covered, and, as he deserved, most honourably buried.

A perfect Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Confession of the Five several Persons that were Confederates in stealing the Mace and the two Privy Purfes from the Lord High Chancellor of *England*. As it was attested at the Sessions held at *Justice-Hall* in the *Old-Bailey*, the Seventh and Eighth of *March*, Anno 1676-7. With Permission, *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

MANY and intolerable are the Injuries and Abuses that are committed almost daily within the City and Suburbs of *London*; I need not run no further to find out Examples that may equalise the Barbarian Infidel, do but consider in what Sphere we move; with double Diligence our Natives run to hasten others and their own Destruction; one Brother can't put Confidence in another, but still is fearful, lest he should betray him; one Neighbour hates another, and are grown so implacable and almost incorrigible, that, did not timely Justice supersede, no Man could find Safety in his own Castle; the Supervising of each Sessions will demonstrate the Vices and Perverseness of our Times.

But not to derogate too far from the intended Subject of this present Narrative; I shall give you an Account of the audacious Burglary that was committed on my Lord Chancellor, the Sixth of *February*, being *Tuesday* Night, One-thousand six-hundred seventy-six, and the Parties that were apprehended the *Saturday* Night following.

The Manner of their Apprehension was thus: Some of the Head of the Gang had taken a Lodging in *Knight-Rider-Street*, near *Dockers-Commons*; and there, in a Closet, they had lodged the Mace and Purfes.

The Woman's Daughter of the House, going up in their Absence to make the Bed, saw some silver Spangles, and some odd Ends of Silver scattered about the Chamber, which she, with no small Diligence, picked up, not knowing from whence such Riches should proceed; in this Admiration she paused a While, and it was not long before her Fancy led her, like the rest of her Sex, to pry into and search the furthest Point of this new and strange Apparition, and directing her Course to the Closet Door, she, through the Key-hole, could discern something that was not commonly represented to her View, which was the upper End of the Mace, but knew not what it was; however, she thought it could not be amiss to acquaint her beloved Mother with what she had beheld; and, with this Resolve, she hastens down Stairs, and, with a Voice betwixt Fear and Joy, she cries out: *Oh Mother! Mother!*

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ther ! Yonder is the King's Crown in our Clofet ! Pray, Mother, come along with me and fee it.

The admiring Mother, being something furprised at her Daughter's Relation, as alfo having no good Opinion of her new Lodgers, makes Haste, good Woman, and goes to the Clofet Door ; and, opening the Lock with a Knife, ſhe entered into the Clofet, where ſhe ſoon diſcerned that it was not a Crown, but a Mace ; and, having heard that ſuch a Thing was loſt, ſends immediately away to acquaint my Lord Chancellor that the Mace was in her Houſe ; upon which Information, a Warrant was ſoon granted, and Officers ſent to Mr. Thomas Northy, Conſtable of *Queen-hith* Ward, who, with a ſufficient Aſſiſtance, went into *Knight-Rider-ſtreet*, to their Lodging, and very luckily found them, being Five in Number, and of both Sexes, *viz.* three Men, and two Women, whom they carried before the Right Worſhipful Sir William Turner, who, after Examination, according to Juſtice, committed them to the common Jail of *Newgate*.

At the Sefſions held in the *Old Bailey*, beginning the Seventh Day of this Inſtant *March*, the five Priſoners aforeſaid were firſt called to the Bar, where, according to the Cuſtom of *England*, they were bid to hold up their Hands, and asked, Whether Guilty or Not Guilty ? They all replied ſeverally, Not Guilty. After that the Witneſſes were ſworn and examined, who very manifeſtly proved the Fact, the Woman and her Daughter where they lodged being two great Evidences againſt them.

After this the Principal of thoſe Malefactorſ, a Perſon very well known in Court, having been arraigned at the ſame Bar five or ſix ſeveral Times before, very confidently ſpeaks to the Bench in this Manner : ‘ My Lord, I own the Fact, and it was I, and this Man, pointing to one that ſtood by him at the Bar, that robbed my Lord Chancellor, and the other three are clear of the Fact, though I cannot ſay but they were Confederates with us in the Concealment of the Prize after it was taken. This I declare, ſaid he, to the ho-

nourable Bench, that I may be clear of the Blood of theſe other three Perſons.’ The Bench, and all Spectators elſe, admired to hear him thus confidently declare himſelf guilty before Examination, knowing that the Fact was of ſo high a Nature, and, without all Doubt, would prove Capital. However, the Court went on in a legal Way ; and another Witneſs begun to demonſtrate in what Manner he was taken ; to whom the Priſoner answered in this Manner : ‘ Prithee, Fellow, do not make ſuch a long Narration of my being taken, thou ſeeſt I am here, and I own that I and this Man, as aforeſaid, are guilty of the Fact.’

With that the other Priſoner, whom he thus impeached, endeavoured to clear himſelf after this Manner : ‘ My Lord, ſaid he, this Man, meeting me in *Paul's Churchyard*, asked me to go and drink, with whom I went, and, after we were ſeated, he told me, that he knew of a Booty that would make me ſmile, telling me of the Mace and Purſes ; and further ſaying, that, if I would be his Aſſiſtant, he would give me my Share of the Prize.’ To whom the Priſoner aforeſaid made this Reply in open Court ; ‘ Yes, my Lord, I look like a Fellow that would commit a Robbery, and give him half the Prize.’ At this there was a great Shout in the Court, but Silence was ſtraight commanded. And the other Man with the two Women were examined, who endeavoured to clear themſelves ; but ſufficient Evidence was produced in Court, who did atteſt, that they found ſome of the Plate with them at the Time of their Apprehenſion ; ſo they were put to Silence, and diſmiſſed the Court for that Time.

It was obſerved, the Priſoner whom the chief Malefactor impeached to be equally guilty of the Fact with himſelf, had a great Senſe of Sorrow upon him whiſt he was at the Bar, and complained to himſelf of lewd and laſcivious Women, ſaying, that they were the Cauſe of his and many other Men's Ruin ; which is certainly true, that they are the Ruin of many a hopeful young Man.

The Parlement of Byrdes. Imprinted at *London*, in *Paules*
Church yarde, at the Sygne of the *Lambe*, by *Abraham*
Uele. In *Black Letter*, *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

THIS is the Parlyament of Byrdes,
 For hye and lowe, and them a-
 myddes,
 To ordayne a Meane, how it is
 best

To kepe amonge them Pease and Rest ;
 For much Noyse is on euery Syde
 Agaynst the Hauke so full of Pryde :
 Therfore they shall in Bylles brynge
 Theyr Complayntes to the Egle, theyr Kynge,
 And, by the Kynge in Parlyament,
 Shall be sette in lefull Iudgement.

The Grype. The great Grype was the fyrst
 that spake,

And sayd : Owne is Owne, Who can it take ?
 For Thyne and Myne make much Debate,
 Wyth Great and Small, in euery Estate.

The Cuckowe. I syng, sayde the Cuckowe,
 euer one Songe :

That the Weake taketh euer the Wronge ;
 For he, that hathe wyth vs moost Myght,
 Taketh his Wyll, as Reason is, ryght.

The Fawcon. Than answered the Fawcon
 to that Saw :

That pleaseth a Prynce is Iust and Lawe ;
 And he that can no Songe but one,
 When he hathe songe, his Wytte is gone.

The Commyns. Than all the Byrdes, that
 coude speake,

Sayde : The Hauke doth vs great Wreake ;
 Of them so many diuers there be,

That no Foule, ne Byrde, may fro them flye.

The Hauke. The Hauke answered the
 prating Pye :

Where is many Wordes, the Trouthe goeth by ;
 And better it were to seace of Language sone,
 Than speake, and repent whan thou hast done.

The Sterlynge. Than sayde the Sterlynge
 verement :

Who sayth Soth shalbe shent ;

No Man may now speake of Trouthe,

But his Head be broke ; and that is Routh.

The Hauke. The Hauke swore, by his
 Head of Gray,

All Sothes be not for to say ;

It is better some be left by Reason,
 Than Trouthe to be spoken out of Season.

The Popyn laye. Than spake the Popyn
 laye of Paradyse :

Who sayth lytell, he is wyse ;
 For lytell Money is soone spende,
 And fewe Wordes are soone amende.

The Hauke. The Hauke bad, for Dreade
 of Payne,

Speake not to muche of thy Souerayne ;
 For, who that will forge Tales newe,
 Whan he weneth leest, his Tale may he rewe.

The Commyns. Than desyred Great and Small
 To mewe the Hauke for good and all :

A Place alone we would he had,
 For his Counsell to vs was neuer glad.

The Hauke. The Hauke answered : Ye
 fayle, ye fayle all Witte,

It is no Tyme to mewe Haukes yet ;
 Commyns of Haukes can but lytell skyll,
 They shall not rule them as they wyll.

The Nyghtyngale. Anone than syng the
 Nyghtyngale,

With Notes many, great and smale :
 That Byrde, that can well speake and syng,
 Shall be cheryshed with Quene and Kynge.

The Hauke. The Hauke answered, with
 great Furye :

The Songe is nought, that is not mery ;
 And who so no better syng can,
 Maketh lytell Chere to any Man.

The Douue. Than rombled the Douue for
 her Lot :

Folke may be mery, and syng not ;
 And who so hath no good Voyce,
 Must make mery with lytell Noyse.

The Hauke. Whan this Reason was forth
 shewed,

Lerne, quoth the Hauke, or ye be lewed ;
 For

For the Byrde, that can not speake, ne syngre,
Shall to the Kechyne to serue the Kyngre.

The Fesaunt. Than crowed the Fesaunt in
the Wood:

Domme Med, he fayde, getteth lytell Good;
Wodde, nor Water, nor other Foode;
It fleteth from hym, as doeth the Flodde.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayde: Whan all
is sought,

Great Crowers were neuer ought;
For, I swere by my Foly,
He is not moſte wyſe, that is moſte ioly.

The Moore Cocke. Than crowed agayne
the Moore Cocke:

The Hauke bringeth much Thing out of Nocke;
The Oſyll whyſteleth, and Byrdes blacke;
He muſt haue a do, that a do doth make.

The Hauke. I muſt, ſayde the Hauke, by
all my Belles,

Say for my ſelfe, for none will elles:
He is not greatly to repreue,
That ſpeaketh with his Soueraynes Leue.

The Byttur. Than bluſhed the Byttur in
the Fenne,

The Cote, the Dobchicke, and the Water
Henne:

The Hauke that doeth vs all this Dere,
We woulde he were ſouſed in the Myre.

The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Wyſſhers
want Wyll,

Whether they ſpeake loude, or ſtyll;
Whan all this done was ſayde and laſte,
Euery Man muſt lyue by his Craſte.

The Malarde. Than creaked the Malarde
and the Goſe:

They may beſt flye that are loſe;
He is well that is at large,
That nedeth not the Kynges great Charge.

The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Though
they loſe loſe,

They muſt obeye, they may not choſe;
Who hath a Maſter, or a Make,
He is tyed by the Stake.

The Heronne. Than creaked the Heronne
and the Crane:

Great Trouble make Wittes lame;
He is well aduſed, that can bere hym lowe,
And ſuffer euery Wynde to ouerblowe.

The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Who can
blowe to pleaſe?

Longe Neckes done great Eaſe;
For the Commyns, that hath no Reſt,
Meneth not euer with the beſt.

The Patryche, Quayle, and Larke.

The Partryche, Quayle, and Larke in Fielde
Sayde: Her may not auayle but Spere and
Shelde;

The Hauke with vs maketh great Batayle,
In euery Countrey, where he may auayle.

The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Who ſo
wylfully wyll fyght,
May make hym Wronge ſone of hys Ryght;
Lawe is beſt, I vnderſtande,
To ryght all in euery Lande.

The Robyn and the Wrenne. Than chydde
the Robyn and the Wrenne,
And all ſmall Byrdes that beare Penne:
Againſt the Hauke the Commyns muſt ariſe,
And helpe them ſelfe in theyr beſt Wyſe.

The Hauke. The Hauke made the Wrenne
his Answer,

Small Power may lytle Dere,
And who wyll lyue in Reſt longe,
Maye nat be beſy with his Tonge.

The Commyns. Than prayed all the Commyn
 Houſe,

That ſome myght the Hauke Souce,
For Foule ne Byrde, by Water ne Lande,
He wyll leaue a lyue, and he myght ſtande;
In his Neſt, may none abyde
In Countrey where he doth glyde;
Theyr Fethers he plucketh many a Folde,
And leaueth them naked in full great Colde;
We think, therfore, by Reaſon good,
To deſtroy the Hauke, and all his Bloode.

The Kyng and his Lordes. The Kyng and his
Lordes answered, anone

States may not the Hauke forgone,
Nor by no Law his Kynde deſtroye,
Nor deme him ſelfe for to dye,
Nor put him to none other Diſtreſſe,
But kepe him in a Payre of Jeſſe,
That he ſle nat to no Byrde about,
But his Keper let hym oute.

The Corniſhe-daw. Then ſaid the Corniſhe-
daw,

Lytle Money, lytle Lawe,
For here is nought els with Frende ne Fo,
But go bet Peny, go bet, go.

The Hauke. Thou Corniſhe, quod the Hauke,
by thy Wyll,

Say well, or holde the ſtyll;
Thou haſt harde of many a Man,
A Tonge breaketh Bone, and it ſelfe hath none.

The Kyng. Then answered the Kyng, and
the Byrdes by Rowe,

Why cometh not to the Parlyament the Crowe?
For

For good Counsell refourmeth euery Myffe,
And it betokeneth where it is.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayde, It is nat lesse,
Councell is good in Warre and Pese ;
But the Crowe hath no Brayne
For to gyue Counsell, but of the Rayne.

The Nightwale. Then sayd the Night-
wale, with his Heed gaye,
He shameth vs with his Parlyament Aray ;
It is a Tearme with *Iohn* and *Iacke*,
Broked Sleue draweth Arme a backe.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayde, He shall
thryue full late

That loketh to kepe a great Estate,
And can nat, wyth all his Wyfedome,
Gette hym selfe an hole Gowne.

The Pecoche and the Swanne. Then sayde the
Pecoche and the Swanne,
Who no Good hath, no Good canne,
And lytle is his Wytte set by,
That hath not to beare out Company.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayd, He is worse
than Wood,

That maketh hym fresshe with other Mennes
Good,

Or ought wyll borowe and neuer paye,
Or with Wrong getteth gallaunt Araye.

The Specke. Then in his Hole, sayd the Specke,
I would the Hauke brake his Necke,
Or brought vnto some myscheuous Dale,
For of euery Byrde he telleth a Tale.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayd, though thy
Castell be in the Tree,

Buylde not aboue thy Degree ;
For who so heweth ouer hye,
The Chippes wyll fall in his Eye.

The Kynge. Then sayd the Kynge, It is our
Entent,

To amande the Crowes Rayment ;
And all the Byrdes sayde, Anone
Of eche of our Fethers he shall haue one.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayde, He may sone
come to Honeste,

That euery Man helpeth in his Poste ;
For, as teacheth vs the learned Clerke,
Many Handes maketh lyght Werke.

The Tytyffre. I say, sayde the Tytyffre, we
Kentyfhe Men,

We may not geue the Crowe a Penne,
For, with them that are sobre and good,
A Byrde in Hande is worth two in the Wood.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayde, I take me to
my Crede,

Who so will spende Wit you he may spede ;

Lytle ye gyue, but ye wote why,
Ye make the Blynde eate many a Flye.

The Crowe. Than the Crowe was put in his
Araye,

I am not nowe as I was Yesterdaye ;
I am able, without Offence,
To speake in the Kynge's Prefence.

The Hauke. The Hauke sayde to the Com-
mons, By Dene,

Enuy and Pride would sayne be sene ;
He is worthy none Audiance to haue,
That can not say but Knaue, Knaue.

The Commyns. Than asked the Byrdes, by
Aduysement,

Who is that taketh to vs no Tent,
He presumeth before vs all to fle,
To the Kynge's hyghe Maieste.

The Hauke. The Hauke answered to the
white Semewe,

It is the fory blacke Crowe,
And for him fareth no Man the better,
Let hym crowe therfore neuer the greater.

The Lordes. Than sayde the Lordes euery-
chone,

We wyll aske of the Kynge Abone,
That euery Byrde shall resume
Agayne his Fether, and his Plume,
And make the Crowe agayne a Knaue,
For he, that Nought hath, Nought shall haue.

The Hauke. Than sayde the Hauke, as some
sayne,

Borowed Ware wyll Home agayne,
And who wyll herken what euery Man dose,
Maye goe helpe to sho the Gose.

The Cormoraunte. For the Crowe spake the
Cormoraunte,

And of his Rule made great Auaunt,
Suche Worship is Reason that euery Man haue,
As the Kynge's Highnes vouchsaue.

The Hauke. It is Sothe, sayde the Hauke,
that thou doest say,

Whan all turneth to Sporte and Playe,
Thou mayst leeste speake for the Crowes Pelfe,
For all Thing loueth that is lyke it selfe.

The hole Parlyament. Than prayed the hole
Parlyament,

To the Kynge with one Assent,
That euery Byrde her Fether myght
Take from that proude Knyght.

The Kynge. The Kynge sayde, Ye shall
Leaue haue,

A Knyght should neuer come of a Knaue ;
All Thyng wyll shew from whence it come,
Where is his Place and his Home.

The Hauke. Now trewly, said the Hauke, than
It is a great Comfort to all Men,
Of the Kynges great Prosperite,
Whan the Kyng ruleth well his Communalty.

Than was plucked from the Crowe anone
All his Fethers by one and by one,
And lasse all blacke in flete of reed,
And called hym a Page of the fyrst Heed.

The Hauke. Quod the Hauke, the Crowe is now
as he should be,

A kynde Knaue in his Degre,
And he that weneth no Byrde is hym lyke,
Whan his Fethers are plucked, he may hym go
pike.

The Commyns. Than made the Commyns
great Noyse,

And asked of the Lordes wyth one Voyce,

That they would the Hauke exyle

Out of this Lande many a Myle,

Neuer to come agayne hyther;

But the Kyng sent for him thyder:

Hym to trust we haue no Theson,

For it is proued in Trust is Treason;

And, sythe ye say he shall nat dye,

Plucke of his Hokes and let hym flye.

The Lordes. To that, sayde the Lordes, we
pretende

This Statute and other to amende;

So in this, that ye accorde

To put all in our Souerayne Lorde.

The Commyns. The Commyns sayde, It is
great Skyll,

All Thyng to be at the Kynges Wyll;

And, vnder the Hande of his great Myght,

By Grace the People to seke theyr Ryght.

The Hauke. Than sayde the Hauke, Now
to, now fro,

Thus goeth the Worlde in Well and Wo.

The Kyng. Than sayde the Kyng in his
Maiestye,

We wyll disseuer this great Semble;

He commaunded his Chauncelere,

The best Statutes to rede that he myght here:

Thus the synal Iudgement

He redde of the Byrdes Parlyament,

Whether they be whyte or blacke,

None shall others Fethers take;

Nor the Ravyn plucke the Pecoakes Tayle,

To make him freshe for his Auayle,

For the Commyns Fethers want,

For wyth some they be ryght skant.

The Iaye. Thus sayeth the Cosen of the Iay,

That none shall vse others ary,

For who so mounteth wyth Egle on hyc,

Shall sayle Fethers whan he would flye.

Sapiencia. Be nat greedy Gled to gader,

For Good fadeth and Foules Fether,

And, though thy Fether be not gaye,

Haue none Enuye at the Swannes Aray.

Concludent. For, thoughte an Astryche may
eat a Nayle,

Wrath wyll plucke him Winge and Tayle,

And, yf thou lye in Swalowes Nest,

Let nat Slouth in thy Fethers rest;

Be trew as Turtyll in thy Kynde,

For Lust wyll part as Fethers in Wynde:

And he that is a glotnus Gull,

Deth wyll soon his Fethers pull;

Though thou be as hasty as a Wype,

And thy Fethers flyght rype,

Loke thy Fethers and Wrying be dene,

What they say and what they mene,

For here is none other Thyng,

But Fowles, Fethers, and Wryinge:

Thus endeth the Byrdes Parlyament,

By theyr Kynges Commaundement.

Aphorisms of State: Or, Certain secret Articles for the Redifying of the *Romish* Church, agreed upon, and approved in Council by the College of Cardinals in *Rome*, shewed and delivered unto Pope *Gregory the Fifteenth*, a little before his Death. Whereunto is annexed a Censure upon the chief Points of that which the Cardinals had concluded. By *Thomas Scott*. Very needful and profitable for all those, who are desirous to understand the Event of the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, and of the State of the Princes Electors of *Saxony*

Saxony and Brandenburg, in the Behalf of the Clergy in *Rome*. Fit for the *British* Nation especially to take Notice of, that they may evidently see the Issue of all our Treaties, Ambassages, and Promises, with other Hopes depending; wherein we have been long held in Suspence, and are still like to be, to our irrecoverable Loss. Faithfully translated, according to the *Latin* and *Netherlandish Dutch*, into *English*. Printed at *Utrecht*, 1624, *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

The first Article.

WHEREAS *Maximilian* the Duke of *Bavaria*, for the Establisbing the State of his Prince Electorship, hath sought unto the Authority of the Apostolical Seat*, thereby hath the Apostolical Church obtained Opportunity, to recover their lost Obedience in the denied Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

The 2d Article.

Since the Pope of *Rome*, by Means of the present Duke of *Bavaria*, as being the most obedient Son of the Church, may obtain again the Rights, which, for these two-hundred Years and more, have been lost in the Constituting of certain Things, and Orders in the Empire, belonging to the Church, it will be a very small Labour, to pluck the Possessions of the Church Goods which depend upon the Ecclesiastical Rights, out of the Hands of the Hereticks.

The 3d Article.

Whereas the Duke of *Bavaria*, according to the especial Oath, made unto the Church, hath an earnest Desire, to restore again the Ecclesiastical State, as it was before the Time of Pope *Gregory the Eleventh*, the Hereticks (who are the Temporal Arm of the Empire) shall be bound to restore again those Goods which they have possessed since the *Passawish* Transaction.

The 4th Article.

Since that it properly appertaineth to the Church to discern and take Notice of the

State and Order of the Empire, wherefore those Hereticks which deny this Antiquity, and the Rights of the Church in the State and Order of the Empire, which now by the Duke of *Bavaria* shall be re-established in Time to come, are not to be tolerated.

The 5th Article.

Since that Pope *Leo the Third* had the Power, in respect of the Heresy, to cut off, and separate the *Eastern* † Authority from the *Western*; and to pluck that from the *Grecians*: Wherefore shall not the Pope now have the same Power, to take the Prince Electorship from the *Palsgrave*, as being an Arch-heretick, and transport the same unto the Duke of *Bavaria*, the most obedient Son of the Church.

The 6th Article.

Since the Divulsion of the *Eastern* Empire, from the *Western*, which was performed by the most Blessed Pope, *Leo the Third*, hath continued so firm and sacred even to this very Time: That, although the *Western* Empire hath often Times been void of a Possessor, it was never as yet united unto the *Eastern* Empire, nor the Laws of the one in the Provinces of the other were ever of Force: Wherefore then shall not the Divulsion of the Prince Elector's Dignities of the *Palsgrave*, that Arch-heretick, be maintained upon the most Catholick Duke of *Bavaria*, in the like Sanctity of Perpetuity and Stability, by the Pope and the Holy League?

The 7th Article.

Since that the Transport of the Empire, from the *Grecians* unto the *French*, performed

* *Viz.* The Pope's Chair, called by his Disciples, *Apostolical*.

† *i. e.* Empire.

with such a free Arm, and such an active Power by Pope *Leo*: The *Grecian* Emperors themselves, although they were the strongest, durst never oppugn the same, may have many Times and often very significantly commended and firmly kept the same; in like Manner the Ability nor the Opposition of the Arch-heretick, the *Saxon*, who is yet remaining, may not hinder, much less make Opposition to the Transport of the Prince Elector's Dignity, unto the most Catholick Duke of *Bavaria*: In regard that he, as being an Heretick, and not knowing the Sanctity, nor the Antiquity of the right Original of the Empire, and ignorant of the Laws and Privileges thereof, may not enjoy that Right.

The 8th Article.

Whenas *Frederick the First*, according to the Will and Pleasure of Pope *Alexander the Third*, was detruded from the Imperial Seat, then *Emanuel Comnenus* presented both Men and Money unto the Pope against *Frederick*, to the End the *Grecian* Church might be united to the *Latins*: By which undoubtedly he confesseth, that to establish and fortify the Pope's Cutting off, and Transport, and the Uniting of one Kingdom with another, was forbidden. all Men whatsoever, save only the Pope, who had first separated them; so in like Manner these Things like as they also be, so is it true that the Pope, with the Holy League, are bound to employ all their Power against the Arch-heretick, the *Saxon**, and all those Rebels, that depend upon him: That the Sanctity of the Apostolical Stool†, and the Antiquity of the *Romish* Empire, in the Transport of the Prince Elector's Dignity, might be preserved and maintained.

The 9th Article.

After Pope *Leo*, have other Popes, also, only by the Authority of their Chair, very often transported the said *Western* Empire from one Nation to another; wherefore then may not the Pope, by the same Authority of the Chair of *Rome*, pluck the Prince Elector's Dignity out of the Hands of the Hereticks, and transport the same to the Catholick Princes, to the End that the sacred Essence of the Ro-

mis Empire, by the Extirpation of Hereticks, be again established?

The 10th Article.

Whereas, in all Right, Pope *Boniface the Eighth*, unto whom the supreme Authority in the Church belonged, would not admit that *Albert the First* of that Name, Emperor of the *Romans*, by Right of Inheritance might come to the Empire, like as he had fought both for himself and for his Posterity and Successors, but only by Election: In like Manner may the Pope, the Emperor, and the Holy League, without violating the Apostolical Seat, which always, to be kept sacred in her Antiquity, must be defended, not to suffer the *Saxon* and the *Brandenburger*, that they should seek to draw the Authority of the Antiquity in the Transport of the Electorship from the Chair of *Rome*, to bring the same to the College of the Prince Electors.

The 11th Article.

Philip, King of the *Franks*, sent Ambassadors to *Avignon* ‡ unto Pope *Clement the First*: That they very humbly should intreat him, that he would restore the Empire again to the *French*, under whom before it had been. Then did the Pope send Ambassadors unto the Prince Electors, by whom he commanded them, that they should chuse *Henry of Luxemburgh* Emperor: And that, if they did the Contrary, that they should incur great Danger, and should forfeit the Empire, and the Right of their Election unto others for ever; whereupon they presently assembled, and elected *Henry* Emperor. From all this very plainly appeareth, that the *French* assuredly knew, that it was in the Pope's Power to establish the Imperial Command in that Kingdom, and to transport from the *Germans* the Empire and the Right of the Election: And therefore may the Pope, according to the Plenitude of his Power, no longer use Connivance, when as these Arch-hereticks, the *Saxon* and the *Brandenburger*, would throw down into Hell the Antiquity and Order of the Empire.

The 12th Article.

It is in the Pope's Hands, as in all Histories appeareth, to renew the Emperor in the Em-

* The Elector of *Saxony*, who first protected *Luther* and continued, till of late Years, the Support of the Protestant Interest in *Germany*. † i. e. The Chair. ‡ A City in *France*, where the Pope, being banished *Rome*, kept his Residence for about 70 Years.

pire, to transport the Authority of one Nation unto another, and utterly to abolish the Right of Election: How wickedly and ungodly then doth the *Saxon*, in labouring to pluck the said Power from the Chair of *Rome*, and to unite the same unto the College of the Prince Electors? By this Means the Pope of *Rome* and the Emperor may expect, that from this Permission the rest of the Arch-hereticks, the *Saxon* and the *Brandenburgher*, may change the Essence of the Holy Church and of the Empire, into an abominable and cursed Monster.

The 13th Article.

Since that *Wenceslaus*, by reason of his Follies, by the Prince Electors, was deposed from the Imperial Seat, and contrarily *Robert Palsgrave* of the *Rhine*, by the Command and Authority of Pope *Boniface the Ninth*, ascended to that high Dignity: In like Manner also is the *Palsgrave*, that Arch-heretick, because he had committed high Treason, and had disturbed the common Peace of the Emperor and the Empire, detruded from the Prince-Electorship: And contrarily, for the Recovering of the Antiquity, the Emperor, with the sacred and true Prince Electors, as Sons obedient to the Church, and diligent in maintaining Antiquity, by Commission from the Pope, hath promoted *Maximilian Duke of Bavaria* in all Right unto that high Degree of Prince Electorship.

The 14th Article.

So that, by the Authority of the Apostolical Seat, the Power of Electing an Emperor, and a Prince Elector, is drawn into the Number of seven Princes: Yet whereas, according to the Concession of *Gregory the Fifth*, it appertained unto all the Princes of *Germany*: Also, by the same Plenitude of Power, it is lawful for the Pope to cut off the Dignity of the Prince Electorship, from the *Palsgrave* and his Heirs, and to transport the same unto the Duke of *Bavaria*.

The 15th Article.

The Plenitude of the Power of the Apostolical Seat is proved by the publick Documents, as is the Election of *Rudolph*, of *Habsburgh*, *Adolph*, *Henry the Seventh*, *Charles the Fourth*, *Wenceslaus*, and *Rupertus*, who had no other Stability, but from the Grant and Consent of

Nicholas the Third, *Boniface the Eighth*, *Clement the Fifth*, *Clement the Sixth*, *Gregory the Eleventh*, and *Boniface the Ninth*, which publick Documents are kept with the Writings of the Apostolical Seat.

The 16th Article.

To the End that the Antiquity of the Empire may the better be manifested, that the Pope and the Church hath only the Power to take Notice, discern, and to dispose of the Affairs of the Empire: Therefore the Emperor is crowned with the Crown by the Pope, who therein hath the highest Authority, and, this Work effected, then is he established in the Imperial Seat: Therefore all Doctors do agree herein, that he, that is crowned by the Pope, hath the Power only to bear the Title of Emperor and *Augustus*: To sign with the Sign of the Golden Bull, and to take upon him the Administration of the Empire: And, when the Prince is not crowned by the Pope, he is rightly forbidden to use the same.

The 17th Article.

At what Time a great Contention was risen between *Charles the Bald* King of the *Franks*, and his Brother *Lodowick*, in Behalf of the Empire: Then presently *Charles* posted unto *Rome*, and so with Gifts and Intreaties obtained the Crown: And therefore, according to the Form of Antiquity, the Pope only hath the Power to take Notice of Matters of the Empire: And therefore the *German* Hereticks do very ill in saying, that the same belongeth to the College of the Prince Electors.

The 18th Article.

Since that *Frederick the First*, by the Bishop of *Bamberg*, required the Crown of the Empire from Pope *Adrian the Fourth* (where the Words under-written are used and placed to express the same Sense) from whence very plainly appeareth, that he, that receiveth not the Crown out of the Pope's Hand, is in very Deed no Emperor: Therefore, most holy Father, fulfil, without any longer Delay, that which *Maximilian*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, wanteth in the Plenitude of the Dignity of his Prince Electorship, that the same may be accomplished by your Holiness's Liberality, to the End the Empire may be reduced and brought into its old Fashion again.

The

The 19th Article.

Since that, in the Disposing and Ordering of the Affairs of the Empire, the Pope's Respect only extendeth so far, that it now and then hath been vexed, suppressed, nay, hath been wholly and totally circumvented and defrauded; like as many Histories do testify, what hath passed between Pope *Gregory the Seventh*, and the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*, between Pope *Alexander* and the Emperor *Frederick the First*, between Pope *Innocent the Third* and the Emperor *Ottoman the Fourth*, between Pope *Innocent the Fourth* and the Emperor *Frederick*, between Pope *John the Twenty-first* and the Emperor *Lodowick the Fourth*, between Pope *Boniface the Ninth* and the Emperor *Wenceslaus*: By the same Respect hath the Pope that undoubted Right to take Notice of the Affairs of the Empire, and to discern thereof, and not the College of the Prince Electors.

The 20th Article.

Since that the Power of the Electing the Emperor was not purchased for Money by the Prince Electors, nor obtained by Force of Arms, nor enjoyed by Right of Inheritance, nor befallen unto them by the Hands of the Emperor, but is descended from the Authority of the Apostolical Seat: Therefore it is not lawful for the *German Arch-hereticks**, now at this present to believe any otherwise, thereby to molest the Antiquity and Sanctity of the Empire.

The 21st Article.

Whenas for a long Time the Custom of Electing the Emperor had been in Use, according to the Constitution of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*, by the Intercession of all the Chiefs and Princes of *Germany*, and that many Troubles and Divisions arose by the great Diversity of Voices in their Election, the Empire is at last come to nought; so that the Chiefs and Princes with one Accord, according to the Decree and Approbation of the Apostolical Seat, were agreed, that all the Power which was granted unto them, all of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*, should descend unto six † Princes only, viz. three *Spiritual* and three *Temporal*, unto whom afterwards the *Seventh* was adjoined, and solemnly concluded, that of these

alone, without admitting any other thereunto, from henceforth the Emperor should be chosen, although they were of the Faculty, Power, and Authority.

The 22d Article.

Like as in former Time the Election was performed by virtue of the Grant of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*: The same shall now at this present, by the same Power proceeding from the good Pleasure of the Pope's Transport, be effected by the *Seven*. And like as, in old Time, the Popes commanded all the Chiefs and Princes of *Germany*, that they should chuse an Emperor, even so at this Time, when Need requireth, it shall be lawful for the Pope to command the seven Prince Electors, who do represent the Assembly of all the Princes there. And like as the seven Prince Electors do enjoy a like Power and Authority of Right, which in old Time the Princes of *Germany* enjoyed; in like Manner the Pope doth enjoy wholly that Authority, which they had in the Time of that Assembly, in Regard through Process of Years, or Length of Time, the Vigour of the Church diminisheth not, nor the Rights of the Apostolical Seat do wax decrepit: How great then is the Ignorance of those Doctors and Counsellors of the *German Arch-hereticks*, which neither know the Antiquity nor the Rights; but, according to their malicious Conceit, are not ashamed to pervert the Antiquity and Sanctity of the Empire into Novelty, and to bring Order into Confusion?

The 23d Article.

Since then it hath been very amply proved, and shewed to his Holiness, that the Power as well of the new as the old Prince Electors, to elect Emperors, hath been obtained by no other Means, but from the most high Apostolical Seat, which may be proved by the Writings of the most famous Authors, as *Jacob Winphilingus*, *Krantzius*, *Nauclerus*, *Carrion*, *Aventinus*, *Cuspinianus*, and other *Transmontanian* Writings, omitting the *Italian* Doctors, because that they, in this Point of Controversy, might peradventure come in Suspicion to be corrupted, and by that Means might be rejected of the *German* Hereticks. Therefore it is, † &c.

* The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*. follow, must be taken from the former.

† Electors.

‡ The rest, that should

The 24th Article.

Since the seven Prince Electors, by the publick Proofs of Writings, subscribed with their own Hands and Seals, do not deny that the Faculty of electing Emperors is descended unto them from the Apostolical Seat; and, if the ignorant Counsellors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* will not believe the same, the Writings themselves shall be produced and laid open before them, which do approve the same, dated in the Year 1279, when *Nicholas the Third* was Pope, and *Rudolphus Habsburgensis* was Emperor, which are whole and good, in Parchment, remaining with the Secretary of the Castle of *St. Angelo*; where the seven Prince Electors most of them use these Words:

‘ The Mother Church of *Rome*, in Times
‘ past, as with a natural Love embracing *Germany*, hath as with a Present of Temporal Dignities honoured the same, with that
‘ which is above all Names, only as temporally, upon the Earth, planting Princes therein as godly Trees, and watering the same
‘ with a singular Grace, and hath given unto
‘ them that Growth of worldly Power; that
‘ they, being supported by the Authority of
‘ the same Church, as a choice and famous
‘ Plant, may cause to spring or grow up, by
‘ their Election, him who hath the Reins of
‘ the *Roman Empire* in his Hand. Therefore
‘ it is, * &c.’

The 25th Article.

The seven Prince Electors must confess to have this Power from the Apostolical Seat, like as sufficiently is proved in the former Article. And contrarily, no Man can take away the same, without the Authority and Consent of the same Apostolical Seat. If it be taken from any, as being robbed thereof, it must not be esteemed as lawfully done, and that Dignity which after that Manner is so taken from one, and transported to another without the Pope’s Consent and Authority, hath no Vigour, in Regard the same is taken and given to them, to whom in all Right it is forbidden. Therefore, if it be bestowed upon any Man after this Manner, in Process of Time, taking the right Title, he shall not keep the same.

* Here lacketh something, which is to be conceived out of that which goeth before.

The 26th Article.

Since that the Transport of the Dignities of the Prince Electorship unto this present Line of *Saxony*, is not established by the most holy Apostolical Seat; therefore, the Pope and the Emperor, for the Dealing of the Transport of the Electorship unto the Duke of *Bavaria*, shall not once be moved, but his Exception against the Transport shall be esteemed for no Exception; for that which is lawfully done, and simply is not done, is all one.

The 27th Article.

Since that the Transport of the Dignities of the Prince Electorship is passed unto *Maximilian Duke of Bavaria*, and is confirmed by the most Holy Father: Therefore it is no longer in the Emperor, nor in the King of *Spain’s* Power, to place that Arch-heretick the *Palsgrave*, or his Heirs, in that Dignity and Dominion out of which their Father is cast, nor to place him again in the Electorship, in Regard that these Controversies do belong to the most holy Apostolical Seat, and neither to the Emperor, nor the King of *Spain*.

The 28th Article.

Since that the Pope hath confirmed the Transport of the Electorship; so is that Demand (which the King of *England*, the King of *Denmark*, the *Saxon*, and the *Brandenburgher*, of the Restitution of the *Palsgrave* into his Dignities and Electorship, which they seek of the Emperor very unreasonable; for the Requiring thereof is nothing else, but the Defrauding the Apostolical Seat) from the Right of her Majesty, and to attribute unto the Emperor the fundamental Original, contrary to the Antiquity and Sanctity of the Church and Empire: And, therefore, the Holy Father shall be wary, that from such like Connivance there ariseth not a greater Discommodity to the farther Ruin of the Church.

The 29th Article.

To the End then that the Essence of the Church may be preserved in her Antiquity and Sanctity: The most illustrious Prelates, the Cardinals, with one Consent and Accord, have

sworn that the holy Father, having permitted the Confirmation on *Maximilian* the Duke of *Bavaria*, may not revoke the same, without Prejudice of the most holy Apostolical Seat, and are bound, by the Laws of God, simply to

maintain the aforesaid Duke of *Bavaria* with one common Hand, with conjoined Power of the whole Church, and with Force of Arms, in the Dignities of the Prince Electorship.

Here followeth the Censure, or Consideration upon the aforesaid Articles.

HERE are presented unto us Twenty-nine Articles, from the Prelates of the *Romish* Church, whose Elegance is not much to be commended, and do tend to the Prejudice of *Germany*: For the better Examination whereof, we will course through all the Members or Particulars; and, to the End that no Man may be bewitched therewith, we will administer unto the Simple an Antidote against this Poison.

The Beginning shall be of the three first Articles, wherein the Clergy of *Rome* do imagine unto themselves a most excellent Growth, as well of the Jurisdiction, as of the Temporal Goods.

To speak in Order of both these: I say the Pope, soasmuch as he is Pope, hath no Jurisdiction at all, but, soasmuch as he is enriched by the Liberality of Princes, he hath also his own Lands, and hath a certain Jurisdiction, which is well to be understood in his own Lands: But in the Empire, where he hath no Place amongst the Princes of the Empire, no Jurisdiction may be allowed him, without Diminishing of the Imperial Majesty: Let no Man suffer himself once to be moved, for that which hath been so long said, 'That the Pope of *Rome* is in the Place of *Christ* here upon Earth:' *Christ* himself denied that his Kingdom was of this World. The Disciple is not mightier than his Master, nor the Servant greater than his Lord.

What is more evident and plain, than that which *Christ* himself saith? Let the Kings of the Nations bear Rule, but with you it must not be so. Neither is that firmer, that they hope for the Victory, from the Triumph, and other Proofs, wherewith they have always defended their Cause, that *Christ* said, *All Power is given me in Heaven and Earth*. *Mal-danatus* † refuteth this with these Words,

'*Christ* speaketh not here of all Power, but of that which he gave to the Apostles, that is, of the Power to obtain and gather together his spiritual Kingdom; for which Business he sent out the Apostles; like as temporal Princes are careful of their temporal Goods, so are they also of their Jurisdictions.' Here availeth that which the old Father *Bernard* wrote to Pope *Eugenius*, in his first Book of *Observations*, 'Your Power is over Offences or Sins, and not over Possessions. These base and earthly Things have their Judges, Kings, and Princes of the Earth: Wherefore dost thou enter upon other Men's Jurisdictions? Wherefore dost thou thrust thy Sickle or Scythe into another Man's Harvest?' Moreover, he saith in his eleventh Book, 'Dominion was forbidden the Apostles; Darest thou then use it (A Lord) the Apostleship, or an Apostolical Person's Dominion, verily both these are forbidden you, if you will enjoy both these at once.' Therefore asketh *Hestienfis*, 'What shall we say of that which concerneth the Pope in worldly or temporal Affairs?' Whereunto he maketh Answer, with his Lord *Innocentius*, 'That unto him, viz. the Pope, it concerned nothing at all.' The same also may be read by *John Parisiensis*, in the tenth Chapter of the *Power of Kings and Popes*. This is long ago told unto them, but they gave it no Audience; from hence ariseth the *English* Complaint by *Mathew Paris*, where he treateth of *Henry the Third*: 'That it is sufficiently known and found, that the Wrath of God is fallen upon the *Romish* Church, because their Magistrates and Regents do not diligently apply themselves for the Devotion of the People, nor for the Gaining of Souls; but to purchase Revenues, and to scrape Money together.'

† A Jesuit Commentator of great Note.

Other Nations used very grievously to complain thereof, and that with good Reason, especially *Germany*, whose Princes long ago, seeking Remedy hereof, were not very acceptable, who could never satisfy the *Romish* Clergy, with Riches and Dignities. From this unsatiable Gulph also ariseth, that they, in the Third Article, desire to cut off the Conditions for their Advantage, which, for the common Peace-sake, were received above seventy Years since at *Passaw*. But it is not in the Pope's Power, nor in the Clergy, to break that which was concluded by a General Council of the States, where the Authority of * *Charles* was entertained.

Here followeth the Censure upon the *Second* Part, which extendeth itself larger than, the *First*, in regard that it not only sheweth the Cardinalish Prince †, but that which lieth next under. This aforesaid Part containeth twenty Articles, in which they, with the like Proofs, do proceed, as yet seemeth; yet their Object indeed is something else, more than in the former. In which it seemeth to be sufficient to *Michael Longius*: That, if the Duke of *Bavaria* could but be persuaded, that he would seek for the Consent of the Pope, in those Dignities where he was honoured. In such Manner the chiefest Cardinals do take the Reins of good Reason too long into their Hands; nay, as *Phaeton*, upon the Waggon of their Avarice, to the Danger of the World, and more especially of *Germany*, do ride out of the common Route of the Popes; like as if it were of no Moment, to pronounce such an horrible Sentence of the Transport of the Electorship of the *Palgrave*, and the Occasion thereof; whereof we will not now dispute; and so they fall a-board the Prince Electors of *Saxon* and *Brandenburgh*, in the Behalf of the Rights of the Election: What is it else but, with the like Thunder bolt, to dash the Heads of the sacred Empire? They say they are Hereticks: It is now no Time to enquire after Heresy, but rather soundly to dispute, Whether that a Bishop, like as he, hath Right to excommunicate a Man for Heresy? Whether therefore he hath the Power also to rob and spoil a Man of his Dignities and Means? Verily therein is great Difference: Christ commandeth, that the Excommunicated should be

counted as an Heathen or Publican: But in no Place willett he that Men should rob the Heathens or Publicans of their Authority, or should spoil them of their Goods. Christ himself paid Toll unto the Publicans, and, by his Example, hath shewed us the Way what we should do. The Apostles lived under heathenish Emperors, and were obedient to their Laws; in like Manner also were all their Successors; nay, the Apostles, being obedient, used to pray to God for them: Therefore, saith *Tertullian* in his Apology, in the thirtieth Chapter, 'We invoke the eternal God for the Prosperity of the Emperor, praying, that he may have a long Life, a peaceful Government, an established Habitation, strong Armies, faithful Counsellors, and a peaceful World.' When *Julian* left Christianity, and betook himself to Heathenism, did the Christians then detruide him forth of his Empire? When they hear of this, then they will contend with latter Examples, saying, Wherefore then may not the Pope, by the same Right for Heresy, transport the Dignity of the Prince Electorship unto another, since that Pope *Leo the Third*, for the same Occasion, transported the Empire from the *Grecians* upon the *Franks*. This is that *Achilles* which so boasts in the College of the Cardinal, but yet he is not strong enough to take in our City of *Elizeum*. They abuse themselves exceedingly with this Example; first, from the Act of the Pope, they conclude the Justness of the Act; if we may so drive our Arguments, there is no Act of any Man, but it may be found Fault withal; they err also herein, that they affirm that to be done, which was never done.

We know it all of us, that the Empire was transported, but withall, that it was done by the Council of ‡ *Rome*, as also all *Italy*, consented thereunto, either privately or publickly. Of the Western People I will pass over in Silence. They say again, that we have many Writers, which make Repetition of that which *Leo* did. Who denieth that? But they commend *Leo*, as being one of the chiefest Citizens, and so had the greatest Respect of any Man in the City: They commend him also, as being Bishop of *Rome*, who, with his Hands, was to set up the Crown, as being a Sign or Representation of the Empire: Therefore these Writers were in no Heresy, because

* The Emperor. † The Pope, being Prince of his Cardinals. ‡ The State and not Church.

they meant that either *Leo* did the same alone, or else principally could have done it. Many others, who are no less in Number, nor in Respect than these, do relate unto us the clean contrary: They say expressly, that the same was done and performed, according to the Decree and Will, as is aforesaid, of the Council of *Rome*. *Sigibertus* saith, in the Year 801: 'The *Romans* now, who long ago had withdrawn their Affections from the *Constantinopolitan* Emperor, as then finding very good Opportunity, because that a Woman, when the Emperor *Constantine* was deprived of his Sight, governed them by his Son: Then proclaimed they with one Accord the Emperor *Charles* for their Emperor, they crowned him by the Hand of Pope *Leo*, they stiled him Emperor and *Augustus*.' A *Papish* Writer, *Theodoricus de Niem*, who afterwards was Bishop of *Verden*, saith, 'About the very Time of the Coronation, the People of *Rome* made a Law, according to the old Custom, but it was very troublesome to recollect all Things that happened so often: Therefore the Sentence, Right and Power of the Empire, was left unto the Emperor, as we find it written: Then the People of *Rome* transported all this unto *Charles*, and gave unto him all that Right and Power.'

Blondus also, in his first Book, *Decad. 2.* and *Aneas Silvius*, or *Pius* the Second, in *Blondus's* short Relation; also *Jacobus Wymphelingius*, in his short Relation of the Pope of *Rome*, in the eleventh Chapter, do affirm, that the Coronation by *Leo* was performed and done with the Knowledge and at the Intreaty of the People of *Rome*. These are the Words of *Onuphrius Panvinus* in *Faustis*: *Leo*, by the Consent of the People of *Rome*, and at the Intreaty of the Clergy of *Rome*, proclaimeth *Charles* Emperor. So that from those and others, who affirm, that it was done by the Council, and the People of *Rome*; must those Writers be interpreted, that they do not confirm, nor yet deny the same.

How much more is it to believe that which is confirmed by Witnesses, which is denied by none; than not to believe those which do confirm the same, because that all of them do not affirm, although there be no Body that do deny the same: For, after this Manner, writeth *Michael Coccinus* very well, in his Book of the Transport of the Empire: 'We must believe that the same Transport was

performed, and had its Power or Operation from the Consent and Authority of the *Romans*, and other People of *Italy*.' That which *Innocentius the Third* wrote unto *Bartbold*, Duke of *Zaringe*, doth not contradict the same: 'That the Apostolical Seat of *Rome* transported the *Roman* Empire unto the Person of the famous *Charles*, from the *Grecians* unto the *Germans*, for in this we consent: That the Apostolical Seat, upon no other Meaning, did transport the Empire, but that they, who did transport the Empire, did consent thereunto, or else made Declaration that they should transport the same. But such a Transport hath had its Power from the uniform Consent of the People.'

Hence may very plainly appear, in what Manner the Transport which *Leo* performed was done, and by this Means that is very easily overthrown, which they say: That the Empire was transported for Heresy: The Occasion of the Transport is here formerly related out of *Sigibertus*: The true Cause thereof was, because the Emperors of the *East* did neglect, or were careless of the *Western* Empire and Authority; and so, as is aforesaid, did let it pass: This we can confirm and approve with very firm Testimony. *Lupoldus* saith, in his fourth Book of the Rights of the Authority of the Empire, in this Manner:

'The *Grecian* Emperor, in the Time of *Carolus Magnus*, nay, before his Time also, (viz. when his Father *Pepin*, and his Grandfather *Carolus Mertellus* lived) governed only with the Name of the *Western* Empire; so that neither the *Romish* Church, nor the other Christian Congregations, nor those of the *Longobards*, who were, contrary to all Law, suppressed, could either by the *Eastern* Emperor, nor by their Authority, obtain any Right in the *Western* Empire; so that the aforesaid Emperor made no Account nor Reckoning of the *Western* Empire, but held it loosely as a Derelict, only commanding therewith the Name, as appeareth in divers Chronicles.' Of the same Opinion is *Johannes Parisiensis*, in his sixteenth Chapter, writing of the *Kingly* and *Papal* Power: 'It was not done by the POPE only, but that it was the PEOPLE'S Desire, who may subject themselves to whom they will, without Prejudice to any other, and therefore that was done for a necessary Reason,

son, for to defend them against the Heathens
and Infidels, because they could not be de-
fended by any other; which rightly they
might do, for the People make the King,
and the Army the Emperor.' *Aeneas Sylvius*,
in his Book of the Rising and Authority of the
Roman Empire, saith, in the ninth Chapter:
At the last, when the *Grecians* were careless
of *Rome*, and leaving the same to be made
a Prey, and to be ransacked one While by
the *Barbarians*, and also by others, the People
of *Rome*, who with their Blood had got such
great Riches, who by their Valour had e-
rected the Monarchy of the World, saluted,
by the Name of *Emperor*, *Carolus Magnus*,
then King of the *Franks*, being a *German*
born, who delivered the City and the Holy
Place from the Invasion of Enemies, first
greeting him with this Title, *Patricius*, and
afterwards *Augustus*, the *POPE's* Good-will
and Pleasure hereunto concurring. Also,
saith *Naclerus*, in his twenty-seventh *Gene-
rat.* In the Year 800, upon the Day of
the Birth of our Lord, good Deliberation
preceding, *Leo* the *Pope* of *Rome*, con-
sidering that the *Constantinopolitan* Emperors
did very carelessly defend that Name, and
held the *Western Empire* as lost, declared,
with the Consent of the PEOPLE of *Rome*,
Charles Emperor of the *Romans*, and crown-
ed him with the Crown, when the Com-
monalty of the *Romans* three Times cried out
aloud, *Carolo Augusto, &c.* *Paulus Æ-
milius*, in his History of the *Franks*, saith
thus: 'The Majesty of the Emperors was
now at this Time, and before, very slight.
And thereafter he saith: 'The Principallest of
the *Romans*, being of another Courage and
Audacity, gave their Voices, That the Seat
of the Empire, being, as it were, void, and
possessed of none (as if it had been God's
Will, and had been so ordained) should be
invested with the King of the *Franks*, be-
cause that he, by his Service which he had
done for the Church, had well deserved the
same; and that they were obliged and bound
to him, &c.

Michael Coccimus speaks yet more plainly
concerning the Transport of the Empire, say-
ing: 'When the *Romans*, and almost all the
People of *Italy*, by Process of Time, and
the Invasion of many Nations, and Pil-
lagings, as being subject to the *Goths*, *Vice-
Goths*, *Huns*, and *Longobards*, and being

not able with their own Forces to defend
themselves, and the *Grecians* taking no Care
at all of them, for the Performance thereof;
nay (that which is more) they themselves
heaping Evil upon Evil, and using all Dil-
gence to suppress and spoil them, using too
great Avariciousness and Desire of Authority
over them; they marking the excessive Co-
vetousness of the *Grecians*, and also their
Carelessness; observing also the Worthiness,
Capacity, and Equity of the *Germans*, they
transported the Empire from the *Grecians*
unto the *Germans*, and recommended the
same to *Carolus Magnus*. This Transport
of the Empire, being effected by the *Romans*
and other People of *Italy*, and that with the
common Consent and Authority of them all,
without all Doubt, had full Power, and hath
remained firm.'

Hence appeareth plain enough, that they
are either Fools, or else are much deceived,
which think, that the Empire was transported
to the *Franks* for Heresy.

This also is worthy Consideration, That,
although the *Eastern Empire* was transported
by *Pope Leo* to the *Western*, the *Pope* hath
now the same Right to remove the Empire,
according to his Will. In old Time it was
otherwise than it is now. Let us grant, That
the *Pope* of *Rome* had some Right, as the best
qualified Citizen of the City; nay, that the
City (which never yet was done) had trans-
ported all her Power unto him: What doth
that concern these our present Times, since
that the *Pope* hath driven the Emperor out
of the Dominion of the City? After what
Manner, say I, hereafter, shall either *Rome*
itself, or the *Pope* of *Rome*, pretend any Right
in the Electing of an Emperor, since they do
not acknowledge the Emperor for their Lord?
Yea, since it is acknowledged, that the Princes
Electors are to be ordained by the Consent and
Voices of the States, and this is by the Ap-
probation of *Gregory the Fifth*, Hath not the
Pope lost his Right, when he consented here-
unto? So that hereby that Authority, which
the *Pope* ascribeth to himself, is quite over-
thrown. What a Number of Proofs might be
produced against this Power of the *Pope*? Yea,
the Testimony of principal Personages, who,
by Reason of their Learning, are exceeding
famous.

Here followeth the third Part, which falleth
very grievously, both with Teeth and Nail

upon the Bodies of all those that dislike the Sentence of the Pope; and that consisteth in the three last Articles.

And, *first*, that is touched, which concerneth the Election, that is, the Right of Voice is taken from the Prince Elector, the Duke of *Saxony*, under this Pretext; because, forsooth, the Pope of *Rome* hath not confirmed that Dignity, wherewith that Family, for these many Years, hath been invested; nor is it confirmed by the Pope, as if that illustrious Family had not been so wise, as never to have required the same of the Pope. It is but too well known unto them, that they, whom the Pope glorieth to have honoured with the Name of Empire or Authority, he taketh away from them the Majesty of Authority; so that his Investing may well be called a *Disrobing*, and his Crowning a *Dethroning*, or *Deposing*. For, I pray you, Of what Consequence is the Confirmation of the Pope unto those, whom he drives into a bodily Fear, if he had no Temporal Power? It is such, as *Origen* long ago understood it to be, which he taught, as appeareth by his Writings upon *Matthew*, in his twelfth Homily: 'Among you, which are mine, these Things shall not be, to the End that those, which have any Power in the Church, do not seem to domineer over their Brethren, nor to use any Authority. For, like as a Necessity is imposed upon Temporal Matters, and not left to the Will; and Spiritual Matters in Will, and not in Necessity; so shall the Dominion of Spiritual Princes be confirmed in Love, and not in bodily Fear.' If, therefore, the Power of the Princes Electors be from the Pope, because that the Imperial Power is from him, as our Adversaries affirm, How can they prove, that the Dignity of the Prince Elector must proceed from the Pope, if it be not needful that the Emperor be confirmed by the Pope? There is a Text that saith, The Army maketh an Emperor. The Gloss saith thereby, He is a right Emperor, before he be confirmed by the Pope. This they of *Basil* understood very well, who, after the Death of *Lodewick*, where the Lord of *Bamburgher* was chief President, made this Answer: 'That Emperor, which the Princes Electors shall ordain for us, him will we accept of, although he have no Respect unto the Pope.' This appeareth in *Supplemento Urspergensi*. Nay, that which is more, the

Pope himself confesseth, that not the Empire itself, but the Imperial Title rested only in him. Pope *Adrian the Fourth*, in his Epistle to the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, saith: 'The Name of the Emperor is from the Pope, but the Empire and Authority cometh from the Princes Electors.' Hence, then, is confuted that which is said in the twenty-seventh Article, since that the Pope hath confirmed the Duke of *Bavaria* in the Dignity of Prince Elector, That then not only the King of *Spain* (who is there mentioned) but also the Emperor is bereaved of the Power to restore again unto the *Palgrave* his hereditary Possessions, and the Dignity of the Prince Electorship. For, if the Pope hath no Power in the Affairs of the Empire, then shall the Emperor, by his Doings, not lose his Right, much less any other Prince, if he, before the Pope's Deed, had any Right of Suffrage.

I am forced to stop my Ears, by Reason of that extremely proud and ambitious Affront, which is set down in the twenty-eighth Article: That although the most Puissant Kings of *Great Britain* and *Denmark*, or the two Illustrious Princes Electors of *Saxon* and *Brandenburgh* should require of the Emperor that the *Palgrave* of the *Rhine* might be restored again unto his Hereditary Possessions and Dignity of Prince Elector, that they then robbed the State of *Rome* of the Right of its Majesty, and did attribute the Power of the Princes Electors Dignity unto the Emperor. The Pope of *Rome* doth very falsely attribute that Majesty unto himself, which appertaineth to the Emperor, and to the Princes of the Empire and the States. Very falsely is the Pope of *Rome* called, here, the Fountain and Source of the Princes Electors Dignities, because that Power is sprung out of the Council of the *German* Princes. Like as *Naucleus* saith, *Generat. 34*. The Writer *Theodoricus Niemus* uses these Words: The Princes of *Germany* have ordained it so. The very same also do other Writers affirm. Neither do I deny that it was with the Approbation of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*. Therefore the Temporal Dignity is not chiefly from the Pope, for not the Pope, but the Princes of the Empire do represent the whole Body and People of the Empire, in whom immediately, as in the Subject, the Temporal Power consisteth.

Nicholas Cusanus, in his third Book of the *Catholic Concordance*, in the fourth Chapter, who in my Judgment judgeth very well thereof, writing in this Manner, faith, 'The Princes Electors, who elected in the Place of others, were (in the Time of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*, being a *German*) ordained of the natural Kindred of *Osbo*: And therefore it is not tolerable that the Princes Electors should have their Power of Electing from the Pope of *Rome*; (so that now, unless he consented these should not have it: Or, if he pleased, that he would take it from them.) I ask, Who hath given the People of *Rome* Power to elect an Emperor, but the Law of God and Nature? For by Way of a voluntary Subjection, and Consent in Precedency, all Sorts of Governments are well and holy instituted: And afterwards there he setteth down yet something else: The Princes Electors that were constituted by the general Uniformity of Voices, of all *Germans* and others belonging to the Empire, in the Time of *Henry the Second*, had their fundamental Power from the general Consent of Voices of all, who by the Law of Nature might chuse themselves an Emperor, not from the Pope of *Rome* himself, in whose Power it is not to give to every Province a King or an Emperor when it pleaseth him, and when it doth not please him.'

Lastly, the *Articles* were sealed up with this Oath: That the Pope himself, without Prejudice to his Seat, may not revoke the Electorship from the Duke of *Bavaria*, since that he hath confirmed him in that Dignity; nay, that all the Prelates of the *Romish* Church are bound with Force of Arms to maintain the Duke of *Bavaria*: And yet more, that all those that are of the *Romish* Church, are bound to bring all their Force together to maintain the same. So that the *Romish* Clergy, disdaining the Prerogative of Kings and Princes, do very boldly determine and decide those Controversies, which arise in the Empire, and threaten to force them by War, who are not content with the Pope's Sentence; how ill-favourably those Things do suit and agree with the Pope and Clergy of *Rome*, is shewed unto us in that famous Place of *Peter Damianus*, who lived in the Year 1060; his Words in his Letter unto the Bishop of *Firminus* are these:

'Like as the Son of God himself did overcome all Obstacles of this raging World, not by any Proof of Vengeance, but by constant Patience, and invincible Majesty: So fitteth it best that we rather suffer, and patiently endure the World's Raging, with Humility: Than either by taking Arms in Hand, or requiring Wounds with Wounds: Especially since, that, between the Empire and the Priesthood, the Offices are several; the King shall use the Temporal Arms, the Priest shall put on a Spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God; Paul faith of the Princes of this World, that he beareth not the Sword in vain, being a Minister of God, and his Revenger in Wrath, upon him that doth Evil. King *Azarias*, because he took upon him the Priest's Office, was stricken with Leprosy: So that Priest, which shall take up Arms (which is the Work of the Laity) what deserveth he? If now any Man would object, that Pope *Leo* oftentimes thrust himself into Wars, and yet for all that was a just Pope: I tell you my Opinion. *Peter* never obtained the Apostleship, because he forsook his Master; nor *David* the Gift of Prophesying, because he desired another Man's Bed. Here is not be considered of good and evil Things according to the Desert of the Possessors, but they are to be judged according to their own Qualities. Do we read any where that Pope *Gregory*, who endured so many Robberies and Pillages of the *Longobards*, either did or wrote the like; do we read any where, that any of the holy and worthy Popes did ever take up Arms to make a War: No, never in no Place; grant then that the Laws of the Civil Magistrate may narrowly sift, pry, and determine any certain Question, which arises in the Church: Or else determine and judge of that, which concerns not the Judgment-Seat of the Civil Magistrate, by an Edict of the Council, or an Assembly of Divines: To the End that either by the Judgment of the Magistrate, or the Judicature of the Pope, there arise no War, which might be accounted to our Shame.'

The Clergymen of *Rome* are altogether of another Opinion, practising and endeavouring almost nothing else but War, not only with their Arms, but also threatening others; and, whilst they are doing this, they are not

not ashamed to affirm, that they are bound thereunto by the Laws of God; let them observe what Christ commanded the Apostle Peter, to put up the Sword into the Sheath. Where hath ever God commanded the Clergy, that they should intermeddle in Matters of Temporal Dignities, or should undertake Wars, much less that they should blow the Trumpet, or beat Alarms as they do now? (Have I the Desire of Dominion, their God) Observe diligently I pray you, that bloody Oath intended by all the Prelates, to the End the Fashion of the Ancient and Holy Church might be maintained intire, like as if the Fashion of their Church now were, as it was wont to be in former Times; let us read that which *Tertullian*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and other Writers, who subject the Clergy under the Power of the Temporal; Pope *Gregorius Magnus* writeth himself unto the Emperor *Mauritius* these Words: I, the unworthy Servant of your Piety: And a little after he saith yet farther, 'To this End Authority is given to me from Heaven above all Men, that belong to my Lord the Emperor, for Piety Cause.' When as the said *Mauritius* would have that Pope *Gregory* should publish a Law, which he had made: And this Pope adjudging the same to be unreasonable, and opposing the Liberty of the Church: He therefore did not blaspheme against the Empire, but was obedient unto the Command of the Emperor his Master, not dissembling to speak his Mind and Opinion of the Emperor's Laws: These are the Pope's own Words: 'I, being subject to Authority, have sent these Laws into several Quarters of the World, and, because they are not agreeable to Almighty God, I have communicated the same unto the Illustrious Lords, by a Missive of my own Opinion, so that I have fully discharged my Duty on both Sides: Shewing, as I am bound, Obedience to the Emperor: And not concealing my Opinion in that which concerneth God.'

Here ought we to observe, how cunningly and craftily the College of Cardinals observe and aim at the Example of the ancient holy Church, chiefly in the Time of Pope *Gregory the Seventh*; under which this lurketh, that this Pope *Gregory* was the very first, who durst ascribe, and take upon himself, the Right of the Empire: At what Time, I pray you, lived this Pope? About the Year 1100, is the Antiquity whereof they boast: I may affirm, with

Tertullian, that this is Novelty: What Holiness was there in those Days, when all Manner of FaCTIONS, Cousenings, Frauds, Deceits, and Villainies had their full Swing? And to write much thereof would be too dangerous, and be no Honour to *Christendom*: Like as the Writer of those Times affirmeth in the Days of the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*. It is very well known unto all Men, what Cardinal *Benno* hath written and translated of the Pope (although Cardinal *Bellarmino* judged that the same was written by a *Lutheran*): In like Manner, it is also but too well known by other Writers, who have painted out in lively Colours this Pope *Gregory* even to the Life. A certain Man, named *Orthamus Gratius*, very much addicted to the *Romish* Church, was the first Publisher thereof in a Book, wherein are contained very many remarkable Observations: Out of the Actions of this Pope *Gregory*, the College of Cardinals, in the nineteen Articles, do conclude the Pope's Authority, and not out of these Actions only, but also of other Popes, who have dealt most tyrannically with the Empire. One could also hit the Cardinals in the Teeth, with that which Cardinal *Bellarmino*, in his Second Book of the Popes of *Rome*, saith, in the twenty-ninth Chapter, upon the Fourth Argument, viz. 'That the Christian Emperors have oftentimes been Judges of the Popes:' whereto, very subtly he inferred, or answered, 'That these Things have been done, but how well they have done the same, and by what Right, that they themselves shall answer.'

It is indeed much to be wondered at, that the Clergymen are grown to that Pass, that they so stoutly attempt that, which all the World hath in Abomination, and, with such polluted Hands, to lay Hold upon the most famous State of the Empire. We observe also, how shameless the College of Cardinals are, willing that we, from the evil Lives and wicked Actions of deceased Popes, should conclude how great the Authority of the Pope is; at least, they need not be so contumelious and arrogant against those Emperors, which, in former Times, the Popes have acknowledged to be themselves Servants of the Emperors; the Pope also ought to have in Consideration, that he, by Means of the Empire, hath obtained so great Riches, and now, by the Greatness of his Power, and all Manner of Sensualities, blindeth the Eyes of many temporal Princes.

How blind are the Men of this Age, when the Sun shineth so bright? How little do they know, or think, what will fall out in the End? He hath got so great Treasures from those of the Empire, to the End that, he wanting Nothing, might give the better Lustre unto his Religion; now abuseth he these Gifts, by driving the Empire into a great Fear. He is enriched with earthly Countries, to the End he should enrich us with the heavenly, and now they serve him to take away our earthly; he is enriched, to the End, that, by his religious Care, he might live in great Security in the Empire; now he careth not for that, although there be Trouble raised in the Empire, so he may live bravely and lasciviously: This is the Reward of perverted Liberality; so that for many Ages it has been very truly said, 'Religion brought forth Riches, and the Daughter hath devoured the Mother.'

You Props and Pillars of the Empire (*most illustrious Emperors, Princes Electors, and States*) tolerate no longer this Triumph, and Pride of the *Romish* Clergy: You see how boldly they violate the Laws of the Empire; they limit your established Law, and prefer unto you that,

which they do but think and invent; leaving unto you the bare Name of the Empire, but have drawn the Majesty thereof long ago to themselves.

What will this work in the End, if you be content any longer, with Patience, to behold or look upon the same? Never think that they will omit to increase theirs, and decrease yours: You have heard how they threaten you, and what they intend, as Enemies, to prosecute; and you know, that the abominable Deeds, which the Popes have performed against the Emperors, do serve them now for very fair Examples.

Since then it is not yet too late, take Counsel providently, that the *Romish* Cardinals, in the End, may be glad to leave their Affronts, and their proud Courage may quail; undertake firm and substantial Courses, that their dissolute and insolent Desire of Dominion may be restrained and bridled; then shall the Majesty of the Empire be preserved; whereunto Almighty God give you his Blessing in all your Consultations, from whom you have received the Possession and Government of the Empire.

A Vision, concerning his late pretended Highness Cromwell, the Wicked: Containing a Discourse in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the Confutation thereof, by the Author, Abraham Cowley.

— *Sua cuique Deus fit dira Libido.* Virgil.

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Advertisement.

THIS Discourse was written in the Time of the late Protector, Richard the Little; and was but the first Book of three, that were designed by the Author. The Second was to be a Discourse with the Guardian-angel of England, concerning all the late Confusions and Misfortunes of it. The Third, to denounce heavy Judgments against the
three

three Kingdoms, and several Places and Parties in them, unless they prevented them speedily by serious Repentance, and that greatest and hardest Work of it, Restitution. There was to be upon this Subject the Burden of England, the Burden of Scotland, the Burden of Ireland, the Burden of London, the Burden of the Army, the Burden of the Divines, the Burden of the Lawyers, and many others, after the Manner of Prophetical Threatenings in the Old Testament: But, by the extraordinary Mercy of God (for which we had no Pretence of Merit, nor the least Glimpse of Hope) in the sudden Restoration of Reason, and Right, and Happiness to us, it became not only unnecessary, but unseasonable and impertinent to prosecute the Work. However, it seemed not so to the Author to publish this first Part, because, though no Man can justify or approve the Actions of Cromwell, without having all the Seeds and Principles of Wickedness in his Heart, yet many there are, even honest and well-meaning People, who, without wading into any Depth of Consideration in the Matter, and purely deceived by splendid Words, and the outward Appearances of Vanity, are apt to admire him as a great and eminent Person; which is a Fallacy, that extraordinary, and, especially, successful Villainies impose upon the World. It is the Corruption and Depravation of human Nature, that is the Root of this Opinion, though it lie sometimes so deep under Ground, that we ourselves are not able to perceive it; and, when we account any Man great, or brave, or wise, or of good Parts, who advances himself and his Family, by any other Ways but those of Virtue, we are certainly biassed to that Judgment by a secret Impulse, or, at least, Inclination of the Viciousness of our own Spirit. It is so necessary for the Good and Peace of Mankind, that this Error (which grows almost every where, and is spontaneously generated by the Rankness of the Soil, should be weeded out, and for ever extirpated, that the Author was content not to suppress this Discourse, because it may contribute somewhat to that End, though it be but a small Piece of that which was his original Design.

IT was the Funeral-day of the late Man who made himself to be called Protector, and though I bore but little Affection, either to the Memory of him, or to the Trouble and Folly of all publick Pageantry; yet I was forced, by the Importunity of my Company, to go along with them, and be a Spectator of that Solemnity, the Expectation of which had been so great, that it was said to have brought some very curious Persons, and no doubt singular Virtuoso's, as far as from the Mount in Cornwall, and from the Oracles. I found there had been much more Cost bestowed than either the dead Man, or indeed Death itself could deserve. There was a mighty Train of black Assistants, among which too divers Princes in the Persons of their Ambassadors, being infinitely afflicted for the Loss of their Brother, were pleased to attend; the Herse was magnificent, the Idol crowned, and, not to mention all other Ceremonies which are practised at Royal Interments, and therefore by no Means could be omitted here, the vast Multitude of Spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small Part of the Spectacle itself. But yet, I know not how, the Whole

was so managed, that, methought, it somewhat represented the Life of him for whom it was made; much Noise, much Tumult, much Expence, much Magnificence, much Vain-glory; briefly, a great Show, and yet, after all this, but an ill Sight. At last, for it seemed long to me, and, like his short Reign too, very tedious, the whole Scene passed by, and I retired back to my Chamber, weary, and, I think, more melancholy than any of the Mourners. Where I began to reflect upon the whole Life of this prodigious Man; and sometimes I was filled with Horror and Detestation of his Actions, and sometimes I inclined a little to Reverence and Admiration of his Courage, Conduct, and Success; till, by these different Motions and Agitations of Mind, rocked, as it were asleep, I fell at last into this Vision, or, if you please to call it but a Dream, I shall not take it ill, because the Father of Poets tells us, even Dreams too are from God.

But sure it was no Dream; for I was suddenly transported afar off, whether in the Body, or out of the Body, like St. Paul, I know not, and found myself upon the Top of that

that famous Hill in the Island *Mona*, which has the Prospect of three great, and, not-long-since, most happy Kingdoms: As soon as ever I looked upon them, the Not-long-since struck upon my Memory, and called forth the sad Representation of all the Sins, and all the Miseries that had overwhelmed them these twenty Years. And I wept bitterly for two or three Hours; and, when my present Stock of Moisture was all wasted, I fell a Sighing for an Hour more; and as soon as I recovered, from my Passion, the Use of Speech and Reason, I broke forth, as I remember, looking upon *England*, into this Complaint:

I.

Ah, happy Isle, how art thou chang'd and curst,

Since I was born, and knew thee first!
When Peace, which had forsook the World around,

(Frighted with Noise, and the shrill Trumpet's Sound)

Thee for a private Place of Rest,
And a secure Retirement chose
Wherein to build her *Halcyn* Nest;

No Wind durst stir abroad the Air to discompose.

II.

When all the Riches of the Globe beside
Flow'd in to thee with every Tide;
When all that Nature did thy Soil deny,
The Growth was of thy fruitful Industry;
When all the proud and dreadful Sea,
And all his tributary Streams,
A constant Tribute paid to thee;
When all the liquid World was one extended
Thames.

III.

When Plenty in each Village did appear,
And Bounty was its Steward there;
When Gold walk'd free about in open View,
'Ere it one conquering Party's Prisoner grew;
When the Religion of our State
Had Face and Substance with her Voice,
'Ere she by 'er foolish Loves of late,
Like *Eccho* (once a Nymph) turn'd only into
Noise.

IV.

When Men to Men Respect and Friendship bore,
And God with Reverence did adore;

V O L. V.

When upon Earth no Kingdom could have shewn

A happier Monarch to us than our own,
And yet his Subjects by him were
(Which is a Truth will hardly be
Receiv'd by any vulgar Ear,
A Secret known to few) made happier ev'n
than he.

V.

Thou dost a Chaos, and Confusion now,
A *Babel*, and a *Bedlam* grow,
And, like a frantick Person, thou dost tear
The Ornaments and Cloaths which thou should'st
wear,
And cut thy Limbs; and if we see
(Just as thy barbarous *Britans* did)
Thy Body with Hypocrisy
Painted all o'er, thou think'st, thy naked Shame
is hid.

VI.

The Nations, which envied thee 'ere while,
Now laugh (too little 'tis to smile)
They laugh, and would have pity'd thee (alas!)
But that thy Faults all Pity do surpass.
Art thou the Country which didst hate,
And mock the *French* Inconstancy?
And have we, have we seen of late
Less Change of Habits there, than Governments
in Thee?

VII.

Unhappy Isle! no Ship of thine at Sea!
Was ever toss'd and torn like thee.
Thy naked Hulk loose on the Waves does
beat,
The Rocks and Banks around her Ruin threat;
What did thy foolish Pilots ail,
To lay the Compass quite aside?
Without a Law or Rule to fail,
And rather take the Winds, than Heavens to
be their Guide?

VIII.

Yet, mighty God, yet, yet, we humbly crave,
This floating Isle from Shipwreck save;
And though to wash that Blood which does it,
stain,
It well deserves to sink into the Main;
Yet, for the Royal Martyr's Prayer,
(The Royal Martyr prays we know)
Hear but his Soul above, and not his Blood
below.

U u u

I think

I think I should have gone on, but that I was interrupted by a strange and terrible Apparition, for there appeared to me (arising out of the Earth, as I conceived) the Figure of a Man taller than a Giant, or indeed than the Shadow of any Giant in the Evening. His Body was naked, but that Nakedness adorned, or rather deformed all over with several Figures, after the Manner of the *Britons*, painted upon it; and I perceived that most of them were the Representations of the late Battles in our Civil Wars, and, if I be not much mistaken, it was the Battle of *Naseby* that was drawn upon his Breast. His Eyes were like burning Brass, and there were three Crowns of the same Metal, as I guessed, and that looked as Red-hot too, upon his Head. He held in his right-hand a Sword that was yet bloody, and nevertheless the Motto of it was *Pax queritur bello*, and in his Left-hand a thick Book, upon the Back of which was written in Letters of Gold, Acts, Ordinances, Protestations, Covenants, Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, &c. Though this sudden, unusual, and dreadful Object might have quelled a greater Courage than mine, yet so it pleased God, for there is nothing bolder than a Man in a Vision, that I was not at all daunted, but asked him resolutely and briefly, What art thou? And he said, I am called The North-west Principality, His Highness, the Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions belonging thereunto, for I am that Angel to whom the Almighty has committed the Government of those three Kingdoms, which thou seest from this Place. And I answered and said, If it be so, Sir, it seems to me, that for almost these twenty Years past your Highness has been absent from your Charge; for not only if any Angel, but if any wise and honest Men had, since that Time, been our Governor, we should not have wandered thus long in these laborious and endless Labyrinths of Confusion, but either not have entered at all into them, or at least have returned back, before we had absolutely lost our Way; but, instead of your Highness, we have had since such a Protector as was his Predecessor *Richard the Third*, to the King his Nephew; for he presently slew the Commonwealth, which he pretended to protect, and set up himself in the Place of it; a little less guilty indeed in one Respect, because the other slew the Innocent, and this Man did

but murder a Murderer. Such a Protector we have had, as we would have been glad to have changed for any Enemy, and rather received a constant *Turk*, than this every Month's Apostate; such a Protector as Man is to his Flocks, which he sheers, and sells, or devours himself; and I would fain know, what the Wolf, which he protects him from, could do more. Such a Protector—and, as I was proceeding, methought his Highness began to put on a displeased and threatening Countenance, as Men use to do when their dearest Friends happen to be traduced in their Company, which gave me the first Rise of Jealousy against him; for I did not believe that *Cromwell*, amongst all his foreign Correspondences, had ever held any with Angels. However, I was not hardened enough yet to venture a Quarrel with him then; and therefore, as I had spoken to the Protector himself in *Whitehall*, I desired him that his Highness would please to pardon me, if I had unwittingly spoken any thing to the Disparagement of a Person, whose Relations to his Highness I had not the Honour to know. At which he told me, that he had no other Concernment for his late Highness, than as he took him to be the greatest Man that ever was of the *English* Nation, if not, said he, of the whole World; which gives me a just Title to the Defence of his Reputation, since I now account myself, as it were, a naturalised *English* Angel, by having had so long the Management of the Affairs of that Country. And pray, Countryman, said he, very kindly and very flattering-ly, for I would not have you fall into the general Error of the World, that detests and decries so extraordinary a Virtue; What can be more extraordinary than that a Person of mean Birth, no Fortune, no eminent Qualities of Body, which have sometimes, or of Mind, which have often raised Men to the highest Dignities, should have the Courage to attempt, and the Happiness to succeed in so improbable a Design, as the Destruction of one of the most ancient, and, in all Appearance, most solidly founded Monarchies upon Earth? That he should have the Power or Boldness to put his Prince and Master to an open and infamous Death? To banish that numerous and strongly allied Family? To do all this under the Name and Wages of a Parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleased, and spurn them out of Doors when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard-of Monster out of
their

their Affes; to stifle that in the very Infancy, and set up himself above all Things that ever were called Sovereign in *England*; to oppress all his Enemies by Arms, and all his Friends afterwards by Artifice; to serve all Parties patiently for a While, and to command them victoriously at last; to over-run each Corner of the three Nations, and overcome with equal Facility both the Riches of the South, and the Poverty of the North; to be feared and courted by all foreign Princes, and adopted a Brother to the Gods of the Earth; to call together Parliaments with a Word of his Pen, and scatter them again with the Breath of his Mouth; to be humbly and daily petitioned to, that he would please to be hired, at the Rate of two Millions a Year, to be the Master of those who had hired him before to be their Servant; to have the Estates and Lives of three Kingdoms as much at his Disposal, as was the little Inheritance of his Father, and to be as noble and liberal in the Spending of them; and, lastly, for there is no End of all the Particulars of his Glory, to bequeath all this with one Word to his Posterity; to die with Peace at Home, and Triumph Abroad; to be buried among Kings, and with more than regal Solemnity; and to leave a Name behind him, not to be extinguished, but with the whole World, which, as it is now too little for his Praises, so might have been too for his Conquests, if the short Line of his human Life could have been stretched out to the Extent of his immortal Designs?

By this Speech I began to understand perfectly well what Kind of Angel his pretended Highness was; and having fortified myself privately with a short mental Prayer, and with the Sign of the Cross, not out of any Superstition to the Sign, but as a Recognition of my Baptism in Christ, I grew a little bolder, and replied in this Manner: I should not venture to oppose what you are pleased to say in Commendation of the late great, and, I confess, extraordinary Person, but that I remember Christ forbids us to give Assent to any other Doctrine but what himself has taught us, even though it should be delivered by an Angel; and if such you be, Sir, it may be you have spoken all this rather to try than to tempt my Frailty. For sure I am, that we must renounce or forget all the Laws of the New and Old Testament, and those which are the Foun-

dation of both, even the Laws of Moral and Natural Honesty, if we approve of the Actions of that Man, whom, I suppose, you commend by Irony. There would be no End to instance in the Particulars of all his Wickedness; but to sum up a Part of it briefly: What can be more extraordinarily wicked, than for a Person, such as yourself qualify him rightly, to endeavour not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his Equals and Betters? To pretend Freedom for all Men, and, under the Help of that Pretence, to make all Men his Servants? To take Arms against Taxes of scarce two-hundred-thousand Pounds a Year, and to raise them himself to above two Millions? To quarrel for the Loss of three or four Ears, and strike off three or four hundred Heads? To fight against an imaginary Suspicion of I know not what two-thousand Guards to be fetched for the King, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himself no less than Forty-thousand? To pretend the Defence of Parliaments, and violently to dissolve all, even of his own Calling and almost Chusing? To undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it even to the very Skin, and then to expose it naked to the Rage of all Sects and Heresies? To set up Councils of Rapine and Courts of Murder? To fight against the King under a Commission for him; to take him forcibly out of the Hands of those for whom he had conquered him; to draw him into his Net, with Protections and Vows of Fidelity, and when he had caught him in it, to butcher him, with as little Shame as Conscience or Humanity, in the open Face of the whole World? To receive a Commission for King and Parliament, to murder, as I said, the one, and destroy no less impudently the other? To fight against Monarchy when he declared for it, and declare against it, when he contrived for it in his own Person? To abase perfidiously and supplant ungratefully his own General first, and afterwards most of those Officers, who with the Loss of their Honour, and Hazard of their Souls, had lifted him up to the Top of his unreasonable Ambitions? To break his Faith with all Enemies, and with all Friends equally; and to make no less frequent Use of the most solemn Perjuries than the looser Sort of People do of customary Oaths? To usurp three Kingdoms without any Shadow of the
least

least Pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them? To set himself up as an Idol (which we know, as St. Paul says, in itself is nothing) and make the very Streets of London, like the Valley of Hinnom, by burning the Bowels of Men as a Sacrifice to his *Moloch-ship*? To seek to entail this Usurpation upon his Posterity, and with it an endless War upon the Nation; and lastly, by the severest Judgment of Almighty God, to die hardened, and mad, and unrepentant, with the Curses of the present Age, and the Detestation of all to succeed?

Though I had much more to say (for the Life of Man is so short, that it allows not Time enough to speak against a Tyrant) yet because I had a Mind to hear how my strange Adversary would behave himself upon this Subject, and to give even the Devil, as they say, his Right, and fair Play in a Disputation, I stopped here, and expected, not without the Frailty of a little Fear, that he should have broke into a violent Passion in Behalf of his Favourite; but he on the Contrary very calmly, and with the Dove-like Innocency of a Serpent that was not yet warmed enough to sting, thus replied unto me:

It is not so much out of my Affection to that Person whom we discourse of, whose Greatness is too solid to be shaken by the Breath of any Oratory, as for your own Sake, honest Countryman, whom I conceive to err, rather by Mistake than out of Malice, that I shall endeavour to reform your uncharitable and unjust Opinion. And in the first Place I must needs put you in Mind of a Sentence of the most ancient of the Heathen Divines, that you Men are acquainted withall,

Οὐκ ὀρίον καταμένουσιν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐν χητάσθαι,

'Tis wicked with insulting Feet to tread
Upon the Monuments of the Dead.

And the Intention of the Reproof there is no less proper for this Subject; for it is spoken to a Person who was proud and insolent against those dead Men, to whom he had been humble and obedient whilst they lived. Your Highness may please, said I, to add the Verse that follows, as no less proper for this Subject:

I

Whom God's just Doom and their own Sins
have sent
Already to their Punishment.

But I take this to be the Rule in the Case, that, when we fix any Infamy upon deceased Persons, it should not be done out of Hatred to the Dead, but out of Love and Charity to the Living, that the Curses which only remain in Men's Thoughts, and dare not come forth against Tyrants, because they are Tyrants, whilst they are so, may at least be for ever settled and engraven upon their Memories, to deter all others from the like Wickedness, which else, in the Time of their foolish Posterity, the Flattery of their own Hearts, and other Men's Tongues, would not suffer them to perceive. Ambition is so subtle a Temper, and the Corruption of human Nature so susceptible of the Temptation, that a Man can hardly resist it, be he never so much forwarned of the evil Consequences: much less if he find not only the Concurrence of the Present, but the Approbation too of following Ages, which have the Liberty to judge more freely. The Mischief of Tyranny is too great, even in the shortest Time that it can continue; it is endless and insupportable, if the Example be to reign too, and if a *Lambert* must be invited to follow the Steps of a *Cromwell*, as well by the Voice of Honour, as by the Sight of Power and Riches. Though it may seem to some fantastically, yet was it wisely done of the *Syracusians*, to implead with the Forms of their ordinary Justice, to condemn and destroy even the Statutes of all their Tyrants; if it were possible to cut them out of all History, and to extinguish their very Names, I am of Opinion that it ought to be done; but, since they have left behind them too deep Wounds to be ever closed up without a Scar, at least let set such a Mark upon their Memory, that Men of the same wicked Inclinations may be no less affrighted with their lasting Ignominy, than enticed by their momentary Glories. And, that your Highness may perceive that I speak not of this out of any private Animosity against the Person of the late *Protector*, I assure you upon my Faith, that I bear no more Hatred to his Name, than I do to that of *Marius* or *Sylla*, who never did me or any Friend

of

of mine the least Injury ; and with that, transported by a holy Fury, I fell into this sudden Rapture :

I.

Curs'd be the Man (what do I wish ? As though
The Wretch already were not so ;
But curs'd on let him be) who thinks it brave
And great his Country to enslave.
Who seeks to overpoise alone
The Balance of a Nation ;
Against the whole but naked State,
Who in his own light Scale makes up with Arms
the Weight.

II.

Who of his Nation loves to be the first,
Though at the Rate of being worst.
Who would be rather a great Monster, than
A well-proportion'd Man.
The Son of Earth with hundred Hands
Upon this three-pil'd Mountain stands,
Till Thunder strikes him from the Sky ;
The Son of Earth again in his Earth's Womb
does lie.

III.

What Blood, Confusion, Ruin, to obtain
A short and miserable Reign ?
In what oblique and humble creeping Wife
Does the mischievous Serpent rise ?
But even his forked Tongue strikes dead,
When h'as rear'd up his wicked Head ;
He murders with his mortal Frown,
A Basilisk he grows, if once he get a Crown.

IV.

But no Guards can oppose assaulting Ears,
Or undermining Tears.
No more than Doors, or close-drawn Curtains
keep
The swarming Dreams out when we sleep.
That bloody Conscience too of his
(For, oh, a Rebel Red-Coat 'tis)
Does here his early Hell begin,
He sees his Slaves without, his Tyrant feels
within.

V.

Let, gracious God, let never more thine Hand
Lift up this Rod against our Land.
A Tyrant is a Rod and Serpent too,
And brings worse Plagues than *Egypt* knew.
What Rivers stain'd with Blood have been ?
What Storm and Hail-shot have we seen ?
What Sores deform'd the ulcerous State ?
What Darkness to be felt has buried us of
late ?

VI.

How has it snatch'd our Flocks and Herds away ?
And made even of our Sons a Prey ?
What croaking Sects and Vermin has it sent
The restless Nation to torment ?
What greedy Troops, what armed Power,
Of Flies and Locusts to devour
The Land which every where they fill ?
Nor fly they, Lord, away ; no, they devour
it still.

VII.

Come the eleventh Plague, rather than this
should be ;
Come sink us rather in the Sea.
Come rather Pestilence, and reap us down ;
Come God's Sword rather than our own.
Let rather *Roman* come again,
Or *Saxon*, *Norman*, or the *Dane* ;
In all the Bonds we ever bore,
We griev'd, we sigh'd, we wept ; we never
blush'd before.

VIII.

If by our Sins the Divine Justice be
Call'd to this last Extremity,
Let some denouncing *Jonas* first be sent,
To try if *England* can repent.
Methinks at least some Prodigy,
Some dreadful Comet from on high,
Should terribly forewarn the Earth,
As of good Princes Deaths, so of a Tyrant's
Birth.

Here the Spirit of Verse beginning a little
to fail, I stopped, and his Highness smiling said,
I was glad to see you engaged in the In-
closures of Metre, for, if you had staid in the
open Plain of Declaiming against the Word
Tyrant, I must have had Patience for half a
dozen Hours, till you had tired yourself as
well as me. But pray Countryman, to avoid
this Sciomachy, or imaginary Combate with
Words, let me know first what you mean by
the Name Tyrant ; for I remember that, a-
mong your ancient Authors, not only all Kings,
but even *Jupiter* himself (your *Jovans Pater*)
is so termed, and perhaps as it was used for-
merly in a good Sense, so we shall find it up-
on better Consideration to be still a good
Thing for the Benefit and Peace of Mankind ;
at least it will appear whether your Interpreta-
tion of it may be justly applied to the Person
who is now the Subject of our Discourse. I
call him, said I, a Tyrant, who either in-
trudes himself forcibly into the Government of
his

his fellow Citizens without any legal Authority over them, or who, having a just Title to the Government of a People, abuses it to the Destruction, or Tormenting of them. So that all Tyrants are at the same Time Usurpers, either of the Whole or at least of a Part of that Power which they assume to themselves; and no less are they to be accounted Rebels, since no Man can usurp Authority over others, but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those Laws which were his Superiors: And in all these Senses no History can afford us a more evident Example of Tyranny, or more out of all Possibility of Excuse, or Palliation, than that of the Person whom you are pleased to defend, whether we consider his reiterated Rebellions against all his Superiors, or his Usurpation of the Supreme Power to himself, or his Tyranny in the Exercise of it; and if lawful Princes have been esteemed Tyrants, by not containing themselves within the Bounds of those Laws which have been left them as the Sphere of their Authority by their Forefathers, what shall we say of that Man, who, having by Right no Power at all in this Nation, could not content himself with that which had satisfied the most Ambitious of our Princes; nay, not with those vastly extended Limits of Sovereignty, which he, disdaining all that had been prescribed and observed before, was pleased, but of great Modesty, to set to himself; not abstaining from Rebellion and Usurpation even against his own Laws as well as those of the Nation.

Hold, Friend, said his Highness, pulling me by my Arm (for I see your Zeal is transporting you again) whether the Protector were a Tyrant in the exorbitant Exercise of his Power, we shall see anon; it is requisite to examine, First, Whether he was so in the Usurpation of it. And I say, that not only he, but no Man else ever was, or can be so; and that for these Reasons: First, because all Power belongs only to God, who is the Source and Fountain of it, as Kings are of all Honours in their Dominions. Princes are but his Viceroys in the little Provinces of this World, and to some he gives their Places for a few Years, to some for their Lives, and to others (upon Ends or Deserts best known to himself, or merely for his indisputable good Pleasure) he bestows, as it were, Leases upon them, and their Posterity, for such a Date of Time as is prefixed in that

Patent of their Destiny, which is not legible to you Men below. Neither is it more unlawful for *Oliver* to succeed *Charles* in the Kingdom of *England*, when God so disposes of it, than it had been for him to have succeeded the Lord *Strafford* in the Lieutenantancy of *Ireland*, if he had been appointed to it by the King then reigning. Men are in both the Cases obliged to obey him whom they see actually invested with the Authority by that Sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without disputing or examining the Causes, either of the Removal of the one, or the Preferment of the other. Secondly, Because all Power is attained either by the Election and Consent of the People, and that takes away your Objection of forcible Intrusion; or else by a Conquest of them, and that gives such a legal Authority as you mention to be wanting in the Usurpation of a Tyrant; so that either this Title is right, and then there are no Usurpers, or else it is a wrong one, and then there are none else but Usurpers, if you examine the original Pretences of the Princes of the World. Thirdly (which, quitting the Dispute in general, is a particular Justification of his Highness) The Government of *England* was totally broken and dissolved, and extinguished by the Confusions of a Civil War, so that his Highness could not be accused for to have possessed himself violently of the ancient Building of the Commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the Ruins and Ashes of the former; and he, who, after a deplorable Shipwreck, can, with extraordinary Industry, gather together the dispersed and broken Planks and Pieces of it, and, with no less wonderful Art and Facility, so rejoin them, as to make a new Vessel more tight and beautiful than the old one, deserves, no Doubt, to have the Command of her, even as his Highness had, by the Desire of the Seamen and Passengers themselves. And, do but consider, Lastly, for I omit a Multitude of weighty Things that might be spoken on this noble Argument, Do but consider seriously and impartially with yourself, what admirable Parts of Wit and Prudence, what indefatigable Diligence and invincible Courage must of Necessity have concurred in the Person of that Man, who, from so contemptible Beginnings, as I observed before, and through so many thousand Difficulties, was able, not only to make himself the greatest and most absolute

Monarch

Monarch of this Nation, but to add to it the intire Conquest of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, which the whole Force of the World, joined with the *Roman* Virtue, could never attain to, and to crown all this with illustrious and heroical Undertakings, and Successes upon all our foreign Enemies; do but, I say again, consider this, and you will confess, that his prodigious Merits were a better Title to Imperial Dignity, than the Blood of an hundred royal Progenitors; and will rather lament, that he lived not to overcome more Nations, than envy him the Conquest and Dominion of these. Whoever you are, said I, my Indignation making me somewhat bolder, your Discourse, methinks, becomes as little the Person of a tutelar Angel, as *Cromwell's* Actions did that of a Protector. It is upon these Principles that all the great Crimes of the World have been committed, and most particularly those which I have had the Misfortune to see in my own Time, and in my own Country. If these be to be allowed, we must break up human Society, retire into the Woods, and equally there stand upon our Guards against our Brethren Mankind, and our Rebels the Wild Beasts. For, if there can be no Usurpation upon the Rights of a whole Nation, there can be none, most certainly, upon those of a private Person; and, if the Robbers of Countries be God's Vicegerents, there is no Doubt but the Thieves, and Banditti's, and Murderers are his Under-officers. It is true which you say, that God is the Source and Fountain of all Power; and it is no less true, that he is the Creator of Serpents as well as Angels, nor does his Goodness fail of its Ends, even in the Malice of his own Creatures. What Power he suffers the Devil to exercise in this World, is too apparent by our daily Experience, and by Nothing more than the late monstrous Iniquities which you dispute for, and patronise in *England*; but would you infer from thence, that the Power of the Devil is a just and lawful one, and that all Men ought, as well as most Men do, obey him? God is the Fountain of all Powers; but some flow from the Right-hand, as it were, of his Goodness, and others from the Left-hand of his Justice; and the World, like an Island between these two Rivers, is sometimes refreshed and nourished by the one, and sometimes over-run and ruined by the other; and, to continue a little farther the Allegory, we are never overwhelmed with

the latter, till either by our Malice or Negligence we have stopped and dammed up the former. But to come a little closer to your Argument, or rather the Image of an Argument, your Similitude: If *Cromwell* had come to command *Ireland* in the Place of the late Lord *Strafford*, I should have yielded Obedience, not for the Equipage, and the Strength, and the Guards which he brought with him, but for the Commission which he should first have shewed me from our common Sovereign that sent him; and, if he could have done that from God Almighty, I would have obeyed him too in *England*; but that he was so far from being able to do, that, on the Contrary, I read Nothing but Commands, and even publick Proclamations from God Almighty, not to admit him. Your Second Argument is, that he had the same Right for his Authority, that is the Foundation of all others, even the Right of Conquest. Are we then so unhappy as to be conquered by the Person, whom we hired at a daily Rate, like a Labourer, to conquer others for us? Did we furnish him with Arms, only to draw and try upon our Enemies, as we, it seems, falsely thought them, and keep them for ever sheathed in the Bowels of his Friends? Did we fight for Liberty against our Prince, that we might become Slaves to our Servant? This is such an impudent Pretence, as neither he, nor any of his Flatterers for him, had ever the Face to mention. Though it can hardly be spoken or thought of without Passion, yet I shall, if you please, argue it more calmly than the Case deserves. The Right, certainly, of Conquest can only be exercised upon those, against whom the War is declared, and the Victory obtained. So that no whole Nation can be said to be conquered but by foreign Force. In all Civil Wars, Men are so far from Stating the Quarrel against their Country, that they do it only against a Person, or Party, which they really believe, or at least pretend to be pernicious to it; neither can there be any just Cause for the Destruction of a Part of the Body, but when it is done for the Preservation and Safety of the Whole. It is our Country that raises Men in the Quarrel, our Country that arms, our Country that pays them, our Country that authorises the Undertaking, and by that distinguishes it from Rapine and Murder. Lastly, It is our Country that directs and commands the Army, and is, indeed, their General. So that to say in Civil

Wars, that the prevailing Party conquers their Country, is to say, the Country conquers itself. And, if the General only of that Party be the Conqueror, the Army, by which he is made so, is no less conquered than the Army which is beaten, and have as little Reason to triumph in that Victory, by which they lose both their Honour and Liberty. So that, if *Cromwell* conquered any Party, it was only that against which he was sent, and what that was, must appear by his Commission. It was, says that, against a Company of evil Counsellors, and disaffected Persons, who kept the King from a good Intelligence and Conjunction with his People. It was not then against the People. It is so far from being so, that, even of that Party which was beaten, the Conquest did not belong to *Cromwell*, but to the Parliament which employed him in their Service, or rather indeed to the King and Parliament, for whose Service, if there had been any Faith in Men's Vows and Protestations, the Wars were undertaken. Merciful God! did the Right of this miserable Conquest remain then in his Majesty, and didst thou suffer him to be destroyed with more Barbarity than if he had been conquered even by Savages and Cannibals? Was it for King and Parliament that we fought, and has it fared with them just as with the Army which we fought against, the one Part being slain, and the other fled? It appears therefore plainly, that *Cromwell* was not a Conqueror, but a Thief and Robber of the Rights of the King and Parliament, and an Usurper upon those of the People. I do not here deny Conquest to be sometimes, though it be very rarely, a true Title, but I deny this to be a true Conquest. Sure I am, that the Race of our Princes came not in by such a one. One Nation may conquer another sometimes justly; and, if it be unjustly, yet still it is a true Conquest, and they are to answer for the Injustice only to God Almighty, having nothing else in Authority above them, and not as particular Rebels to their Country, which is, and ought always to be their Superior and their Lord. If perhaps we find Usurpation instead of Conquest in the Original Titles of some Royal Families abroad, as no doubt there have been many Usurpers before ours, though none in so impudent and execrable a Manner, all I can say for them is, that their Title was very weak, till by Length of Time, and the Death of all

juster Pretenders, it became to be the true; because it was the only one. Your third Defence of his Highness, as your Highness pleases to call him, enters in most seasonably after his Pretence of Conquest, for then a Man may say any thing. The Government was broken; Who broke it? It was dissolved; Who dissolved it? It was extinguished; Who was it but *Cromwell*, who not only put out the Light, but cast away even the very Snuff of it? As if a Man should murder a whole Family, and then possess himself of the House, because it is better that he than that only Rats should live there. *Jesus God!* (said I, and at that Word. I perceived my pretended Angel to give a Start and trembled, but I took no Notice of it, and went on) this were a wicked Pretension, even though the whole Family were destroyed; but the Heirs, blessed be God, are yet surviving, and likely to outlive all Heirs of their Dispossession, besides their Infamy. *Rode Capere vitem, &c.* There will be yet Wine enough left for the Sacrifice of those wild Beasts that have made so much Spoil in the Vineyard. But, did *Cromwell* think, like *Nero*, to set the City on Fire, only that he might have the Honour of being Founder of a new and a more beautiful one? He could not have such a Shadow of Virtue in his Wickedness; he meant only to rob more securely and more richly in the Midst of the Combustion; he little thought then that he should ever have been able to make himself Master of the Palace, as well as plunder the Goods of the Commonwealth. He was glad to see the publick Vessel, the Sovereign of the Seas, in as desperate a Condition as his own little Canoe; and thought only, with some scattered Planks of that great Shipwreck, to make a better Fisher-boat for himself. But, when he saw that by the Drowning of the Master, whom he himself treacherously knocked on the Head as he was swimming for his Life, by the Flight and Dispersion of others, and cowardly Patience of the remaining Company, that all was abandoned to his Pleasure, with the old Hulk and new mis-shapen and disagreeing Pieces of his own, he made up with much ado that Piratical Vessel which we have seen him command; and, which how right indeed it was, may best be judged by its perpetual Leaking. *First* then (much more wicked than those foolish Daughters in the Fable, who cut their old Father into Pieces, in

Hope

Hope by Charms and Witchcraft to make him young and lufly again) this Man endeavoured to defroy the Building, before he could imagine in what Manner, with what Materials, by what Workmen, or what Architect it was to be rebuilt. *Secondly*, If he had dreamed himfelf to be able to revive that Body which he had killed, yet it had been but the fupportable Infolence of an ignorant Mountebank; and *Thirdly* (which concerns us neareft) That very new Thing, which he made out of the Ruins of the old, is no more like the Original, either for Beauty, Ufe, or Duration, than an artificial Plant raifed by the Fire of a Chymift is comparable to the true and natural one which he firft burnt, that out of the Afhes of it he might produce an imperfect Similitude of his own Making. Your laft Argument is fuch, when reduced to Syllogifm, that the Major Propofition of it would make ftrange Work in the World, if it were received for Truth; to wit, that he, who has the beft Parts in a Nation, has the Right of being King over it. We had enough to do here of old with the Contention between two Branches of the fame Family, what would become of us when every Man in *England* fhould lay his Claim to the Government? And truly, if *Cromwell* fhould have commenced his Plea, when he feems to have begun his Ambition, there were few Perfons befides that might not at the fame Time have put in theirs too. But his Deferts, I fuppofe, you will date from the fame Term that I do his great Demerits, that is, from the Beginning of our late Calamities; (for, as for his private Faults before, I can only wifh, and that with as much Charity to him as to the Publick, that he had continued in them till his Death, rather than changed them for thofe of his latter Days) and therefore we muft begin the Confideration of his Greatnefs from the unlucky *Era* of our own Miffortunes, which puts me in Mind of what was faid lefs truly of *Pompey the Great*, *Noftro Miferia Magnus es*. But, becaufe the general Ground of your Argumentation confifts in this, that all Men, who are the Effecters of extraordinary Mutations in the World, muft needs have extraordinary Forces of Nature by which they are enabled to turn about, as they please, fo great a Wheel; I fhall fpeak firft a few Words upon this univerfal Propofition, which feems fo reasonable, and is fo popular, before I defcend to the particular Examina-

tion of the Eminencies of that Perfon which is in Queftion.

I have often obferved, with all Submiffion and Refignation of Spirit to the infcrutable Myfteries of Eternal Providence, that, when the Fulnefs and Maturity of Time is come that produces the great Confufions and Changes in the World, it ufually pleafes God to make it appear by the Manner of them, that they are not the Effects of Human Force or Policy, but of the Divine Juftice and Predefination; and, though we fee a Man, like that which we call *Jack* of the Clock-houfe, ftriking, as it were, the Hour of that Fulnefs of Time, yet our Reason muft needs be convinced, that his Hand is moved by fome fecret, and, to us who ftand without, invifible Direction. And the Stream of the Current is then fo violent, that the ftrongeft Men in the World cannot draw up againft it, and none are fo weak, but they may fail down with it. Thefe are the Spring-tides of publick Affairs which we fee often happen, but feek in vain to difcover any certain Caufes,

- ‘ ————— Omnia Fluminis
- ‘ Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
- ‘ Cum pace delabentis Etrufcum
- ‘ In mare, nunc lapides adefos,
- ‘ Stirpesque raptas, & pecus & domos
- ‘ Volventis una, non fine montium
- ‘ Clamore, vicinæque fylvæ;
- ‘ Cum fera Diluvies quietos
- ‘ Irritat amnes, —————

Hor. Carm. iii. 29.

and one Man then, by maliciously opening all the Sluices that he can come at, can never be the fole Author of all this, though he may be as guilty as if really he were, by intending, and imagining to be fo; but it is God that breaks up the Flood-Gates of fo general a Deluge, and all the Art then and Induftry of Mankind is not fufficient to raife up Dikes and Ramparts againft it. In fuch a Time it was as this, that not all the Wifdom and Power of the *Roman* Senate, nor the Wit and Eloquence of *Cicero*, nor the Courage and Virtue of *Brutus*, was able to defend their Country or themfelves againft the unexperienced Raftnefs of a beardless Boy, and the loofe Rage of a voluptuous Madman. The Valour and prudent Counfels on the one Side are made fruitlefs, and the Errors and Cowardice on the other

other harmless, by unexpected Accidents. The one General saves his Life, and gains the whole World, by a very Dream; and the other loses both at once by a little Mistake of the Shortness of his Sight. And though this be not always so, for we see that, in the Translation of the great Monarchies from one to another, it pleased God to make Choice of the most eminent Men in Nature, as *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Scipio*, and his Contemporaries, for his chief Instruments and Actors in so admirable a Work (the End of this being not only to destroy or punish one Nation, which may be done by the worst of Mankind, but to exalt and bless another, which is only to be effected by great and virtuous Persons) yet, when God only intends the temporary Chastisement of a People, he does not raise up his Servant *Cyrus* (as he himself is pleased to call him) or an *Alexander* (who had as many Virtues to do Good, as Vices to do Harm) but he makes the *Massanello's*, and the *John's of Leyden*, the Instruments of his Vengeance, that the Power of the Almighty might be more evident by the Weakness of the Means which he chooses to demonstrate it. He did not assemble the Serpents and the Monsters of *Africa* to correct the Pride of the *Egyptians*, but called for his Armies of Locusts out of *Æthiopia*, and formed new ones of Vermin out of the very Dust; and, because you see a whole Country destroyed by these, will you argue from thence that they must needs have had both the Craft of Foxes, and the Courage of Lions? It is easy to apply this general Observation to the particular Case of our Troubles in *England*, and that they seem only to be meant for a temporary Chastisement of our Sins, and not for a total Abolishment of the old, and Introduction of a new Government, appears probable to me from these Considerations, as far as we may be bold to make a Judgment of the Will of God in future Events: First, because he has suffered nothing to settle or take Root in the Place of that which hath been so unwisely and unjustly removed; that none of these untempered Mortars can hold out against the next Blast of Wind, nor any Stone stick to a Stone, till that which these foolish Builders have refused be made again the Head of the Corner. For, when the indisposed and long tormented Commonwealth has wearied and spent itself almost to nothing, with the chargeable, various, and

dangerous Experiments of several Mountebanks, it is to be supposed it will have the Wit at last to send for a true Physician; especially when it sees (which is the second Consideration) most evidently (as it now begins to do, and will do every Day more and more, and might have done perfectly long since) that no Usurpation, under what Name or Pretext soever, can be kept up without open Force, nor Force without the Continuance of those Oppressions upon the People, which will at last tire out their Patience, though it be great, even to Stupidity. They cannot be so dully, when Poverty and Hunger begin to whet their Understanding, as not to find out this no extraordinary Mystery; that it is Madness in a Nation to pay three Millions a Year for the maintaining of their Servitude under Tyrants, when they might live free for nothing under their Princes. This, I say, will not always lie hid even to the slowest Capacities; and the next Truth they will discover afterwards, is, that a whole People can never have the Will, without having at the same Time the Power to redeem themselves. Thirdly, It does not look, methinks, as if God had forsaken the Family of that Man, from whom he has raised up five Children, of as eminent Virtue, and all other commendable Qualities, as ever lived, perhaps, for so many together, and so young, in any other Family in the whole World. Especially if we add hereto this Consideration, that by protecting and preserving some of them already through as great Dangers as ever were passed with Safety, either by Prince or private Person, he has given them already, as we may reasonably hope it to be meant, a Promise and Earnest of his future Favours. And, lastly, (to return closely to the Discourse from which I have a little digressed) because I see nothing of those excellent Parts of Nature, and Mixture, of Merit with their Vices in the late Disturbers of our Peace and Happiness, that uses to be found in the Persons of those who are born for the Erection of new Empires. And, I confess, I find nothing of that Kind, no not any Shadow (taking away the false Light of some Prosperity) in the Man whom you extol for the first Example of it. And certainly, all Virtues being rightly divided into Moral and Intellectual, I know not how we can better judge of the former than by Men's Actions, or of the latter than by their Writings or Speeches. As for these latter (which are least

in Merit, or rather which are only the Instruments of Mischief, where the other are wanting) I think you can hardly pick out the Name of a Man who ever was called Great, besides him we are now speaking of, who never left the Memory behind him of one wise or witty Apophthegm, even amongst his Domestick Servants or greatest Flatterers. That little in Print, which remains upon a sad Record for him, is such, as a Satire against him would not have made him say, for Fear of transgressing too much the Rules of Probability. I know not what you can produce for the Justification of his Parts in this Kind, but his having been able to deceive so many particular Persons, and so many whole Parties; which, if you please to take Notice of for the Advantage of his Intellectuals, I desire you to allow me the Liberty to do so too, when I am to speak of his Morals. The Truth of the Thing is this, That if Craft be Wisdom, and Dissimulation Wit, assisted both and improved with Hypocrisies and Perjuries, I must not deny him to have been singular in both; but so gross was the Manner in which he made Use of them, that, as wise Men ought not to have believed him at first, so no Man was Fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any Man seem to do it, but those who thought he gained as much by that Dissembling, as he did by his. His very Actions of Godliness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a Player, by putting on a Gown, should think he represented excellently a Woman, tho' his Beard, at the same Time, were seen by all the Spectators. If you ask me, Why they did not hiss and explode him off of the Stage? I can only answer, That they durst not do so, because the Actors and the Door-keepers were too strong for the Company. I must confess, that by these Arts, how grossly soever managed, as by hypocritical Praying, and silly Preaching, by unmanly Tears and Whinings, by Falshoods and Perjuries, even diabolical, he had, at first, the good Fortune, as Men call it, that is, the ill Fortune, to attain his Ends; but it was, because his Ends were so unreasonable, that no human Reason could foresee them; which made them who had to do with him believe, that he was rather a well meaning and deluded Bigot, than a crafty and malicious Impostor; that these Arts were helped by an indefatigable Industry, as you term it, I am so far from doubting, that I intended to object that Diligence as the worst of

his Crimes. It makes me almost mad, when I hear a Man commended for his Diligence in Wickedness. If I were his Son, I should wish to God he had been a more lazy Person, and that we might have found him sleeping at the Hours when other Men are ordinarily waking, rather than waking for those Ends of his when other Men were ordinarily asleep; how diligent the Wicked are the Scripture often tells us: *Their Feet run to Evil, and they make Haste to shed innocent Blood, Isa. lix. 7. He deviseth Mischief upon his Bed, Psal. xxxiv. 4. They search out Iniquity, they accomplish a diligent Search, Psal. lxiv. 6.* and in a Multitude of other Places. And would it not seem ridiculous to praise a Wolf for his Watchfulness, and for his indefatigable Industry, in ranging all Night about the Country, whilst the Sheep, and perhaps the Shepherd, and perhaps the very Dogs too, are all asleep?

The *Chartreux* wants the Warning of a Bell To call him to the Duties of his Cell;
There needs no Noise at all to awaken Sin,
Th' Adulterer and the Thief his Larum has within.

And, if the Diligence of wicked Persons be so much to be blamed, as that it is only an Emphasis and Exaggeration of their Wickedness, I see not how their Courage can avoid the same Censure. If the Undertaking bold, and vast, and unreasonable Designs can deserve that honourable Name, I am sure *Faux*, and his Fellow Gunpowder Fiends, will have Cause to pretend, though not an equal, yet at least the next Place of Honour; neither can I doubt, but, if they too had succeeded, they would have found their Applauders and Admirers. It was bold unquestionably for a Man, in Defiance of all human and divine Laws, and with so little Probability of a long Impunity, so publicly and so outrageously to murder his Master: It was bold, with so much Insolence and Affront, to expel and disperse all the chief Partners of his Guilt, and Creators of his Power: It was bold to violate so openly and so scornfully all Acts and Constitutions of a Nation; and afterwards even of his own Making; it was bold to assume the Authority of Calling; and bolder yet of Breaking so many Parliaments; it was bold to trample upon the Patience of his own, and provoke that of all neighbouring Countries.

tries; it was bold, I say, above all Boldnesses, to usurp this Tyranny to himself, and impudent above all Impudences, to endeavour to transmit it to his Posterity. But all this Boldness is so far from being a Sign of manly Courage (which dares not transgress the Rules of any other Virtue) that it is only a Demonstration of brutish Madnes, or diabolical Possession. In both which last Cases there use frequent Examples to appear of such extraordinary Force, as may justly seem more wonderful and astonishing than the Actions of *Cromwell*; neither is it stranger to believe that a whole Nation should not be able to govern him and a mad Army, than that five or six Men should not be strong enough to bind a distracted Girl. There is no Man ever succeeds in one Wickedness, but it gives him the Boldness to attempt a greater. It was boldly done of *Nero* to kill his Mother, and all the chief Nobility of the Empire; it was boldly done to set the Metropolis of the whole World on Fire, and undauntedly play upon his Harp, whilst he saw it burning. I could reckon up five-hundred Boldnesses of that great Person, for why should not he too be called so? Who wanted, when he was to die, that Courage which could hardly have failed any Woman in the like Necessity. It would look, I must confess, like Envy or too much Partiality, if I should say that personal Kind of Courage had been deficient in the Man we speak of; I am confident it was not; and yet I may venture, I think, to affirm, that no Man ever bore the Honour of so many Victories, at the Rate of fewer Wounds or Dangers of his own Body; and, though his Valour might perhaps have given him a just Pretension to one of the first Charges in an Army, it could not certainly be a sufficient Ground for a Title to the Command of three Nations. What then shall we say, That he did all this by Witchcraft? He did so indeed in a great Measure, by a Sin that is called like it in the Scriptures. But truly and unpassionately reflecting upon the Advantages of his Person, which might be thought to have produced those of his Fortune, I can espy no other but extraordinary Diligence and infinite Diffimulation; and believe he was exalted above his Nation, partly by his own Faults, but chiefly for ours. We have brought him thus briefly, not through all his Labyrinths, to the supreme usurped Authority; and because, you say, it was great Pity he did not live to com-

mand more Kingdoms, be pleased to let me represent to you in a few Words, how well I conceive he governed these. And we will divide the Consideration into that of his foreign and domestick Actions. The first of his foreign was a Peace with our Brethren of *Holland*, who were the first of our Neighbours that God chastised for having had so great a Hand in the Encouraging and Abetting our Troubles at Home: Who would not imagine, at first Glympe, that this had been the most virtuous and laudable Deed that his whole Life could make any Parade of? But no Man can look upon all the Circumstances without perceiving, that it was the Sale and Sacrificing of the greatest Advantages that this Country could ever hope, and was ready to reap, from a foreign War, to the private Interests of his Covetousness and Ambition, and the Security of his new and unsettled Usurpation. No sooner is that Danger past, but this *Beatus Pacificus* is kindling a Fire in the Northern World, and carrying a War two-thousand Miles off Westward. Two Millions a Year, besides all the Vales of his Protectorship, is as little capable to suffice now either his Avarice or Prodigality, as the two-hundred Pounds were that he was born to. He must have his Prey of the whole *Indies*, both by Sea and Land, this great Alligator. To satisfy our *Anti-Solomon*, who has made Silver almost as rare as Gold, and Gold as precious Stones in his *New Jerusalem*, we must go, ten-thousand of his Slaves, to fetch him Riches from his fantastical *Ophir*. And, because his Flatterers brag of him as the most fortunate Prince, the *Fausstus* as well as *Sylla* of our Nation, whom God never forsook in any of his Undertakings, I desire them to consider, how, since the *English* Name was ever heard of, it never received so great and so infamous a Blow, as under the imprudent Conduct of this unlucky *Fausstus*: And herein let me admire the Justice of God in this Circumstance, that they who had enslaved their Country, though a great Army, which, I wish, may be observed by ours with Trembling, should be so shamefully defeated by the Hands of forty Slaves. It was very ridiculous to see, how prettily they endeavoured to hide this Ignominy under the great Name of the Conquest of *Jamaica*, as if a defeated Army should have the Impudence to brag afterwards of the Victory, because, though they had fled out of the Field of Battle,

yet they quartered that Night in a Village of the Enemies. The War with *Spain* was a necessary Consequence of this Folly, and how much we have gotten by it, let the Custom-house and Exchange inform you; and if he please to boast of the Taking a Part of the Silver Fleet (which indeed no Body else but he, who was the sole Gainer, has Cause to do) at least let him give Leave to the rest of the Nation, which is the only Loser, to complain of the Loss of twelve-hundred Ships. But because it may here perhaps be answered, that his Successes nearer Home have extinguished the Disgrace of so remote Miscarriages, and that *Dunkirk* ought more to be remembered for his Glory, than *St. Domingo* for his Disadvantage; I must confess, as to the Honour of the *English* Courage, that they were not wanting upon that Occasion, excepting only the Fault of serving at least indirectly against their Master, to the Upholding of the Renown of their war-like Ancestors. But for his particular Share of it, who sat still at Home, and exposed them so frankly Abroad, I can only say, that, for less Money than he in the short Time of his Reign exacted from his fellow Subjects, some of our former Princes (with the daily Hazard of their own Persons) have added to the Dominion of *England* not only one Town, but even a greater Kingdom than itself. And, this being all considerable as concerning his Enterprises Abroad, let us examine in the next Place, how much we owe him for Justice and good Government at Home. And first he found the Commonwealth, as they then called it in a ready Stock of about eight-hundred thousand Pounds; he left the Commonwealth, as he had the impudent Raillery still to call it, some Two-millions and an half in Debt. He found our Trade very much decayed indeed, in Comparison of the Golden Times of our late Princes; he left it as much again more decayed than he found it; and yet not only no Prince in *England*, but no Tyrant in the World ever sought out more base or infamous Means to raise Money. I shall only instance in one that he put in Practice, and another that he attempted, but was frightened from the Execution, even he, by the Infamy of it. That which he put in Practice was Decimation; which was the most impudent Breach of all publick Faith that the whole Nation had given, and all private Capitulations which himself had made, as the Nation's General and Servant, that can be found

out, I believe, in all History from any of the most barbarous Generals of the most barbarous People. Which because it has been most excellently and most largely laid open by a whole Book written upon that Subject, I shall only desire you here to remember the Thing in general, and to be pleased to look upon that Author, when you would recollect all the Particulars and Circumstances of the Iniquity. The other Design of raising a present Sum of Money, which he violently pursued, but durst not put in Execution, was by the Calling in and Establishment of the *Jews* at *London*; from which he was rebutted by the universal Outcry of the Divines, and even of the Citizens too, who took it ill that a considerable Number at least amongst themselves were not thought *Jews* enough by their own *Herod*. And for this Design, they say, he invented (Oh Antichrist! *ωριμος* and *δωροδοκός*!) to sell *St. Paul's* to them for a Synagogue, if their Purses and Devotions could have reached to the Purchase. And this indeed if he had done only to reward that Nation which had given the first noble Example of crucifying their King, it might have had some Appearance of Gratitude, but he did it only for Love of their Mammon; and would have sold afterwards for as much more *St. Peter's* (even at his own *Westminster*) to the *Turks* for a *Mosquetto*. Such was his extraordinary Piety to God, that he desired he might be worshiped in all Manners, excepting only that heathenish Way of the Common-Prayer Book. But what do I speak of his wicked Inventions for Getting of Money? When every Penny, that for almost five Years he took every Day from every Man living in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was as much Robbery as if it had been taken by a Thief upon the Highways. Was it not so? Or, can any Man think that *Cromwell* with the Assistance of his Forces and Moss Troopers, had more Right to the Command of all Men's Purse, than he might have had to any one's whom he had met and been too strong for upon a Road? And yet when this came, in the Case of *Mr. Coney*, to be disputed by a legal Trial, he, which was the highest Act of Tyranny that ever was seen in *England*, not only discouraged and threatened, but violently imprisoned the Council of the Plaintiff; that is, he shut up the Law itself close Prisoner, that no Man might have Relief from, or Access to it. And it ought to be remembered, that this

was done by those Men, who a few Years before had so bitterly decried, and openly opposed the King's regular and formal Way of Proceeding in the Trial of a little Ship Money. But, though we lost the Benefit of our old Courts of Justice, it cannot be denied that he set up new ones; and such they were, that, as no virtuous Prince before would, so no ill one durst erect. What, have we lived so many hundred Years under such a Form of Justice as has been able regularly to punish all Men that offended against it? and is it so deficient just now, that we must seek out new Ways how to proceed against Offenders? The Reason, which can only be given in Nature for a Necessity of this, is, because those Things are now made Crimes, which were never esteemed so in former Ages; and there must needs be a new Court set up to punish that, which all the old ones were bound to protect and reward. But I am so far from Declaiming, as you call it, against these Wickednesses (which if I should undertake to do, I should never get to the Peroration) that you see I only give a Hint of some few, and pass over the rest as Things that are too many to be numbered, and must only be weighed in gross. Let any Man shew me, for, though I pretend not to much Reading, I will defy him in all History; let any Man shew me, I say, an Example of any Nation in the World, though much greater than ours, where there have in the Space of four Years been made so many Prisoners only out of the endless Jealousies of one Tyrant's guilty Imagination. I grant you that *Marius* and *Sylla*, and the accursed Triumvirate after them, put more People to Death; but the Reason I think partly was, because, in those Times that had a Mixture of some Honour with their Madness, they thought it a more civil Revenge against a *Roman* to take away his Life, than to take away his Liberty. But truly, in the Point of Murder too, we have little Reason to think that our late Tyranny has been deficient to the Examples that have ever been set it in other Countries. Our Judges and our Courts of Justice have not been idle; and to omit the whole Reign of our late King, till the Beginning of the War, in which no Drop of Blood was ever drawn but from two or three Ears, I think the longest Time of our worst Princes scarce saw many more Executions than the short one of our blessed Reformer. And we saw, and smelt in our open

Streets, as I marked to you at first, the Broiling of human Bowels as a Burnt-offering of a sweet Savour to our Idol; but all Murdering, and all Torturing, though after the subtlest Invention of his Predecessors of *Sicily*, is more human and more supportable, than his Selling of *Christians*, *Englishmen*, *Gentlemen*; his Selling of them, oh monstrous! oh incredible! to be Slaves in *America*. If his whole Life could be reproached with no other Action, yet this alone would weigh down all the Multiplicity of Crimes in any of our Tyrants; and I dare only touch, without stopping or insisting upon so insolent and so execrable a Cruelty, for Fear of falling into so violent, though a just Passion, as would make me exceed that Temper and Moderation which I resolve to observe in this Discourse with you. These are great Calamities; but even these are not the most insupportable that we have endured; for so it is, that the Scorn and Mockery, and Insultings of an Enemy, are more painful than the deepest Wounds of his serious Fury. This Man was wanton and merry, unwittily and ungracefully merry, with our Sufferings; he loved to say and do senseless and fantastical Things, only to shew his Power of doing or saying any Thing. It would ill bestime, or any civil Mouth, to repeat those Words which he spoke concerning the most Sacred of our *English* Laws, the Petition of Right, and *Magna Charta*. To-day you should see him ranting so wildly, that no Body durst come near him; the Morrow flinging of Cushions, and playing at Snow-balls, with his Servants. This Month he assembles a Parliament, and professes himself with humble Tears to be only their Servant and their Minister; the next Month he swears by the Living God, that he will turn them out of Doors, and he does so, in his Princely Way of threatening, bidding them turn the Buckles of their Girdles behind them. The Representative of a Whole, nay of three whole Nations, was in his Esteem so contemptible a Meeting, that he thought the Affronting and Expelling of them to be a Thing of so little Consequence, as not to deserve that he should advise with any mortal Man about it. What shall we call this? Boldness, or Brutishness; Rashness, or Phrensy; there is no Name can come up to it, and therefore we must leave it without one. Now a Parliament must be chosen in the new Manner, next Time in the old Form, but all cashiered still after the newest Mode.

Mode. Now he will govern by Major-Generals, now by one House, now by another House, now by no House; now the Freak takes him, and he makes seventy Peers of the Land at one Clap (*Extempore, and stans pede in uno*) and, to manifest the absolute Power of the Potter, he chose not only the worst Clay he could find, but picks up even the Dirt and Mire, to form out of it his Vessels of Honour. It was said anciently of Fortune, that, when she had a Mind to be merry and to divert herself, she was wont to raise up such Kind of People to the highest Dignities. This Son of Fortune, *Cromwell*, who was himself one of the Primest of her Jest, found out the true Hautgoust of this Pleasure, and rejoiced in the Extravagance of his Ways as the fullest Demonstration of his uncontrollable Sovereignty. Good God! what have we seen? And what have we suffered? What do all these Actions signify, what do they say aloud to the whole Nation, but this, even as plainly as if it were proclaimed by Heralds through the Streets of *London*, You are Slaves and Fools, and so I will use you? These are briefly a Part of those Merits which you lament to have wanted the Reward of more Kingdoms, and suppose that, if he had lived longer, he might have had them; which I am so far from concurring to, that I believe his seasonable Dying to have been a greater good Fortune to him than all the Victories and Prosperities of his Life. For he seemed evidently, methinks, to be near the End of his deceitful Glories; his own Army grew at least as weary of him as the rest of the People; and I never passed of late before his Palace? His, do I call it (I ask God and the King Pardon) but I never passed of late before *Whitehall* without reading upon the Gate of it, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*. But it pleased God to take him from the ordinary Courts of Men, and Juries of his Peers, to his own High Court of Justice, which being more merciful than ours below, there is a little Room yet left for the Hope of his Friends, if he have any; though the outward Unrepentance of his Death afford but small Materials for the Work of Charity, especially if he designed even then to entail his own Injustice upon his Children, and by it inextricable Confusions and Civil Wars upon the Nation. But here's at last an End of him; and where's now the Fruit of all that Blood and Calamity which his Ambition has cost the

World? Where is it? Why, his Son (you'll say) has the whole Crop; I doubt he will find it quickly blasted. I have nothing to say against the Gentleman, or any living of his Family; on the contrary I wish him better Fortune than to have a long and unquiet Possession of his Master's Inheritance. Whatsoever I have spoken against his Father, is that which I should have thought, though Decency perhaps might have hindered me from saying it, even against mine own, if I had been so unhappy, as that mine by the same Ways should have left me three Kingdoms.

Here I stopped, and my pretended Protector, who, I expected, should have been very angry, fell a Laughing; it seems at the Simplicity of my Discourse, for thus he replied: You seem to pretend extremely to the old obsolete Rules of Virtue and Conscience, which makes me doubt very much whether from this vast Prospect of three Kingdoms you can shew me any Acres of your own. But these are so far from making you a Prince, that I am afraid your Friends will never have the Contentment to see you so much as a Justice of Peace in your own Country. For this I perceive, which you call Virtue, is nothing else but either the Frowardness of a *Cynick*, or the Laziness of an *Epicurean*. I am glad you allow me at least artful Diffimulation, and unwearied Diligence in my Hero; and I assure you that he, whose Life is constantly drawn by those two, shall never be misled out of the Way of Greatness. But I see you are a Pedant, and Platonical Statesman, a Theoretical Commonwealth's-Man, an Utopial Dreamer. Was ever Riches gotten by your Golden Medicinities, or the supreme Place attained to by Virtues that must not stir out of the Middle? Do you study *Aristotle's* Politicks, and write, if you please, Comments upon them, and let another but practise *Machiavel*, and let us see, then which of you two will come to the greatest Preferments. If the Desire of Rule and Superiority be a Virtue, as sure I am it is more imprinted in human Nature than any of your lethargical Morals; and what is the Virtue of any Creature but the Exercise of those Powers and Inclinations which God has infused into it? If that, I say, be Virtue, we ought not to esteem any thing Vice, which is the most proper, if not the only Means of attaining of it.

It is a Truth so certain, and so clear,
That to the first-born Man it did appear;
Did not the mighty Heir, the noble *Cain*,
By the fresh Laws of Nature taught, disdain
That (though a Brother) any one should be
A greater Favourite to God than he?

He struck him down; and, so (said he) so
fell

The Sheep which thou did'st sacrifice so well,
Since all the fullest Sheaves which I could
bring,

Since all were blasted in the Offering,
Lest God should my next Victim too despise,
The acceptable Priest I'll sacrifice.

Hence Coward Fears; for the first Blood so
spilt,

As a Reward, he the first City built.
'Twas a Beginning generous and high,
Fit for a Grand-Child of the Deity.

So well advanc'd, 'twas Pity there he staid;
One Step of Glory more he should have made,
And to the utmost Bounds of Greatness gone;
Had *Adam* too been kill'd, he might have
reign'd alone.

One Brother's Death what do I mean to name?
A small Oblation to Revenge and Fame.

The mighty-soul'd *Abimelech*, to shew
What, for high Place, a higher Spirit can do, }
An Hecatomb almost of Brethren slew;

And seventy Times in nearest Blood he dy'd,
To make it hold, his Royal Purple Pride.

Why do I name the lordly Creature, Man?
The weak, the mild, the Coward, Woman,
can,

When to a Crown she cuts her sacred Way,
All, that oppose, with manlike Courage slay:

So *Athaliah*, when she saw her Son,
And, with his Life, her dearer Greatness gone,

With a majestick Fury slaughter'd all,
Whom high Birth might to high Pretences
call;

Since he was dead, who all her Power sustain'd,
Resolv'd to reign alone; resolv'd, and reign'd.

In vain her Sex, in vain the Laws withstood,
In vain the sacred Plea of *David's* Blood;

A noble and a bold Contention! she,
One Woman, undertook with Destiny;

She to pluck down, Destiny to uphold
(Oblig'd by holy Oracles of old)

The great *Jessean* Race on *Judah's* Throne, }
Till 'twas at last an equal Wager grown;

Scarce Fate, with much ado, the better got }
by One.

Tell me not she herself at last was slain;
Did she not first seven Years, a Life-time,
reign?

Seven Royal Years, t' a publick Spirit, will
seem

More than the private Life of a *Methusalem*.
'Tis Godlike to be Great; and as, they say,

A thousand Years, to God, are but a Day;
So, to a Man, when once a Crown he wears,
The Coronation-Day's more than a thousand
Years.

He would have gone on, I perceived, in his
Blasphemies, but that, by God's Grace, I
became so bold as thus to interrupt him: I
understand now perfectly, which I guessed at
long before, what Kind of Angel and Pro-
tector you are; and, though your Stile in
Verse be very much mended, since you were
wont to deliver Oracles, yet your Doc-
trine is much worse, than ever you had for-
merly (that I heard of) the Face to publish;
whether your long Practice with Mankind has
increased and improved your Malice, or whe-
ther you think us in this Age to be grown so
impudently wicked, that there needs no more
Art or Disguises to draw us to your Party.
My Dominion, said he hastily, and with a
dreadful furious Look, is so great in this
World, and I am so powerful a Monarch of it,
that I need not be ashamed that you should
know me; and, that you may see I know you
too, I know you to be an obstinate and in-
veterate Malignant, and for that Reason I shall
take you along with me to the next Garison of
ours; from whence you shall go to the *Tower*,
and from thence to the Court of Justice, and
from thence you know whither. I was almost
in the very Pounces of the great Bird of Prey.

When, lo! e're the last Words were fully
spoke,

From a fair Cloud, which rather ope'd, than
broke,

A Flash of Light, rather than Lightning, came;

So swift, and yet so gentle was the Flame
Upon it rode, and, in his full Career,

Seem'd, to my Eyes, no sooner there than here,
The comeliest Youth of all th' Angelick Race;

Lovely his Shape, ineffable his Face;
The Frowns, with which he struck the trem-
bling Fiend,

All Smiles of human Beauty did transcend.

His

His Beams of Locks fell, Part dishevell'd
down,
Part upwards curl'd, and form'd a nat'ral
Crown,

Such as the *British* Monarchs us'd to wear;
If Gold might be compar'd with Angels Hair;
His Coat and flowing Mantle were so bright,
They seem'd both made of woven silver
Light;

A-crofs his Breast an azure Ruban went,
At which a Medal hung, that did present,
In wond'rous, living Figures, to the Sight
The mystick Champion's, and old Dragon's
Fight;

And, from his Mantle's Side, there shone
afar

A fix'd and, I believe, a real Star.
In his fair Hand (What Need was there of
more?)

No Arms, but th' *English* bloody Crofs he
bore;

Which when he tow'rd's th' affrighted Tyrant
bent,

And some few Words pronounc'd (but what
they meant,

Or were, could not, alas! by me be known;
Only, I well perceiv'd, *Jesus* was one)
He trembled, and he roar'd, and fled away,
Mad to quit thus his more than hop'd-for
Prey.

Such Rage inflames the Wolf's wild Heart
and Eyes

(Robb'd, as he thinks, unjustly of his Prize)
Whom unawares the Shepherd spies, and draws
The bleating Lamb from out his ravenous
Jaws;

The Shepherd fain himself would he assail,
But Fear above his Hunger does prevail;
He knows his Foe too strong, and must be
gone;

He grins as he looks back, and howls as he
goes on.

The Marquis of *Huntley's* Reply to certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, Covenanters of *Scotland*: Sent from their Associates, to signify unto him, that it behoved him either to assist their Designs, or to be carried to Prison in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the 20th of *April*, 1639. Now published, because of a false Copy thereof lately Printed without Authority, or his own Consent. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

TO be your Prisoner is by much the less displeasing to me, that my Accusation is for nothing else but Loyalty; and that I have been brought into this Estate by such unfair Means, as can never be made to appear honourable in those who used them.

Whereas you offer Liberty, upon Condition of my Entering into your Covenant, I am not so bad a Merchant, as to buy it with the Loss of my Conscience, Fidelity, and Honour; which, in so doing, I should make Account to be wholly perished.

I have already given my Faith to my Prince, upon whose Head this Crown, by all Law of

Nature and Nations is justly fallen, and will not falsify that Faith by joining with any in a Pretence of Religion; which my own Judgment cannot excuse from Rebellion; for it is well known, that, in the Primitive Church, no Arms were held lawful, being list'd by Subjects against their lawful Prince, though the whole Frame of *Christianity* was then in Question.

Whereas you would encourage me to be a Partaker with you by your Hopes of Supply from *France* and other foreign Nations, together with your so-good Intelligence in *England*, as that no Danger will come from thence, let me tell you, That, in my Opinion,

nion, the Reasons are but vain, the *French* being now more strictly tied, than before, to uphold the Authority of our sacred Sovereign, by a new-cemented League of Marriage, whereby their Interest in his Majesty's Progeny will over-balance you, though your Cause were better. Other Foreigners are merely unable by their own Distractions, and

the *English* have been ever strong enough for us, when only their own King, and not our's did lead them.

For my own Part, I am in your Power, and resolved not to leave that foul Title of *Traitor* as an Inheritance upon my Posterity; you may take my Head from my Shoulders, but not my Heart from my Sovereign.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Speech * and Repentance, at the Time of his Death, who was executed upon *Tower-hill*, on the 20th Day of *November*, 1615, for the Murder of *Sir Thomas Overbury*.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

London, printed by *G. Eld* for *Na. Butter*, and are to be sold at his Shop near *St. Austin's Gate*. *Quarto*, containing thirty-six Pages.

To the Reader.

TO satisfy the World, which, in a Cause of this Nature, is commonly distracted into various Opinions, adding or detracting from the Truth, according to the humorous Disposition with which it meets; and to do Right to the dead Gentleman, who (albeit his Offence was foul to GOD and Man, and hateful to himself) deserved both Love and Pity, for the Christian End be made, have I, Reader, for thy Sake, collected the Substance of that Speech, delivered by him before his Execution, though I may fail in Circumstance perhaps in his Order. Many false Copies of it pass from Hand to Hand, and many untrue Rumours of him: This, if thou art not too much given over to Misbelief, will stay both, as being with much Labour gotten together, and confirmed by Approbation of such Judgments as were then present, and nearest and best understood him. Though I confess it falls short of that Grace and Life wherewith be delivered it, who, I must needs say, did it more exactly, even beyond ordinary Report: And so praying unto Almighty GOD, that thou mayest make that good Use of this Discourse, as he meant thee that made it, and as I do that relate it, I commit thee to GOD.

I See many Faces in this Place, which I know right well, both Lords and Gentlemen, whom I have honoured, and do still love, with many others of several Dispositions. All you being thus assembled to see me finish my Days, the Number of which I summed up, for the very Minutes of my Life may now be reckoned. Your Expectation is to have me say something, to give

Satisfaction to the World, and I will do it so far as I can, albeit, in that Speech of mine, I shall, as it was spoken unto me the last Night, but chatter like a Crow. But, whatsoever I deliver, I beseech you to take from a wounded Bosom, for my Purpose is to rip up my very Heart, and to leave Nothing there, which may prove any Clog to my Conscience.

* This is the 21st Number of the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian Library*.

Hither am I come to perform a Work, which, of all others, is to Man the most easy, and yet to Flesh and Blood is the hardest, and that is, to die. To hide, therefore, any Thing for any worldly Respect, were to leave a Blot upon my own Soul, which I trust shall be presented, through the Mercies of my Maker, and Merits of my Saviour, acceptable before God's high Tribunal.

And, First, I will labour to satisfy some, who, before my Apprehension, were well conceited of me, but since my Arraignment, as I understand, carried of me but hard Opinions; for that, at the Bar, I stood stiffly upon the Justice of my Innocence; and this they impute as a great Fault, seeing afterwards that I was found Guilty of the Crime: To which I answer, That I did it ignorantly: Nay, I was so far from thinking myself foul in the Fact, that until these two Gentlemen, Doctor *Felton* and Doctor *Whiting*, the Physicians for my Soul, told me how deeply I had imbrewed my Hands in the Blood of that Gentleman, making me, by God's Law, as guilty in the Concealing, as if I had been a personal Actor in it: Till then, I say, I held myself so ignorant of the Deed, and my Conscience so clear, that I did never ask God Forgiveness, nor once repent me of the Fact, such was my Blindness. So that it was not only an Error, or rather a horrible Sin, in me to consent, but a worse, to deny it, so bloody, so treacherous, so foul, so filthy a Fact as that was; for which, I must confess the King, and the State, have dealt honourably, roundly, and justly, with me, in condemning me unto this Death. And thus I have laboured, and done my best, to clear this Point, being willing, by all good Means, to reduce your first Opinions of me; that, as formerly you conceived well of me, so you would now, with a charitable Affection, perform the last Duty of your Christian Loves towards me, praying to God, both with me, that this Cup, whereof I am to drink, may not be grievous unto me, but that and for me, to the Intent, that it may be a joyful Conveyance to a better and more blessed Comfort.

Some, perhaps, will think it to be a Rigour of the State, or Aggravation of my Judgment, that I should die in this Place; but this do I take as an Honour unto me, and herein do I acknowledge myself to stand much bound to the State, in that I have this Favour vouchsafed me, to suffer Death in Sight of my Charge,

even where I had sinned, on the *Tower-bill*, rather than in the Place of common Execution, where every base Malefactor dieth.

Many do I see here whom I know well, and of whom I am likewise well known: And now am I a Spectacle for them to be looked on, whom, in former Times, and in all Men's Accounts, they held never likely to come to such an End. But herein behold the Justice of God, who is so opposed against Sin, because, that, if we forget to seek him whilst he may, he will find us out when we would not be found of him.

It is expected I should say something of the Fact which I have committed: And hither am I come, resolved to clear my Conscience, before I depart this World, of all Matters which I either know, or can now remember. And so much I have already delivered in Writing to my Lord Chief Justice; and, to prove that which I wrote is true, I Yesterday confirmed it with the Receiving of the blessed Sacrament, wishing unto you all as much Comfort by those holy Mysteries, as I took by them. And I do here, though not with such a Blood, yet with my own Blood, seal that which I have written. For myself, I will hide Nothing to make my Fault seem less, but will rip open this very Heart of mine, and confess before God mine own Uncleanness.

I have sinned exceedingly against thee, O my Maker, and in this am I most faulty, that I did not reveal it to the King, so soon as I myself had Knowledge of the Business. But, alas! Fear to lose these worldly Pleasures, and the Love to Promotion, made me forget my Duty to my Sovereign, and not to regard my God, who is a swift Avenger of Blood; and, would to Heaven I had trusted to his Providence, and set the Things of this World at Nought, for Heaven's Sake, and a good Conscience. You see, Gentlemen, Promotion cannot rescue us from the Justice of God, which always pursues after Sin; and therefore I exhort you not to trust in Men, how great soever, for they cannot hide themselves, when God is angry; neither can they protect you from Shame, when God will consume you: He that sitteth in Heaven will deride and scorn their foolish Inventions. As for me, I will not spare to lay open my own Shame: Think you I care for the Reputation of this World? No, I weigh it not. Thus my Soul shall receive more Comfort from God in my upright Dealing.

My Sin, in this foul Fact, was great, for upon me lay all the Blood, shed, and to be shed : I have made many Children Fatherless, many Wives Husbandless, many Parents Childless, and I myself leave a comfortless Wife, and eight Children behind me for it too ; for, if I had revealed it when I might, I had freed much Blood from being spilled, inasmuch as I could with, God's Justice and Charity reserved, I might hang in Chains, till I rot away by Piecemeal ; nor cared I what Tortures my Body were put unto, so I might expiate, or free the Blood of so many, some in one Place, and some in another, which is both like to be shed, and is already shed, and the Lord knows when it will have an End.

Concerning myself, I will aggravate the Crime, by speaking of every Circumstance I can remember. And now it comes into my Mind, what Trust that Gentleman put into me : He reputed me to be most faithful unto him, O the Vileness of my Heart ! I proved unfaithful, and was his deadly deceitful Friend.

And here, Gentlemen, I exhort you all, that you would take Notice of this, ever to be faithful to those who put you in Trust.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* trusted me, and I was unfaithful and treacherous to him, in drawing Tickets for him to his Disadvantage. I promised him Secrecy, yet betrayed him, only to satisfy Greatness : But God, who sees the secret Thoughts of Man's Heart, will disclose all unjust Actions at last : Nay, I am persuaded that whosoever they be that commit Sin in their Childhood, at one Time or other it will be revealed.

In this Place it cometh to my Mind, that in my younger Days, as well beyond the Seas as here, I was much addicted to that idle Vein of Gaming, I was bewitched with it indeed : And I played not for little or for small Sums neither, but for great ones, yet ever haunted with ill Luck : And, upon a Time, being much displeased at my Loss, I said, not in a careless Manner, Would I might be hanged ; but seriously, and advisedly, between God and myself, clapping my Hands upon my Breast, I spake thus, If ever I play again, then let me be hanged. Now, Gentlemen, here you may behold the Justice of God, paying me my Wish and Imprecation Home. Be careful, therefore, I exhort you, that you vow Nothing but that unto which you will give all Diligence to perform ; for the powerful God, before

whom you make such Vows, will otherwise be avenged.

In this Place, Doctor Whiting putting him in Mind to satisfy the World, touching his Religion, thus he went on :

The Matter you speak to me of, saith he, is well thought upon ; for I hear that Abroad have been some Murmuring and Questions made about me for my Religion ; some giving out, that I was infected with Anabaptism ; a fond, ridiculous, foolish, and phantastical Opinion, which I never affected, but rather despised.

Many may think, that the Manner of my Death doth much discourage me, that I should die in a Halter : I would have you all to think, that I scorn all such worldly Thoughts : I care not for it, I value not any earthly Shame at all, so as I may have Honour and Glory anon in Heaven : And I make no Doubt, but I shall suddenly be more happy than you all, and that I shall see God Face to Face ; and, if there be any Point of Innocency in me at all, I do utterly cast it from me, and I do commit it wholly to God.

And, for any Matter of Glory, I do, with the Saints of God, expect it through the Merits of Christ, at the Resurrection ; yea, it is my Glory to die thus. I might have died in my Bed, or shooting the Bridge, or else have fallen down suddenly, in which Death I should have wanted this Space to repent, being the sweet Comfort, and assured Hope of God's Favour, which, of his Mercy, he hath vouchsafed me ; so that it swalloweth up all Fear of Death, or Reproach of the World ; wishing unto all you, Gentlemen, who now behold me, that, wheresoever you shall die, either in your Beds, or elsewhere howsoever, you may feel such Comfort and Resolution, as God in his Mercy hath bestowed upon me and my wounded Soul for this and the rest of my grievous Sins.

But, methinks I hear some of you conjecture and say, that I express no great Arguments or Signs of Sorrow : You think my Heart should rather dissolve and melt into Tears, than to appear so insensible of Fear as I may seem ; but I must tell you, Tears were never common in me ; I may therefore fear, though I do not weep. I have been courageous both beyond the Seas and here in my own Country ; but, Gentlemen, that was when there was no

Peril

Peril before me: But now the Stroke of Death is upon me; it affrights me, and there is Cause to fear; yet, notwithstanding, my Heart seemeth unto you to be rather of Stone than of Flesh. But I would have you understand, that this Boldness doth not proceed from any manly Fortitude, for I am a Man, frail as you are, and dare as little look Death in the Face as any other: The Terrors of Death do as much trouble my human Sense, as any Man's whatsoever; but that, which swalloweth up all Manner of Fear in me, and maketh me to glory and to rejoice, is, the full Assurance which I conceive of the unspeakable Love of God to those who are his, of which Number I persuade myself to be one, and that I shall presently enjoy it.

I confess I have sinned exceedingly, against thee, Oh God! many Ways, in prophaning thy holy Sabbaths, in taking thy glorious Name in vain, in my Concupiscence, in turning all thy Graces into Wantonness, in my riotous Wasting so many of thy good Creatures, as would have relieved many poor People, whose Prayers I might have had this Day.

I have sinned against thee in my Childhood; but Children's Sins are childishly performed; but I confirmed them in my Manhood, there was my Sin. I am persuaded, there is no Sin, that a Man committeth in his Life, knowing it to be a Sin, and not repenting of it, but the Lord will judge it.

I admonish you, therefore, that are here assembled, to take good Notice of your Sins, and let none escape you unrepented: And yet, when you have done the best you can, there will lie buried some one Sin or other sufficient to condemn you.

O Lord, cleanse me from my secret Sins, which are in me so rife. I abused the tender Education of my Parents. You, perhaps, that knew me will say no; I lived in an honest Form, and was not bad in my Life.

But I know best myself what I was; and if I, who was so esteemed of amongst Men, shall scarcely be saved, What will become of those whom you point at for notorious Livers?

The last Night God put into my Mind the Remembrance of one Sin of mine, which here I will lay open that others may take heed. I took a vain Pride in my Pen, and some of my Friends would tell me I had some Endowments and special Gift that Way, though I say not so myself; but mark the Judgment of

God in this; that Pen, which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead; and like *Abshalom's* Hair hath hanged me: For there hath dropped a Word or two from my Pen, in a Letter of mine, which, upon my Salvation, I am not able to answer, or to give any good Account of. At my Arraignment I pleaded hard for Life, and protested my Innocency; but, when my own Pen came against me, I was forthwith not able to speak any Thing for myself; for I stood as one amazed, or that had no Tongue.

See, Gentlemen, the just Judgment of God, who made that Thing, of which I was most proud, to be my Bane: Take Notice how strangely Sin is punished, and learn every one to strive against it.

I have heard the Word of God, and often read it, but without Use, for I must tell you these two worthy Gentlemen (to whom I am so much bounden, God reward them for their Love) even they begot me very lately, for I am not ashamed to confess that I was to be begotten unto Christ within these three Days; yea, I have often prayed against Sin, and made many Vows to forsake it, but, upon the next Occasion, my foul Heart hath been ready to run with the Wicked.

Had I learned but this one Lesson in the Hundred and nineteenth *Psalms*, (*Depart from me, ye wicked, I will keep the Commandments of my God, &c.*) I had been likely to have enjoyed many Days here on Earth; whereas now you all see me ready to be cut short by Reason of my Sin.

But, O Lord, albeit thou slayest me, yet will I put my Trust in thee; let the Lord do to me what he will, I will die upon this Hand of trusting in him; if I fail, many a Soul hath missed, but I have sure Hope of Mercy in him; he hath succored and succoured me, I am sure, ever since the Sentence of Death hath passed upon me; such Comfort flowing from the godly Endeavours of these Gentlemen, the Divines, that neither the Reproach of this Death, nor the Torment of it, hath any whit discouraged me; nay, let me tell you, the last Night when I heard the Time was appointed, and saw the Warrant in Master Sheriff's Hand for my Death, 'it no whit daunted me: But what put this Courage into me? Only the Hope which I had in God's Mercies.

This Hope was a Seed, and this Seed must
Z z z come

come from a Root; I looked upon myself, and there was rather Cause to despair; and just Cause that I should not approach God's Presence. Thus then I disputed with God: This Hope being a Seed must have a Root, and this Root is not any Thing in Man, no, it is *Præscientia*, thy Foreknowledge, O God, who hast elected me from Eternity.

I will tell you, I received more Comfort this Morning coming along the Streets, than ever I did in all my Life. I saw much People gathered together, all the Way as I came, to see me brought to this shameful End; who, with their hearty Prayers and Well-wishings, gladdened and comforted my very Soul; inso-much as I could wish that I had come from *Westminster* hither. I protest unto you, I think I could never have died so happily in my Bed.

But you will say these are but Speeches, and that, I being so near Death, my Heart cannot be so free, as I seem in my Speech. I confess, there are in my Breast Frailties which do terrify me, and will still be busy with me; but I beseech you, when I am at the Stroke of Death, that you will pray to God, with me, that neither Satan's Power, nor my Weakness, may hinder my Confidence. And I beseech God, that, amongst all who this Day hear me, some may profit by my End: If I get but one Soul, I shall have much Comfort in that; for that one Soul may beget another, and that other another.

I have held you too long, but I will draw to an End; intreating you all to join in Prayer to God for me.

The Sum of his Prayer.

O Lord God omnipotent, who sittest in Heaven, and seest all Things which are done on Earth; to whom are known all Occasions of Men, and who dost deride and laugh to Scorn their foolish Inventions; thou, Lord, who art powerful to save at an Instant, bow down the Heavens, and behold me (wretched Sinner!) unworthy to look up, or lift up my Hands unto thee: Remember not, O Lord, the Sins which I have committed. Drive away this Mist which is before me; and break those thick Clouds which my Sins have made, and may hinder my Request to come into thy Presence. Strengthen me in the Midst of Death, in the Assurance of thy Mercies; and give me

a joyful Passage into thy heavenly Rest, now and for ever. Amen.

After he had thus prayed, he took his Leave of all with these Words:

Gentlemen, I shall see your Faces now no more; and, pulling down his Cap on his Eyes, said some private Prayer; in which Time the Doctors prayed, and called to him, that he would remember his Assurance, and not be dismayed at the Cup he was to drink of: He answered, *I will drink it up, and never look what is in it.* And, after a little Time more spent in private Prayer, he said, *Lord receive my Soul;* and so yielded up the Ghost.

His Meditation and Vow, not long before his Death.

WHEN I considered *Herod's* State, who, though he heard *John Baptist* gladly, yet was he intangled with *Herodias*; and how *Agrippa* liked so well of *Paul*, as he was persuaded almost to become a Christian; and, how the young Man's Will was good to follow *Christ*, yet there was one Thing wanting; methought the State of a sinful Man was not unlike. So also how the Angler, though having caught a Fish but by the Chaps, accounts it as his own; the Bird taken but by the Heel is a Prey unto the Fowler; the Jailer also holds his Prisoner by one Joint as safe as

cast in Iron Chains; then did I think, what do these Motions good, if not effected to the Full? What though not notoriously evil, one Sin sufficeth to condemn; and, is he guilty of all that is guilty of one? Then said I unto the Lord, I will freely cleanse my Ways and wash my Hands in Innocency; I will take heed that I offend not with my Tongue. Lord, let my Thoughts be such as I may always say, Try and examine me if there be any Unrighteousness in me.

Sir Gervase Ellwys.

A Dis-

A Discourse touching *Tangier*. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. To which is added, The Interest of *Tangier*. By another Hand. *London*, printed in the Year 1680. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

Honoured Sir,

I Remember at our Parting I made you a Promise to gratify your Curiosity, the best I could, with an Abstract of my Judgment and Observations touching his Majesty's City and Port of *Tangier*; and had obeyed you long since, had not my Head been rather oppressed than employed, by the unexpected Difficulties of my toilsome Charge; which, to this Day, render me so little Master of my Resolutions, that the few Minutes I borrow, like broken Slumbers, scarce afford me Leave to reflect seriously on any other Subject. Be pleased therefore to take this short Account only, as an Earnest of what you may farther expect, when with more Freedom of Thought I shall be enabled to send you a Present of the same Kind, better worth your Acceptance.

Tangier, according to remotest Accounts, I find to have been a Colony of the *Romans*; which conquering People did from thence lead their Armies, by which they subdued all that Part of *Africa*. They called a great Province by that Name; and thought it so well worth their Labour, that they planted, peopled, and built it to the Magnitude of the greatest Cities; as we find by the Fragments of their Structures, where-ever we have Occasion to break Ground in the Fields; and by the noble Aqueducts, some whereof to this Day supply the Town with Water, said to be the best in the World. But, by the Declension of that Monarchy, it shrunk by Degrees to the Dimension it now bears.

It was here the *Moors* formed, and from hence prosecuted, their great Design of conquering *Spain*; the advantageous Situation whereof is thought to have not only encouraged those Infidels to the Attempt, but lent them such Aids as mainly conduced to their Success.

At length, about the Year 1474, while the Princes of *Barbary* were at War amongst themselves, this, with other Towns upon the Coast, fell into the Hands of the *Portuguese*, &c.

Upon his Majesty's Marriage with our present Queen, *Tangier* was given in Part of her Dowry: A Capitulation much opposed by the *Spanish* Ministers, and gave that Government so much Apprehension, that, upon his Majesty's Sending so great a Garrison as he did upon our first Possessing it, jealous what Design there might be, withdrew a great Part of their Army from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, and quartered them along the Coast of *Andalusia*, to have an Eye upon our Motions: By which State-contrivance, as is thought, of the *Portuguese*, they got the Respite of one whole Campaign from the Incursions of the *Spaniards*. This I the rather mention to excite our own Value for *Tangier*, which barely our Possession of gives other Princes so much Caution.

This sufficing for the Historical Part of *Tangier*, to the Time of his Majesty's possessing it; I will now proceed, with the Brevity of Letter, to treat upon the Four following Heads, viz.

The Service *Tangier* has already rendered the Crown.

What Service it may render it, if improved. The Mischief it may do us, if possessed by any other powerful Prince.

Some general Observations touching Trade. *Tangier* is, as I have observed, so advantageously situated, that it surveys the greatest Thorough-fare of Commerce in the World; having in one View almost the whole Sea comprehended between the four Capes of *Travagar*, *Gibraltar*, *Spartel*, and *Ceuta*; those on the *European*, these on the *African* Shore: So that no Ship or Vessel can pass in or out of the *Mediterranean*, unobserved from thence.

It comes therefore to pass, by Means of this narrow Gap or Inlet, that Men of War, Pirates and Corsairs of all Nations, covet to ply and cruise in and about that Station, where they are sure to speak with all Ships that pass.

Here it was, that a Squadron of the *Dutch* on two several Occasions, during that War, lay in Wait for our *Newfoundland* Fleet, who had no Recourse for Safety but to *Tangier*, where they were protected and secured, till the Danger was over: The greatest Part whereof had otherwise demonstrably fallen into the Enemy's Hands.

It was on this Station that Sir *Thomas Allen*, during the first *Dutch* War, encountered their *Smirna* Fleet; and here, in the last War with *Algier*, a whole Squadron of *Turks* fell into our Hands at once, and were all destroyed: And both then, and since by Sir *John Narbrough*, there has been by a manifold Degree more Mischief done to that Enemy on this Station, than in all the Ocean besides; and we have frequent Examples of single Ships being chased into this Port for Shelter.

To this Port, upon the Breaking out of the last *Dutch* War, was sent us Advice of a Squadron of their Merchant-ships, that were bound from *Malaga* Homeward, but ill guarded, with an exact Account when they were to depart: Which Squadron we encountered; and, had the Affair been more fortunately managed, they had all fallen into our Hands; though, as it was, the greatest Part were destroyed and taken.

To this Place, on divers Occasions, both by Sea and Land, we have received Notice from *Saltee*, and other Places on the Coast, of proper Seasons wherein to attack that Enemy, and have often succeeded in our Attempts upon those Intimations: And, I think, I may with good Assurance aver, that, by the Advantage of this Place, we have destroyed more of those Pirates, than all Nations besides put together, who have been industrious, to their Power, to prejudice them; especially the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*.

And yet, farther to shew you how this Place has been already useful, let it be remembered, that during the Plague in *England*, when it was penal in the highest Degree in *Spain*, to hold the least Commerce with us; notwithstanding the Hazard they ran, the *Spa-*

niards themselves came over by Stealth, and, by Degrees, did here supply their Wants, without paying Custom either here or there; this Place being the general Magazine to all the Coast along.

What Quantities of *French* Commodities were lodged here, during their War with *Spain*, and were by little and little in *Spanish* Vessels fetched over, and put on Board their Gallies when they were ready to receive them, without ever landing them?

With what Ease and Expedition did Sir *John Narbrough*, the last Year, careen and refit the Ships under his Command within the Mole; where we had neither Hulk, nor any Sort of Provision for that Service? When I often heard him say, with great Satisfaction, That he would undertake to refit a Squadron in half the Time, and with half the Charge, that it could be done any where else out of *England*: And I think I do not give him more than his Due, if I presume to say, he is as qualified for Credit in that Particular, as any Man whatever of his Profession.

How many Merchant-ships, in Peril by Distress of Weather, have been relieved and preserved by the Assistance they have received from hence?

I could also insist on the Damages done on the *French*, from this Place, during our War with them.

Nor have the Advantages been small, arising from considerable Quantities of *English* Merchandise, Manufactures, &c. disposed of hence into *Barbary*; but, having, an Eye to my Promise of writing you only a Letter, I shall, in a Word, as to this first Head, only say, That *Tangier* may be justly reckoned to have gone far towards the Recompening to the Government the Charge, his Majesty has been at, in its Preservation and Improvement: And if, while in its Infancy, when there could be no just Regulation of the Charge, nor the Place framed and cultivated fully up to the Uses and Ends of the Government, we can demonstrably make such a Calculation, What may be hoped from it, when, besides the large Retrenchment, it has already admitted in its Charge to the King, we shall be able to demonstrate so many farther extraordinary Services, it is capable of rendering the Crown, as I doubt not to prove in the following Section?

Which.

Which is to shew wherein, and to what Degree, *Tangier* is applicable to the Ends and Uses of the Government.

I think I may challenge Mankind to point me out, in the whole Globe of the Earth, a Spot of Ground so improveable of the Honour and Interest of the *English* Nation, as *Tangier*.

What is it has rendered *England* so formidable, so rich, and so renowned a Kingdom, but the Strength of our Navies, and Universality of our Commerce? For our Fleets might grow till they rot, and our Mines remain in the Bowels of their Mother; our People rust into the Barbarity of their Ancestors, and our Nation become a Prey to every aspiring Monarch, did not this mighty Machine set all Heads and Hands at Work, quicken our Understandings, and polish our Manners, and, from an Object otherwise of Pity, or Contempt, render us the greatest Pattern in the World of the Power of Industry, the Fountain of all the Blessings we enjoy; and, because there are many various Wheels and Motions therein, Why should not *Tangier* be esteemed among the principal of those Movements, which keep this vast Engine going?

First, In Respect of *Spain*, in Case of a War with that People: He, who knows any Thing, is not ignorant, that the Damages, we sustain by such a War, are more through the Embargo of a free and open Commerce with them, so useful and profitable to this Nation, that it becomes a Doubt, whether it be not of more Account, than one Half of the Trade we have with all *Europe* besides; I say, the Mischief, in such Case, will be more by a Suspension of our Commerce, than any great Damage can accrue to us by their Hostilities. If so, then I undertake to say, That *Tangier* is able in a good Degree, if not totally, to answer this great Objection: For, by Vertue of our Vicinity with *Spain*, especially the five principal Ports of *Seville*, *Cadiz*, *St. Lucar*, *Port St. Mary's*, and *Malaga*; and, by the Convenience of a good Harbour here (which, by the Success of the Mole, is now well-nigh effected) our Nation there, in Case of a War, may remove and settle their Factories here; which, both for the Safety of their Persons, as well as Estates, they need not be invited to do, having, to my certain Knowledge, sundry Times been upon the Point of taking that Resolution, like one Man,

by some Jealousies they have had of Misunderstandings likely to ensue betwixt us and that People; and, Affairs being once so settled, the *Spaniards* themselves, as their Occasions press them, will take Care to be supplied from hence; as in the Instance I have given, during the Plague in *England*. By this Means our Estates run no Hazard of Seizure, or Confiscation; we shall be able to put off our Commodities at better Rates, and the King of *Spain* wholly deprived of his Customs; *Tangier* itself becomes a proportionable Gainer by the Bargain, and his Majesty's Subjects rest under the Protection of their own Country Laws and Government, and in the Liberty of the Exercise of their own Religion.

Thus, as, on the one Hand, *Tangier* renders a War with *Spain* less burdensome to us, by so preserving the Commerce unbroken; so, by its advantageous Situation, and Improvement to a good Port, it would prove so great a Thorn in their Sides, by the incessant Hostilities we should commit upon them (for it is not two Hours Sail from *Tangier* to the Coast of *Spain*) the Hazard and Obstruction of their *West-India* Trade, the Ruining their Commerce one with another all along the Coast of *Andalusia*, which would certainly ensue; and the sundry other Damages, by the Help of *Tangier*, too long to enumerate, or not at present occurring to my Observation: All this, I say, put together, seems to me to yield Matter sufficient to furnish us with the highest Sentiments of Estimation for *Tangier*, though no other Consideration were put into the Scale. For, if this whole Theory, or *Postulata*, be true (as a good Deal is proved by Matter of Fact, and the rest not to be disproved, but as Time must try) then I may undertake to say, That our Nation seems, by *Tangier*, to have gained this great Point, which is, That if, heretofore, the Reasons touching the Importance of preserving our Commerce with *Spain* have, for the most Part, been found superior to the Motives, though great, which that People may, by their Affronts and Injuries, have given his Majesty of Resentment; those Arguments, I say, are, by Means of *Tangier*, removed, and his Majesty in a better State of demanding Satisfaction, or doing himself Right; or the *Spaniard*, hereby become conscious of the Disadvantage, deterred from those Provocations. And, that they are apprehensive of the Benefits thus accruing by our Possession,

Possession of *Tangier*, is every Day visible from the Pains they take to discourage its Prosperity, by obstructing, by all Ways possible, our Supplies of whatever Kind from thence, especially of Materials for Carrying on the Mole, &c. whereof they are in great Fear; so that, if positive Arguments in our Favour were less cogent, the bare Opinion they have, of the Use that may be made of *Tangier* to their Prejudice, ought to beget in any reasonable Man, who loves, and has any Regard to the Honour and Welfare of his Country, proportionable Wishes for its Encouragement.

But, leaving *Spain*, let us proceed to observe what may be of Remark touching *Tangier*, with Respect to *France*.

The *French* Commerce with *Spain*, and their Interest in the *Spanish* Galleons and Flota, has been universally concluded equivalent to Half the Nations of *Europe* beside; and they have more Business in and about this Station, and frequent the *Streights* Mouth with more Shipping, of one Sort or another, than any two Nations in *Christendom*; from whence our Ships, riding at Anchor, may weigh, or slip, and speak with all that pass in, or out. Now, What an Awe will *Tangier* bear on such a People? And what greater Blessing can a maritime Nation, as *England* is, so justly jealous of their Honour and Authority Abroad, ask of God Almighty, than to be Possessors of a Place productive of so many eminent Services? A Place capable of yielding so many good Offices to ourselves and Friends, and so much Annoyance to its most powerful Enemy? This I mean, who, in our Age, has succeeded so far in its Design of rivalling us in the darling Privilege and Prerogative of our Dominion upon the Sea; and, how far it behoves us to cherish the Means, that Providence affords, and Nature seems to mark out for our Improvement, towards the Attaining of so important an End, let every honest *Englishman* judge. And, from *France*, let us proceed to *Holland*.

During the first *Dutch* War, *Tangier* was in its Infancy, the Mole of little Benefit, nor were the Ministers then so much enlightened in its Usefulness; insomuch that, during that War, the *Hollanders*, especially towards the latter End of the War, did, with a small Squadron of Ships, scour the whole *Mediterranean*; and, what with that, and the Preference they then found in the *Spanish* Ports,

they gained much upon us in those Parts. But in the last War it was quite otherwise; for, upon the Damage we did their *Malaga* Fleet from *Tangier*, as I have already observed, and the Care then taken to have Ships upon that Station, it is observable, they scarce had any Trade within the *Mediterranean* afterwards, during the War; for the *Dutch* are a frugal and wise People, and, when the Charge of their Convoys grows in any Degree burdensome, they chuse rather to suspend their Trade, than prosecute it with any extraordinary Expence, or Hazard, especially that of the *Mediterranean*.

Now, if *Tangier* can produce such Effects in our Favour, in Case of a War with *Holland*, as it has done, and may yet do in a much greater Degree; and if it can be in the like Manner of Use to the *Dutch*, in Case of a War betwixt them and *Spain*, as it has been to *France* during that War, then let us allow it an additional Share in our Praise and Estimation, and cherish it in Proportion to these farther Benefits. And now for *Algier*:

Algier is a Den of sturdy Thieves formed into a Body, by which, after a tumultuary Sort, they govern, having the Grand Signior for their Protector, who supplies them with native *Turks* for their Soldiery, which is the greatest Part of their Militia; and they, in Acknowledgment, lend him their Ships, when his Affairs require it. They are grown a rich and powerful People, and, by a long Practice of Piracy, become good Seamen; and, when pressed by our Men of War, as of late we have experimented, they fight and defend themselves like brave Men, inferior, I am persuaded, to no People whatever. They have no Commerce, and so are without any Taste of the Benefits of Peace; whence their Life becomes a continual Practice of Robbery, and, like Beasts of the Desert, they only forbear to worry, where by Fear, not Honesty, they are deterred; and yet, when Hunger pinches, and a good Morfel lies in their Way, they will venture hard for their Prey, as may appear by the Occasions given by them for this and the last Wars.

The *Algerines*, I say, having no Merchant-ships, nor any Trade of their own with other Nations, know nothing of the Motives, Christian Princes generally have, of War and Peace; so that their Polity and Rule is, Whom and how they may rob and plunder

with

with greatest Impunity. Therefore with some Nations they will have no Peace at all, because they can despoil them without Hazard; with others, as ourselves, they will sometimes listen to Proposals of Peace, but not so long as they can reimburse themselves upon our Merchant-men what they suffer by our Men of War. Now it is worth one's While to consider how this wild Beast may be tamed, so pernicious to the Trade of the Kingdom; and how far *Tangier* may lend a helping Hand in the Bringing it to pass.

I have already given you an Account of the Advantage we have of Situation, and how improvable towards the obtaining Dominion in and about these Seas; and of the Damage the Ships of *Algier* have already received on this Station, by the Help of *Tangier*.

The *Algerines*, above all others, when at Peace with us, do infest these Seas; this Station being seldom without some or other of them cruising in Sight of the Port; where they frequently come to an Anchor, and water, and supply themselves with Necessaries, sell their Prizes, and reap great Benefits by the Place.

They have it also in their Instructions from the Government, to call here, and observe how the Mole advances, and the Place thrives; and I have been told by the Captains themselves, who protest, that nothing gives them so much Dread, as the Apprehension they have of the Use we may make of *Tangier* against them. Inasmuch that, when the Galley arrived that was presented to his Majesty, the *Algerines* looked upon themselves as half undone; as the Captain of the *Mary-gold*, the last *Turks* Prize, who was taken off of *Tangier* this War, assured me. Our Galley-Frigates likewise gave them great Awe, as they still do; being a Sort of Vessels which, by the Help of *Tangier*, may be much improved to their Annoyance. And, if his Majesty would please farther to order the Building of Vessels of War proper and peculiar to this Service and these Seas, he would quickly see the good Effect it would produce, in bringing that People to know themselves: For though some of our *English* Vessels sail as well as the *Algerines*, when clean; yet such are yet but a few, and we must also sail a good deal better than they, to do our Business upon them. Nor is it less demonstrable to me than a Problem in Geometry, however it

may seem not so much our present Subject, that we may build Ships that shall in a manifold Degree out-sail our best Sailors: These Ships need be but few, and of little Charge, and should be always kept in those Seas, both in War and Peace. For it is the Occasion makes the Thief; and a Coast or Place unguarded is neglected: What signify the strongest Walls unmanned; or all the Advantages of Nature, if Industry be wanting in their Application?

Tangier well-managed may be rendered the greatest Scourge in the *Algerines* in the World; and may afford them the best Effects of Friendship. For if in Time of War we can force them from this so beloved Station, and attack them or their Prizes bound in or out; and in Time of Peace, which we cannot refuse them, they can be admitted to make Use of *Tangier*, and the Port, as their Occasions require; they may perform their Voyages in half the Time, and with half the Trouble of returning Home to refit and victual. For these Foxes prey remote from their Holes; and, for one Prize they take in the *Mediterranean*, take ten in the wide Ocean. So that in their Return Homewards, if they can dispose of their Purchase at better Rates here than they can have there, and refit again cheaper; What should discourage their Embracing the Advantage, which will be great to them, and proportionably so to us, by the Sale of their Purchase amongst us, &c.?

But, says an honest Man, and a good Christian, This would be a Scandal to *Christianity*. To which I reply, It is not thought so by the most Christian King; nor must we think so, if we consider them a Government, qualified to treat with Christian Princes, as we do; for do not we enter into Articles of Peace with them, which are formally agreed to, and mutually ratified? If so, how can we refuse them any thing to which Friendship may give them a Title?

Now, if what I have observed, touching the Government of *Algier*, bear any Weight; then this must follow, that, upon Conviction of the Premises, they will always esteem Peace with *England* more eligible than War; and no Temptation whatsoever, as heretofore, can be believed will supersede Arguments of so much Force as those we have noted. If so, then upon this single Bottom, separate from any of the foregoing Remarks, we may build

Reason

Reason sufficient to fortify my Position, for the Cherishing and Encouraging of this important Place by all Means possible. For, if *Tangier* shall appear so materially instrumental in preserving a perpetual Peace with *Algier*; then hence alone the Expence of keeping it is abundantly defrayed to the Government.

For the Charge of one *Algier* War, abstracted from the Consideration of the Spoils they commit upon our Commerce during such War; I say, the Money expended for carrying on, and supporting of one such War, being put into Bank, would at 6 per Cent. produce more than the annual Charge of maintaining the Place. If so, how may we then reckon of *Tangier*, considered conjunctively of all the foregoing Calculations of Benefit that have been produced in its Favour? Then, as for *Sallee*:

Sallee is a Government depending on the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*. They have but small Ships; the Bar before the Port not affording Depth for Vessels of above ten or twelve Feet Draught of Water. All the Winter they lie still. For, after the South-west Winds have blown, there comes in so great a Swell of a Sea upon the Bar, that it is not passable: So that this is a Summer Enemy, and a very poor one too, if we would be persuaded to have an Eye to them, as we ought. For I'll undertake, with three or four small Frigates, such as the *Drake*, *Lark*, &c. which on Occasion of Neap Tides, when they (I mean the *Sallee-men*) have not Water to go in and out, should clean and re-victual at *Tangier*, and so return upon that Station; those inconsiderable Rogues would by such Care be soon reduced to nothing; and yet, when left to their Liberty, they do a great deal of Mischief to small Merchant-men.

The Benefit arising by thus awing those People, besides that of our small Craft, will be, that it will in two or three Years bring the greatest Part of the Trade of *Barbary* to *Tangier*; as by reason of the Plague has been already made good: For, while the Infection of those Countries kept People from Trading thither, all, or the greatest Part of their Commerce was by *Tangier*; and a War, diligently managed by those small Frigates, may produce the same Effect. Besides, it will teach them to value our Friendship, and help us to a better Understanding with them at *Tangier*, and in all Likelihood gain us a Point of great

Advantage; which is, to treat and conclude a Peace with them on equal Terms. For, to buy a Peace, as hath been the Practice hitherto, is so mean and dishonourable, and gives them so much Contempt for our Friendship, that it is not to be supported.

Now, if these Ends ate to be obtained, as I am truly convinced they may, it will be wholly owing to *Tangier*. Which having said, I proceed to my third and last Head.

If *Tangier* be a Jewel of so many extraordinary Virtues, and so peculiar to the Use and Service of the *English* Nation, it were a great Deal of Pity it should adorn any Prince's Crown but his who wears it: For, it is but inverting the Argument, and the Artillery is traversed upon ourselves, and all these Cordials become so many Corrosives. For, though the bare Loss, or Want of these Benefits, to a Nation in our Circumstances, would be Misfortune enough; yet, when out of this Privation of Good, which is a consequential Damage, shall be propagated so many more and greater positive Evils to us, than its Possession promises of Service (for such will be the Consequence, if *Tangier*, which God forbid, should come into the Possession of the *French*) With what Care and Tenderneſs ought the Government to cherish it, and labour to secure it and the Nation, against such a Hazard? The Trade of *England* into the *Mediterranean* is equal, if not exceeding all other Nations put together. Can any Thing then challenge a greater Share in our Esteem, than the Means which insure this mighty Benefit to us? Shall Princes war one upon another for the Sake of a paltry Town, upon the Pass of a simple River; and shall not we think it worth our While to preserve a Place of this Importance; so productive of Good on the one Hand, or Evil on the other? A Place so improveable of the ambitious Purposes of the *French*, that, were it in their Hands, it would wound us in so many tender Places, that, as we should be always groaning under the Weight, so we should never wipe off the Imputation such a Loss would fasten upon us. We are just now alarmed with the News of *Tangier's* being to be sold to the *French*. But we have a wise Prince, learned beyond his Predecessors in the Interests and Advantages of Navigation and Commerce, and a great Promoter thereof: Nor is his Royal Highness, who has signalised himself so much, to the Nation's, and his own Glory, by his singular Applications

Applications to the like Study, so ill-possessed of the Value of this Place, to concur in any Deliberations of that Kind. So that I reckon this Rumour but amongst the other Libels against the Government.

How clamorous was our Nation upon the Disposing of *Dunkirk* to the *French*, though the Charge of Keeping it was scarce supportable; and, in case of a War with that People, hardly tenable? Though the Use of it was only, in some Degree, privative of Benefit to an Enemy in case of War, but of no positive Profit to us in Time of Peace; and yet, whensoever a Privateer or two, sailing out of that Port, shall annoy us but never so little in Time of War, the Complaint is renewed, and that Proceeding censured afresh: How would that Minister then be absolved with the People, who should advise the Parting with *Tangier*, where our little Finger would be more felt, than our Loins here?

But I have heard grave Men say, *Tangier* is a great Charge to the Nation. It is a Charge, it is true; but I shew what it has already done towards the Defraying it; and, to what an abundant Degree it will hereafter come to discount the Expence. A first Rate Ship, in Time of War, is as great a Charge to the King, as *Tangier* is; and yet, Did ever any Body complain that our Ships were a Burthen, or our Fleets too numerous, when there was Occasion for their Service? Does not *Tangier* live principally upon the Growth and Product of *England*, and the Money, for the most Part, circulate amongst ourselves? Is the King's Treasure misemployed there? Do not we see every Day the Place improve; the Mole in a good Forwardness? Which Expence too will soon be at an End. Are there not many useful Provisions made, for the Encouraging of Shipping and Commerce? And, Are we not sensible of it, by the Increase and Improvement thereof? For I remember the Time, when a Boat from *Spain* would draw down half the Town to the Water-side; whereas, now, a Squadron of Ships scarce excites that Curiosity.

Leghorn, now a famous Port, and Scale of Trade, was, in this Duke of *Florence's* Grandfather's Time, a poor Fisher-Town. Maturity is the Child of Time; and, though God Almighty may blast the best formed Purposes, yet Nothing, humanly speaking, can prevent our Fruition of the great Benefits I have enu-

V O L. V.

merated, if we but apply the Means; which in a few Words, are these:

To prosecute vigorously the Works of the Mole; which, in two or three Years, may render it a noble and safe Port.

To fortify the Town to the Landward; which Work should go Hand in Hand with the Mole; lest, when it shall appear worth a Conquest, our Weakness should betray us.

To have a Garison consisting of two-thousand Foot, in two Regiments, and three hundred Horse, to be well and duly paid, and to be recruited once in three or four Years, by Draughts out of the Guards: By which Means we should always have a strong, orderly, and well-disciplined Soldiery; and not Vagabonds, and raw, miserable, shiftless Wretches, such as raised Men, for the most Part, prove; whereof, scarce the one Half survive their Seasoning.

The Punctuality of Relieving the Garison, as has been of late resolved, will also keep them in Heart, cheerful in their Duty, and not put them upon such desperate Courses, as many of them, in melancholy drunken Fits, have taken, by running to the *Moors*, where, to the Scandal of our Religion, they either turn Renegadoes, or remain in perpetual Slavery. The Health of the Garison will also, by this Practice, be preserved; for the Soldiers Diet, being salt Meat, disposes them, in two or three Years, to inveterate ill Habits of Body, Obstructions, Scurvies, Fluxes, &c. Whereof, by Reason of returning to the same Diet again, when a little mended by the Care of the Physician, they relapse; and Nothing, but Removing them to a better, can recover them.

By this Course, I say, *Tangier* would be the dearest Place, for a Soldier, in the World, where they neither feel Hunger, or Cold, nor Excess of Heat; the Duty easy, unless now and then, when the Garison is thin of Men; where an industrious Man can never want Work, and is no where better rewarded: In brief, it is a Place that, instead of a Sepulchre, as some call it, will, by this Method, become a Nursery of brave Men; where, if they die in the Field, as some now and then do, they have their Reward in Heaven: If they survive to see their Country, they will be cherished and considered at Home, as Men of Honour and Merit, who have drawn their Swords, and served their King and Country, against the

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Enemies

Enemies of our Religion, and of God himself.

The Use of Horſe is of ſo great Importance, to the Safety and Tranquillity of the Place, that I take it for granted we ſhall never be free from the Inſults of the *Moors*, till our Horſe ſhall be augmented to the aforeſaid Number.

The Strength of all the Chriſtian Garriſons, upon this Coaſt, principally conſiſts in Horſe: Which Example alone might ſuffice for our Inſtruction, for we are but of Yeſterday; and their Practice the Reſult of ſome Ages of Experience, which is the beſt Guide.

This Town was once preſerved, or rather recovered, by the Bravery and opportune Service of the Horſe; for, the Caſtle being ſurpriſed in the Night, by the Enemies privately getting in over a low and defective Part of the Wall, the Horſe, taking the Alarm in the Town, mounted, and, before they could get Poſſeſſion of the Draw-bridge, got in, attacked, and defeated them; who had otherwiſe demonſtrably remained with Victory.

I am bold alſo to ſay, and it is the Opinion of others, who were upon the Place, That, had our Horſe, the Day the Earl of *Tripot* was loſt, performed their Duty, that great Man, and the major Part of thoſe with him, had eſcaped the fatal Slaughter.

With ſuch a Strength of Horſe as this I propoſe, we ſhall not be only able to perform with Eaſe what is yet wanting for the fortifying and ſecuring the Ground we have gained, but deprive the Enemy of the Profit they make by the Tillage and Paſture of the Country round about us: For they will be neceſſitated either to keep an Army conſtantly in the Field, which we know they cannot; to loſe the Benefit and Fruits of one of the fertileſt Spots of Ground in the World; or allot us ſuch Conditions, as ſhall render us in a ſafe, eaſy, and plentiful Eſtate; which I take Aſſurance to affirm we ſhall, in ſuch Caſe, eaſily obtain.

As the Benefits we ſhall reap by ſuch a Number of Horſe, prudently managed, will be very great; ſo the Hardſhips we ſhall ſuffer, without them, will be inſuperable: For the Ground about *Tangier* being uneven, broken, and proper for Ambuſhes; our Foot will never be able to do any thing to the Purpoſe, but in Conjunction of a proportionable Number of Horſe, to diſcover and clear the Ground,

relieve and ſuccour them when preſſed, and ſecure their Retreat when out-numbered, and forced to retire.

Our Fortifications alſo, relieving our Forts, and many other eminent Services, will be but very imperfectly performed, without the Aſſiſtance of a good Body of Horſe.

The Fruits of this Care and Charge will be reaped, in the Benefits reſulting by the Trade and Commerce it will beget and eſtabliſh here; for, upon a ſecure Proſpect of Safety to Goods and Merchandiſe, both by Sea and Land, Exemption from publick Charges and Duties, and a general Concurrence of all Circumſtances of Eaſe and Expedition in importing and exporting of Goods, it will, in Time, render *Tangier* the general Magazine of all the Merchandiſe from the *Levant* appointed for the Trade of the *Spaniſh Indies*, as it will of our *Northern* Commodities of greateſt Value: For the exorbitant, or rather inſupportable Duties upon Goods in *Spain* puts all People upon By-ways, and ſecret hazardous Practices, in the ſhipping and diſpoſing of their Commodities; and while *Tangier* can yield ſo good Encouragement, conſidered with the Benefits of its Vicinity with *Spain*, all People will covet to lodge their Eſtates there, where the whole Charge (beſides their being out of the Reach of Danger of Seizure) of Register-money, which is our Quarter *per Cent.* there collected; Commiſſion, Porterage, Freight to *Cadiz*, &c. will not amount to the Charge of half Freight, Guard-money, National Duties, and Warehouſe-room for two Months.

But there occurs one great and dangerous Impediment to the eſtabliſhing this Benefit at *Tangier*; and that is, the Diſputes that may ariſe, betwixt the *Engliſh* Conſuls in the *Spaniſh* Ports, and ſuch as ſhall ſo transport Goods from *Tangier*, upon which they may expect a Benefit: But this muſt be forbidden by all Means poſſible, by the ſtricteſt Significations of his Maſteſty's Pleaſure in that Behalf, to his reſpective Conſuls upon the Coaſt; for there are ſo many Inconveniencies accompanying ſuch a Permiſſion, as would quite deſtroy all Hopes of Succeſs in this Affair: And indeed, it is to be feared, this very Objection, or rather Impoſition, has already adminiſtered no ſmall Diſcouragement. But, as the Intereſt of private Men muſt ſubmit and give Place to publick Utility; ſo, in caſe it appear that this Proceeding ſhall, in any conſiderable Degree, affect

fect the Consuls in the respective Profits and Emoluments of their Office, it may be recompensed to them some other Way: But I do humbly propose it, as fundamental and irrevocable, that no Consul whatsoever, of the *English* Nation; be permitted to exact or demand a Penny for any Goods exported from *Tangier*, to any of the *Spanish* Ports; but that a bare Certificate from the Government there, of such Goods shipped either in *English* or foreign Vessels, shall serve as an ample Acquittance, and intitle them to Exemption from all Scrutinies and Demands of the Consuls, of any Kind whatsoever.

It is also humbly proposed, That all Ships and Vessels of War, as shall by Appointment attend the Garison and Port of *Tangier*, may have special Leave and Permission from the Lord High Admiral of *England*, to receive on Board, and transport such Goods to *Cadiz*, or any where in the Neighbourhood, as the Merchants shall have Occasion to imbark; but not unless such Ship or Vessel be bound to such and such a Place for his Majesty's Service. By this Means, Merchandise will go safer and cheaper, and obtain quicker Dispatch; and the Trader, consequently, another good Encouragement to prosecute this Way of Commerce.

It is farther humbly proposed, That all Convoys outward-bound, which touch not at *Cadiz*, as the *Turkey* Ships, &c. may have Order to call at *Tangier*; as also all such as are homeward-bound: Which being once become an established Practice, People, as well Foreigners, as others, will lodge their Money there, to be imbarked for *Turkey*, &c. And, from the *Levant*, Merchants will load their Commodities designed for *Cadiz*, or the *Spanish* Indies, in *English* Bottoms, to be deposited in *Tangier*, from whence they may require them as their Affairs shall govern: By which Means our Shipping also will be much encouraged. This I urge not but with Submission to the Sense of the *Turkey* Company, who are the fittest Judges how far such a Practice may influence their Trade. And thus much touching Trade in general, with respect to *Tangier*.

There is no Position, as I have observed, that bears more of the Evidence of a Demonstration, than that of the Reduceableness and Extirpation (by the Help of *Tangier*) of the Piracy of *Sallee*, and all the Coast of *Bar-*

bary: Which, besides the main Benefit of relieving the general Commerce, will bring, as a Consequence, the greatest Part of that Trade to *Tangier*. For those small Frigates as shall be employed against *Sallee* (with whom it is presumed we are never to have a Peace, upon no Consideration whatsoever) shall have it in their Instructions (as the *French* proceeded during their War with *Tunis*) to obstruct all Commerce with that People, but by Way of *Tangier*; which may be done without any great Offence, by compelling such as they find trading upon the Coast, to go to *Tangier*, there to unload, in order to the Searching after Contraband Goods; where, if they are found Guilty, as most Traders thither are, the Forfeiture of their Goods, and the Trouble that in such Case will be given them, will be sure to deter them from a second Attempt: If they are Innocent, the Vexation of being carried out of their Way, their Detention at *Tangier*, the incident Charge, Expence of Time, Hazard, and one Incumbrance or another, will incline them either to forbear Trading to *Barbary* at all, or by Way of *Tangier*; where they will not fail of Encouragement: For, by thus obstructing the Trade of *Sallee*, the *Moors*, pinched through the Want of our Commodities, will make their next Recourse to *Tangier*, where finding good Reception and Dispatch, the Commodities of the Country which were wont to be carried to *Sallee*, having no Vent there, will fail; and the Stream of Commerce of Course be diverted hither: And when once the Road is beaten, it will not be easily broken. This too, as it brings the *Moors* to seek us, will consequently draw such as were wont to trade to *Sallee*, to *Tangier*.

But it must be the Care of the Government here, to discourage to the utmost the Residence of *English* Factories any where upon the Coast, but at *Tangier*: By which Means Men's Persons and Estates are secure against the Insolence and Caprice of that barbarous People; who, upon trivial and unjust Pretences, make Seizure of all; whereof we have recent Instances, the Effect whereof we yet feel, and we at *Tangier* often become as it were Hostages, and compelled (neither to the Praise of our Honour, or Politicks) to make such Concessions as are both dangerous and scandalous, and all out of a Tenderness to a stubborn, opinionative People, who, like

some Animals, rather than make a Step out of their Way, will go over a Houfe.

And here I may not omit to obferve, that, as generous a People as we are, there are yet among us a Sort of Men of the moft degenerate abandoned Principles, who continue that fordid, or rather impious Practice of fupplying thefe Infidels with Powder, Guns, and all Sorts of Warlike Stores, even while we are in effectual War with them both by Sea and Land; againft not only the Law of Nations, but even Humanity itfelf: Which guilty, fcandalous, and unchristian Proceeding I trust to fee punifhed, as it deferves; and if our Laws prove defective, in that Particular, our Legislators may be humbly moved to find Expedients in this Behalf.

The next useful Consideration, towards the Improvement of the Place, is to encourage, by all Means poffible, the Magiftracy and Civil Government; and this will invite People of Subftance to settle and abide here: The Reputation of our Juftice and Probity will be a Means of fupplying us with a greater Number of able and honeft Citizens; and thofe will fupport the Honour of our Courts, and maintain the Dignity of a Corporation. This is very effential to the Eftablifhment of new Beginners, as we are; and, of all Points, the hardeft to compafs.

In the next Place, it is my humble Opinion, that his Majefty might be prevailed with to let Leases to the Inhabitants, for fuch a Term of Years as might encourage them to rebuild their Dwellings, which are much decayed, and will fall to the Ground, unlefs fome fuch Provision be made to prevent it: And this, in Time, will alfo much increafe the publick Revenue.

I do farthermore humbly obferve, That the Want of a pofitive Decifion, touching the Freedom of the Port, has occasioned much Contention and Inconvenience amongst us; and great Hurt to the Place: For unlefs it be understood to be a free Port, as *Leghorn*, *Marseilles*, &c. which Places ought to be our Rule and Example in that Particular; we fhall be rather a Trap and a Snare to People, than an Encouragement and Protection. For many an honeft Man's Misfortunes have reduced him to Poverty; and when invited hither, by a Notion of that Freedom and Liberty which other Ports, bearing that Title, yield to fuch as put

themselves under their Protection, in Hopes of a peaceable Application to the repairing their broken Fortunes, they fhall be here vexed and molefted with Suits and Imprifonments; People will fhun us, as an infected Place: And that great Benefit which other Ports of this Sort reap, and is fo effential to the Growth and Prosperity of this, is forfeited. I would not here be understood to make *Tangier* a Den of Thieves, where *Barataria*, and other Enfamous Practices of ill Men, fhould have encouragement; but humbly propofe only, that our Superiors would pleafe to inform themfelves, wherein thofe Ports which are called Free differ from others, and what thofe Exemptions and Privileges are which give them that Name; and from thence form and eftablifh fuch a Conftitution, as may for ever put us out of Pain: For this constructive, or rather equivocal Freedom, as I may call it, which we have hitherto been under, can never turn the Place to Account.

I might farther multiply Instances, wherein, in Time, by the Wifdom and Favour of Authority, and the Care and Industry of the People, this Place may be rendered productive of fundry profitable Improvements, touching Trade, Manufactures, Fisheries of Tunny, Anchovies, &c. which in the End would fupport the Government: But I here put an End to your Trouble, fumming up all in this fhort Animadverfion:

That *Tangier*, like the ufeulleft Elements, as it may be made an admirable Servant; fo it may be rendered a fevere Mafter. 'Tis an Outwork of the Nation, which you know is a principal Strength of a Fortrefs; 'tis a fafe Port, a Magazine, a Scale of Trade, and a Community of brave and loyal Men, where there is no Appearance of Faction againft either Church or State. 'Tis a Place improveable to the utmoft Degree of the Interests and Honour of the *English* Nation, of Vexation and Damage to our Enemies, and Service to our Friends; and confequently of influencing our Treaties and Alliances, with the moft Powerful of our Neighbours. I have often heard the Earl of *Sandwich* obferve all this, and more of *Tangier*; with whom it had fo fuperlative an Esteem, that he was wont to fay, if it could be walled and fortified with Brafs, it would repay the Charge: And I doubt not,

if our Misfortunes or Sins do not prevent it, but Posterity, in the Annals of our History, shall read the Acquisition and Improvement of *Tangier* among the Felicities of his Majesty's Reign; whom God Almighty prosper,

and send us a happy Meeting; which is the constant Prayer of,

Tangier, *Honoured Sir,*
October, 20, *Your most humble*
1679. *and faithful Servant.*

The Interest of TANGIER.

TANGIER is as pleasant a City as any in the World, in a most wholesome Air, pure and free from all Infection, situate in a most rich and fruitful Soil, able to yield all Things needful to the Life of Man. There is no Pleasure or Delight, but this Country, if open, would afford to the Inhabitants, without the Assistance of Foreign Nations. The Air is temperate, and cooled with the annual Breezes in the Summer, called *Etesian* Winds; and often purged from the Distempers, which might otherwise reign there, by the Easterly and Westerly Winds. By this Means it happens that it is neither very hot in the Summer, nor excessive cold in the Winter, but temperate, and agreeable with the Disposition of our human Bodies. The *Moors* thereabouts live commonly to a great Age: I have seen many amongst them about Eighty or Ninety Years of Age, very lusty. And, since *Tangier* belonged to *England*, none can say that ever the Plague hath been in that City, or that there hath been any Infection to carry away the Inhabitants, proceeding from the Air or Country. I confess many have died in this Place, but most through their own Follies, Debaucheries, and Lust; which have destroyed here many of his Majesty's good Subjects. If we could beg such a Wind from Almighty God, as to drive from thence these Infections, our *English* Bodies would be very healthy, and *Tangier* would not be so odious to the Nation.

It was built by the *Phœnicians*, if *Procopius* may be believed: For he tells us of a Pillar near *Tingi*, where these Words were engraven in the *Phœnician* Language: *Nos fugimus à facie Jesuæ filii Nun.* They were then the greatest Traders of the World; they chose this Place for that Purpose, to enrich themselves by that Art. Of all the Cities of the World, I know none better situate for Command and Trade than this: It lies at the Mouth and Passage of all the *Levant* Trade: No Ship can go in or out of the *Streights*, but

Tangier must see it in the Day; and in the Night four or five Men of War cruising to and fro, some in, others out of the *Mediterranean*, may take all the Ships that fail that Way: None can escape, without a strong Convoy, which would be too chargeable for the *Dutch*, *French*, and other Northern Merchants. If *Algier* were situate where *Tangier* is now, all its Enemies must forbear Trading: And if *Tangier* were in the Hands of the *Moors*, or of the *French*, or some other Prince strong at Sea, our Nation were undone, and our Merchants must bid Farewell to the *Streights* in Time of War. It is an easy Matter for the Prince of *Tangier* therefore to command our Northern World, and to give Laws to *Europe* and *Africa*. The Situation of *Rome*, of *Carthage*, of *Constantinople*, of *London*, *Paris*, and other Imperial Cities, is nothing near so advantageous for that Purpose as *Tangier*, if all Things be considered.

The Country and Soil is fruitful in Corn, Honey, Cattle, Beef, Sheep, Goats, Camels, Horses, and Buffies. The Woods are full of Bees, and wild Beasts that have excellent Furs. The Earth would bear good Wines of all Sorts; for there are the sweetest Grapes of the World.

Here are all Manner of Eastern Fruits, Pomegranates, Oranges, Melons, Lemons, Figs, &c. So that, if our *English* did husband the Ground about *Tangier*, there is nothing that we fetch from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Greece*, or *France*, but we might have it there. It is the nearest Plantation that belongs to *England*, within a Fortnight or three Weeks Sailing from the *Dawns*. So that, if all Things be considered, it seems no little Wonder that *Tangier* hath not flourished, since it is in the Hands of such a powerful Nation as the *English*. But our Unhappiness there is not to be ascribed to the Place, the Air, or Country, but to several other Things, which I shall here set down, not only for the publick Satisfaction, but

but that we may understand the true Causes of the People's Aversion for *Tangier*, and be better able to remove them for the Future.

First, I shall begin with Religion. It was never there truly encouraged, but in the short Governments of the Earl of *Tiviot* and Colonel *Norwood*. We can never expect a City will flourish, when all manner of Debaucheries, Profaneness, Irreligion, and Idolatry, shall have the Liberty to appear without a Check; when the Governors themselves have been the Examples to encourage the Contempt of Virtue and Piety; when either openly or privately they have made it their Business to ruin the Protestant Interest, and to call those Persons in question for their Lives, who have been the greatest Supporters of it. Let profane Men think what they will, there was never yet a City or a Nation that ever prospered since the Beginning of the World, that slighted the Religion of the Country. The *Romans* Prosperity is ascribed by St. *Austin* to their sincere Profession of their Idolatries. In *Tangier* too many have cast off all Respects due to the God that hath made them, and mind nothing but Debauchery and Lewdness: Others have hearkened to the Solicitations of some Popish Priests, and make Profession of that Religion, that they might, by the Means of their Absolutions, enjoy their Vices and Filthiness without Remorse of Conscience. For the Benefit of Trade, and the Encouragement of Strangers, all Sorts of Religions should be allowed; but it is against all Policy, that the *English* Subjects and Officers, that receive from the King their Livelihood, should be suffered to change their Religions as often as their Garments, and want only to profess which they please. Not only from hence but from several other Passages, Religion hath received great Discouragement, to the open Scandal of the Protestant Profession, and the Dishonour of the Church of *England* in the Eyes of the Nations round about.

The second Cause of *Tangier's* Unhappiness is, that most of the Persons, that have been sent thither, have never intended to inhabit there, but have been needy, and greedy, and have only designed to live there a While to fill their Purses, and then to return for *England* with their Gains. By this Means the sober Inhabitants of *Tangier*, from whose Industry and good Behaviour only we can reasonably expect Prosperity, impoverish the City, and

discourage the rest. And many other Inconveniencies proceed from hence, to his Majesty's Prejudice, and of the Place. To remedy this Inconveniency, such Laws should be enacted as might encourage Men to live there, and discourage their Departure upon such unhandsome Terms as they commonly leave the Garrison.

The third Cause is, the Difference and Variance between Traders and Soldiers, encouraged too much by the Rulers Covetousness, and the Citizens Poverty and Wants; and the Unreasonableness of both, unwilling to comply with one another: For this discourageth all wealthy Persons from Inhabiting there, because they are not countenanced, nor have those Liberties which it hath pleased his Majesty to grant them. Some in a late Governor's Time, for frivolous Accounts, have been called in Question for their Lives, condemned contrary to all Law and Reason to gratify his Displeasure, and others of the Female Sex. These, and such like Proceedings, ruin *Tangier*, and hinder it from that Prosperity and Wealth which it might easily attain to.

Fourthly, *Tangier's* ill Fate, since it is in the *English* Hands, is due to the ill Reports spread abroad of the Place by the Vulgar Sort, encouraged by the many Persons dead there through their own Miscarriages, and the ill Usages of *Popish* Officers, who to my Knowledge have valued more ten or twelve Shillings at Pay-day, than the Lives of their Soldiers; and have not treated them like Men, much less like Christians. I have saved the Lives of a great many of my Neighbours, when they have wanted Necessaries: For which good Deeds I have been reproved by some *Irish* Officers, who expected their Pay between their Death and the following Muster. The meanest Soldier must be encouraged, and not suffered to want when fallen into a Sicknes, though most Times through his own Intemperance. I dare affirm, and will offer to prove, that the Unmercifulness of the Officers, and the Neglect of Physicians and Apothecaries, who, though paid for that Purpose by his Majesty, have killed three Parts of those that are dead in *Tangier*. I have sometimes buried three or four in a Day, dead for Want of that which his Majesty hath provided for them in Case of Sicknes.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Another Cause of *Tangier's* Unhappiness, is the strange Victories of the *Moors*, and the sad Massacre of the *English*, when they have gone out against them in the open Field; with the vast Opinion of Valour they have gained amongst us, through our Unadvisedness, and their Successes. The Defeat of *Fines's* Party on the First and Third of *May*, and of my Lord *Trinot*, and his Company, on the Second, have struck a great Terror into our *English* Hearts, and caused us to look upon a *Moor* as an excellent Soldier: But truly we are mistaken; I know their Valour, and the Strength of their Country, more than any that hath yet been in *Tangier*; for, when I have been amongst the *Moors*, I have enquired many Things concerning their Order, Militia, Numbers, &c. which I perceive we are ignorant of.

The greatest Strength of the *Moors* Army, is in the Horse and Lance Foot they have, armed partly with Guns, and partly with Lances; but they have no great Guns, neither do they know how to manage them, nor carry them into the Field. They fight in Disorder, without Rank or Files, the Horse by themselves, and the Foot by themselves. In set Battles, which have seldom been seen in this Country, the Horse make up the Van and the Rear, and the Foot the main Body; so that many Times the Foot have Nothing for them to do, but to destroy the defeated Enemy, when the Horse hath routed and terrified them. But they are for Ambushes and Surprises, because their Country is very proper for that Purpose. *Muley Arxid* overcame *Gayland* in this Manner, as he had before ruined *Bemboska*. In this Country they have but little or no standing Army; all is made up of their several Divisions, or Companies of *Arabs* scattered about, who know their distinct *Monkadees*, or Colonels, under whom they are to fight, and to whom they are to repair in all Alarms. But they cannot subsist long in one Place, because they have no Purveyors, nor other Provisions, but what every Man brings with him, unless it be some small Quantity, which the Place where they lie may afford them, in Case of Necessity. They fight in the same Manner, as the *Roman* Authors have represented the ancient *Mauri*; neither are they better skilled in Marshalling an Army, or Fighting. Let any Man, that knows the Art of War, compare them with us, and judge whether we may

not be able to encounter them. If they have had Successes against us, it is through our Weakness and Unpreparedness. We have marched against them only with Muskets and Swords, and they have come against us with Horse and Lance: Before our Men had Time to discharge their Muskets, the Horse and the Lance had disordered our Men, broken their Ranks, and cut them all to Pieces on a sudden. Had we a Wall of Pikes to oppose against them, lined with Muskets, all the Horse of *Barbary* could do us no Mischief, and we might safely march through their whole Country. An Example we have lately had of a worthy Commander, *Sir Palmes Fairbourne*, who made his Retreat with his Party without any considerable Loss, only with the Assistance of a Stand of Pikes, which kept off the *Moors* Horse, whilst his Foot fired upon them. Their Foot signify Nothing, their Horse have no Guns, or very few, only Pistols. For their Infantry, they are unskilful in the Managing of a Gun, neither have they the Courage to stand a Shot. The *Portuguese* seldom encountered with the *Moors*, but they had the Victory; therefore, we must ascribe all our Losses to the Unadvisedness of our Commanders, and the Disorder of our Men, and their Want of those defensive Weapons, which were able to keep off the Fury of the *Moors* Horse. I dare engage with five or six thousand *English*, against above twenty thousand *Moors*, if the *English* may have those Arms and Provisions that become them. Such is the Weakness of this Country, that they can scarce bring together, under one Commander, twenty thousand Men; for they are all divided under several Heads of Families, since the Death of the last Emperor of *Morocco*, and will not consent to set up a Monarch again. He, therefore, that hath the longest Sword, gets the Victory, and the chief Command. In this Case, it is an easy Matter for us to make an Interest for ourselves, by encouraging some Party, and imitating the *Roman* Policy, who never ventured against a Nation, or People, but with the Assistance of some of their own Soldiers. But it is our Unhappiness, that we know not what is done amongst the *Moors*; we live in *Tangier* within the Walls and Lines, and, unless we send a Flag of Truce for some pitiful Business, we scarce see the Face of a *Moor* in a Year's Time, but at a Distance, unless some of them come to bring Provisions to us. But we have never

sent any to understand their Country, to search into their Strength and Dependencies, to examine their Interests, their Inclinations, and those other Things which we might improve to the Advantage of *Tangier*. If any be sent for that Purpose, he must not be a Nobleman, for they care not to see any greater State amongst them than they observe: Their greatest Princes live as King *Evander* in *Virgil*. As they have a great Respect for Clergymen, I think such a one, if ingenious, and acquainted with the Language of the Country, might do much Good, either to persuade them to a Peace and Trade with us, or to understand those Particulars, which might cause us to secure the Interest of *Tangier*; that may be done either by Peace or War. But let us be well assured of this, that, whilst we keep only the Walls of *Tangier*, we shall only spend Money; it will never bring any Profit to our King, unless the Country be opened for us, which may be easily done, with little or no Expence; and, instead of several thousand Pounds which his Majesty spends in the Maintaining of *Tangier*, it shall not only maintain itself, but yield a considerable Revenue to the Crown of *England*. For the Future, it may be rendered a dreadful City to the *Moors*, *Spaniards*, *Turks*, and *French*, and keep in the Incursions of those of *Algier*.

If *Tangier* were in that Condition, Men would desire to go over and inhabit there, for the Conveniency of Trade; some neighbour Factories would settle there, and we should vend all Commodities of Wool which lie upon our Hands, amongst the *Africans*, for now the *Dutch* and *French* furnish them. We should secure our Merchants from the Pirates of *Algier*, for then they would not dare to break with us upon every slight Occasion. When the *Vandals* conquered *Africa*, it was stronger than it is now, and they had not the Advantage of Guns as we have, yet they found but little Difficulty to subdue the Inhabitants, who were then assisted by the *Romans* and *Grecians*.

I could offer many Things for the Good of *Tangier*, from my Knowledge of the Country since the Beginning of the World; but I know not how acceptable these Things will be. I am certain, if a right Course was taken, the Mole, which hath been long building, might be speedily finished; *Tangier* might be made the most prosperous and hopeful City that belongs to *England*; and it should repay to his Majesty all that has been expended in the Keeping of it since it was ours. If I be required, I shall be willing, not only to give a further Account, but also to be instrumental in the Promoting of the Good of *Tangier*.

The Accusation and Impeachment of *John Lord Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, by the House of Commons. Printed Anno Domini 1640. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

IMPRIMIS,
THAT the said *John Lord Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper, &c. hath traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws, and established Government of the Realm of *England*, and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary tyrannical Government against Law; which he hath declared by traiterous and wicked Words, Counsels, Opinions, Judgments, Practices, and Actions.

II. That, in Pursuance of those his traiterous

and wicked Purposes, he did, in the third and fourth Years of his Majesty's Reign, or one of them, being then Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament, contrary to the Commands of the House then assembled and sitting, deny and hinder the Reading of some Things, which the said House of Commons required to be read for the Safety of the King and Kingdom, and Preservation of the Religion of this Realm; and did forbid all the Members of the House to speak; and said, that, if any did offer to speak, he would rise and go away; and said, nothing should be then

then done in the House; and did offer to rise and go away; and did thereby, and otherwise, as much as in him lay, endeavour to subvert the ancient and undoubted Rights and Course of Parliaments.

III. That he, being of his Majesty's Council, at the Justice-seat held for the County of *Essex*, in the Month of *October*, in the tenth Year of his now Majesty's Reign, at *Stratford-Langton* in the same County, being then of his Majesty's Council, in that Service did practise, by unlawful Means, to enlarge the Forest of that County many Miles beyond the known Bounds thereof, as they had been enjoyed near three-hundred Years; contrary to the Law, and to the Charter of the Liberties of the Forest, and other Charters, and divers Acts of Parliament; and, for Effecting the same, did unlawfully cause and procure undue Returns to be made of Jurors; and great Numbers of other Persons, who were unsworn, to be joined to them of the Jury; and threatened and awed the said Jurors to give a Verdict for the King; and by unlawful Means did surprise the County, that they might not make Defence; and did use several menacing wicked Speeches and Actions to the Jury, and others, for Obtaining his unjust Purpose aforesaid; and, after a Verdict obtained for the King in the Month of *April* following (at which Time the said Justice-seat was called by Adjournment) the said *John Lord Finch*, then Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of *Common-Pleas*, was one of the Judges Assistants for them, and continued, by further unlawful and unjust Practices, to maintain and confirm the said Verdict; and did then and there, being Assistant to the Justice in Eyre, advise the Refusal of the Traverse offered by the County, and all their Evidences, but only what they should verbally deliver; which was refused accordingly.

IV. That he, about the Month of *November*, 1635, being then Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, and having taken an Oath for the due Administration of Justice to his Majesty's liege People, according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, contrived an Opinion in *hæc verba*: 'When the Good and Safety, &c.' and did subscribe his Name to that Opinion, and by Persuasions, Threats, and false Suggestions, did solicit and procure Sir *John Brampton*, then and now Lord Chief Justice of *England*; Sir *Hum-*

frey Davenport, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of *Exchequer*; Sir *Richard Hutton*, Knight, late one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of *Common-Pleas*; Sir *John Denham*, Knight, late one of the Barons of his Majesty's Court of *Exchequer*; Sir *William Jones*, Knight, late one of the Justices of the said Court of *King's-Bench*; Sir *George Crooke*, then and now one of the Judges of the said Court of *King's-Bench*; Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Knight, then and now one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; Sir *George Vernon*, Knight, late one of the Justices of the said Court of *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Robert Barkley*, Knight, then and now one of the Justices of the said Court of *King's-Bench*; Sir *Francis Crawley*, Knight, then and now one of the Justices of the said Court of *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Richard Weston*, Knight, then and now one of the Barons of the said Court of *Exchequer*, some or one of them to subscribe with their Names the said Opinion presently, and injoined them severally, some or one of them, Secrecy upon their Allegiance.

V. That he the Day of then being Lord Chief Justice of the said Court of *Common-Pleas*, subscribed an extrajudicial Opinion in Answer to Questions in a Letter from his Majesty, in *hæc verba*, &c.

And that he contrived the said Questions, and procured the said Letter from his Majesty; and, whereas the said Justice *Hutton* and Justice *Crooke* declared to him their Opinions to the contrary; yet he required and pressed them to subscribe, upon his Promise that he would let his Majesty know the Truth of their Opinions, notwithstanding such Subscriptions, which nevertheless he did not make known to his Majesty, but delivered the same to his Majesty as the Opinion of all the Judges.

VI. That he, being Lord Chief Justice of the said Court of *Common-Pleas*, delivered his Opinion in the *Exchequer-Chamber* against Master *Hampden* in the Case of Ship-Money; that he the said Master *Hampden* upon the Matter and Substance of the Case was chargeable with the Money then in Question; a Copy of which Proceedings the Commons will deliver to your Lordships, and did solicit and threaten the said Judges, some or one of them, to deliver their Opinions in like Manner against Master *Hampden*; and, after the said Baron *Denham* had delivered his Opin-

nion for Master *Hampden*, the said Lord *Finch* repaired purposely to the said Baron *Denham's* Chamber, in *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet-Street*, and, after the said Master Baron *Denham* had declared and expressed his Opinion, urged him to retract the said Opinion; which he refusing, was threatened by the said Lord *Finch*, because he refused.

VII. That he, then being Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, declared and published in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, and Western Circuit where he went Judge, that the King's Right to Ship-Money, as aforesaid, was so inherent a Right to the Crown, as an Act of Parliament could not take away; and with divers malicious Speeches inveighed against and threatened all such as refused to pay Ship-Money; all which Opinions contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Articles, are against the Law of the Realm, the Subjects Right of Property, and contrary to former Resolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of Right; which said Resolutions and Petition of Right were well known to him, and resolved and enacted in Parliament when he was Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament.

VIII. That he, being Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, did take the general Practice of that Court to his private Chamber; and that he sent Warrants into all or many Shires of *England* to several Men, as to *Francis Giles* of the County of *Devon*, *Robert Benson* of the County of *York*, Attornies of that Court, and to divers others, to release all Persons arrested on any Outlawry about forty Shillings Fees, whereas none by Law so arrested can be bailed or released, without a *Superfedeas* under Seal, or Reversal.

IX. That he, being Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, upon a pretended Suit begun in *Michaelmas Term* in the eleventh Year of his Majesty's Reign, although there was no Plaint or Declaration against him, did notoriously and contrary to all Law and Justice, by Threats, Menaces, and Imprisonment, compel *Thomas Laurence*, an Executor, to pay nineteen Pounds twelve Shillings; and likewise caused *Richard Barnard*, being only Overseer of the last Will of that Testator, to be arrested for the Payment of the said Money, contrary to the Advice of

the rest of the Judges of that Court, and against the known and ordinary Course of Justice, and his said Oath and Knowledge, and denied his Majesty's Subjects the common and ordinary Justice of this Realm, as to Master *Limericke*, and others; and, for his private Benefit, endamaged and ruined the Estates of very many of his Majesty's Subjects, contrary to his Oath and Knowledge.

X. That he, being Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, and sworn one of his Majesty's Privy-Council, did, by false and malicious Slanders, labour to incense his Majesty against Parliaments, and did frame and advise the Publishing the Declaration, after the Dissolution of the last Parliament.

All which Treasons and Misdemeanors, abovementioned, were done and committed by the said *John Lord Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*; and thereby he, the said Lord *Finch*, hath traitorously, and contrary to his Allegiance, laboured to lay Imputations and Scandals upon his Majesty's Government, and to alienate the Hearts of his Majesty's liege People from his Majesty, and to set a Division between them, and to ruin and destroy his Majesty's Realm of *England*; for which they do impeach him, the said Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, of High Treason, against our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown, and Dignity, of the Misdemeanors abovementioned. And the said Commons by Protestation, saving to themselves the Liberty of exhibiting at any Time hereafter, any other Accusation, or Impeachment, against the said Lord *Finch*, and also of replying to the Answer; that the said *John Lord Finch*, shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them, and of offering Proof of the Premises, or any of their Impeachments or Accusations that shall be exhibited by them, as the Case shall, according to the Course of Parliaments, require, do pray, That the said *John Lord Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, may be put to answer all, and every the Premises, and such Proceedings, Examinations, Trials, and Judgments, as may be upon every of them had, and used, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

The true Copy of a Letter, sent from the most Reverend *William*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the University of *Oxford*, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor. Published, by Occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And also the Answer of the University to the said Letter. *Oxford*, Printed by *Leonard Lichfield*, Printer to the University, *Anno Dom. 1641. Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

To my very loving Friends, the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxford.

AFTER my hearty Commendations, &c. these are to remember my Love to that whole Body: That Love, than which never any Chancellor bore greater, or with more Ferventness and Zeal to the publick Good and Happines of that Place. And I do heartily pray all, and every of you to believe me, for most true it is, that the Unfortunateness of my great Affliction doth not trouble me for any one Thing more, than that I can be no farther useful or beneficial to that Place, which I so much love and honour.

I was once resolved not to resign my Place of Chancellor, till I saw the Issue of my Troubles one Way or other. And this Resolution I took, partly because I had no Reason to desert myself, and occasion the World to think me guilty: And partly, because I have found so much Love from the University, that I could not make myself willing to leave it, till some greater Cause should take me off from that which I so resolved on.

That Cause, if I be not much mistaken, doth now present itself: For I see the University hath great Need of Friends, great and daily Need. I see my Trial not hastened; so that I am neither able to assist your great Occasions myself, nor procure Friends for them: I see that, if you had another Chancellor, you could not want the Help which now you do. And I cannot but know that, were your Love never so great to me, it must needs cool, when you see me able to give no Assistance,

and yet fill the Place which should afford it to you. And I should hardly satisfy myself, that I love you so well as I do, if I did not further your Good and Happiness by all the Means I can, and even by this my Resignation.

The serious Consideration of these Things, and the Foresight which I have, that I shall never be able to serve you as I have done, have prevailed with me at this Time, to send the Resignation of the Chancellorship, to your Body met in Convocation. And I do hereby pray you, that it may be publicly read and accepted, the Time being now most fit, that so your Honourable succeeding Chancellor may presently appoint an able Deputy for the Government according to his own Judgment.

And now I do earnestly desire of you all, either to remember, or to know, that I never sought, or thought of the Honour of this Place to myself: And yet, that, since it was by the great Favour and Love of that University laid upon me, I have discharged it, by God's Grace and Goodness to me, with great Pains and Care, and God's Blessing, I humbly thank him, hath not been wanting. And I profess singly, and from my Heart, if there be any Good which I ought to have done to that Place, and have not done it, it proceeded from Want of Understanding or Ability, not Will or Affection: And though I do, for the Causes aforesaid, resign this Place, yet I shall serve it still with my Prayers, so long as God continues my Life.

And as I doubt not, but God will bless you with an honourable Chancellor, and one able to do more for that Place, than I have been; so I pray God, to give you a peaceable and quiet Election, and to direct it to the Good of this his Church, and the Honour and Happiness of that famous University: That you may have no Miss in the least of me, who,

after your Prayers heartily desired, now writes himself the last Time,

From the Tower,
June 25, 1641.

Your very loving poor Friend
and CHANCELLOR,

W. CANT.

Amplissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Gulielmo Archi-Præfuli Cantuariensi.

Reverendissime Archi-Præful—*Hoc enim solum Tibi (sic voluisti) Nomen relictum est—*

NOVissimæ literæ tuæ, amoris, sed & doloris, plenæ,ecerunt ut dehinc nos planè ære dirutos disruptoque profiteri debeamus. Cum effusissimo amori tuo, verbis (quod unicum nobis suppetit peculium) ut paria faceremus, nunquam sperandum fuit; ne dum dolori nostro verba nos reperturos paria; ne si passis quidem eloquentiæ velis vehi, & totâ doloris prærogativâ frui liceret. Hodie verò, ut sunt tempora, ad justissimum dolorem nostrum non levis hic accessit cumulus, quòd eum in sinu premere & quasi strangulare necesse habeamus; quibus ne illud quidem tutò queri licet, in ea nos tempora incidisse, in quibus singulari tuæ prudentiæ & erga nos amori consultissimum visum sit, nostraque quàm maximè interesse, ut Res ac Fortunas nostras à tuis segreges habeamus & sejunctas. Quanquam verò supremo Numini sic visum est, ut illud nobis beneficii loco imputandum haberes, quòd maximum beneficiorum tuorum, Te ipsum, à nobis segregares, & *Cancellarii* munus abdicares; affectus tamen tuus erga Academiam nostram propensissimus, tum literis tuis novissimis, tum aliis frequentibus argumentis abundè testatus, dubitare nos non finit,

quin, deposito invidioso *Cancellarii* titulo, amantissimi Patroni affectum adhuc in sinu tuo retineas. Quamdiu *Manuscripta* * illa *manus tua*, Orientis spolia, & verè *diversa* Bibliothecam nostram illustrabunt; quamdiu *Lectura Arabica*, à Te † dotata, frequentabitur; quamdiu Antiquitatis vindices simul & testes antiqua ‡ *Numismata* visentur; quamdiu castigatio disciplina, moribus emendati, morumque Canon *Statuta* vigeant; quamdiu pro studio partium bonarum Artium studia colentur; quamdiu literis honos, honori literæ erunt, *Cancellarium* adhuc esse Te, sentiet præsens *Ætas*; fuisset, postera agnosceret. Dehinc, immortalitatis securus, gloriæque tuæ superstes, diu hic posteritati tuæ interis; ac demum, ubi mortalitatis numeros omnes impleveris, plenus annis abeas, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos abdicasti. Ita vovet

Dat. è Domo Convocat.
6. Julii 1641.

Amplitudini Tuæ omni cultus ac ob-servantiæ nexu devincentissima,

ACADEMIA OXON.

* MSS. Cod. plus quàm MCCC. De quibus plus quàm CCCXXX Linguis Oriental. scripti, & paulò minus C. Ling. Gr. † Salarium Professoris Ling. Arab. XL. lb. Annuæ. ‡ Hebr. Græc. Roman. Famil. & Imper. Britannic.

A Letter to the Earl of Shaftsbury, this 9th of July, 1680.
From Tom Tell-Troth, a downright Englishman. Folio,
containing four Pages.

My Lord,

I Have lived to see your Lordship Great as well as Popular, and a stout Assertor of the Protestant Religion and Interest. Wherefore to your Lordship have I thought fit, in this Time of Danger to our native Country, to lay before you the great Mischiefs that both the Monarchy and Protestant Religion do suffer, in respect of the present Designs of Papists and Commonwealth's-men: And when I have discovered to your Lordship their Intrigues, as far as my strict Scrutiny and Search into them, besides sufficient Testimonies from others truly informed, have satisfied me, I hope we shall take such adequate Measures from them, to satisfy both your Lordship and this Kingdom, that Ruin and Desolation will come swift on us, Confusion and every evil Work, if some speedy Remedy be not instantly proposed by the Wisdom of the great Council of this Nation.

And first, my Lord, your Lordship will please to give me Leave to make a Parallel between the past Actions of the designing Men before and after 1641, to the happy Restoration of the King; by it I shall be able to satisfy your Lordship, that what was then designed and effected upon the Person of the late King, Church of *England*, and Government, were the Result of such pernicious Counsels and Designs, as are now hatching by these Sons of *Belial*, to the present Disturbance, if not Ruin of our flourishing Church and Kingdom.

It is obvious to all that have had any Knowledge of the late Transactions before 1640, and after, that the Papist seeing our Church so well guarded with Purity of Doctrine and Faith, with innocent Ceremonies, to defend her from the Invasion of slovenly and dishonourably Worshiping of the great God; as well also to avoid the Superstition and Popery of the Worship of the Church of *Rome*: Behold what emissaries were there sent out, and with what Cloathing to deceive; the Puritan must be drawn in to make an Outcry against Canons, Ceremonies, and whatever was enjoined by Law in the Worship of God must be Antichristian, at least it must be said unlawfully imposed on their tender Consciences. From sowing these Doctrines, the Poor and the Ignorant were taught to believe Bishops to be the very Limbs of Antichrist, and Superstition

and Idolatry brought by them into the Church; and many worthy Patriots, such as *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, and *Burton*, &c. would smell Popery and Superstition in Gown, Surplice, Cross in Baptism, Worshiping God towards the East, a primitive Custom in the Church of God, &c. then publish to the World the great Care they had to bring Things to a due Reformation both in Church and State. But behold the Consequence of this Undertaking; they had no sooner gone about to undermine the Church of *England*, but then it was fit Time to call in Question too the Miscarriages of State, and to be sure Archbishop *Laud*, who was the most eminent Assertor of the Rights of the Church, and as true a Protestant as ever lived, must be the first Man cried down by the Teachers and Rabble, for being Popishly inclined, or rather for being a Papist, and must be butchered too for that Supposition; by his Death ended the Tranquillity of the once flourishing Church of *England*: Thus had the Papist, Hand in Hand with Fanatick Rage and Zeal, triumphed over us. But, after this, it was not enough to bring our Church low, but we must yet go higher—Well! What Encouragement has the King given to Papists of late, by preferring them to Places of great Consequence in the Government, such as were *Strafford*, &c.?—These Persons, say those, must be removed for evil Counsellors, or we shall have no Peace in our *Israel*; accordingly our zealous Teachers sent their Disciples Abroad in all Avenues of the City, to cry down evil Counsellors, for that their Design was to bring in Popery, and destroy Liberty, ay the Liberty of the Subject. And then forthwith Ship-Money, a huge Burden to what we have felt since, was against *Magna Charta*, indeed every Thing in the Government found Fault with, as either Popishly or Arbitrarily inclined; then cry out for Reformation, Reformation. And when, for Peace-sake, our good King had granted many of their unreasonable Demands, and had delivered to their Fury innocent Blood, to prevent, as he thought, the Shedding much more; yet would not their Rage stop here, but, at last, King, Church, and all were brought to Destruction, by the most horrid Rebellion and Villainy, as can scarce be paralleled in any Kingdom in the World in all Circumstances.

And now, my Lord, one would think, that this pretended glorious Reformation should have produced some Settlement by this Time to the tottering Kingdom: No, truly; we found nothing but Sect springing out of Sect; and they, that once prayed and fought together against the Peace of the Kingdom in one Body, and, as it were, under one Denomination, are presently dwindled into many little Parties and Saintships, and every one crying to his Neighbour, *I am holier than thou art*; so that from Papist sprung Puritan, from Puritan Presbyterian, from Presbyterian Independent; from thence Anabaptists, Antinomians, Fifth-Monarchists, Sweet Singers in *Israel*, Quakers, Muggletonians, and the Lord knows what, till, by and through the Inconstancy of their Persons and Judgments, and the various Freaks of the several Humours, all was reduced to a Chaos; so that neither a single Usurper, nor a Parliament without a King, nor Committee of Safety, nor Keepers of the Liberties, or Councils of Officers, and Strength of Arms could produce any Quiet, till God wonderfully restored him, whose undoubted Right it was to sway the Scepter of these Kingdoms. And thus, my Lord, I have, in short, given your Lordship an Account of what has been acted in those Times; let me now crave Leave further to make the Parallel with the present Times; and therein, if I reflect on some of the busy and designing Men, I hope I shall not break the Laws of Decorum, because Things are brought to that Crisis, that, if an honest *English* Heart will not now speak home to the Purpose, for aught I can see, he may evermore hold his Peace.

Well then, my Lord, Do we not now perceive, as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that the same Men, or Men of the same Principles, are again hard at Work to undermine and destroy both our Church, and State too? What divided Interests and Factions have there been, for seven Years last past, and more, to bring the King and Governors into Disgrace, by frequent Clubs at Coffee-houses and Taverns, on Purpose to break the Bonds of Unity among us! From these Places and Sinks of Sedition and Rebellion, have there not been many of a higher Form, who, through Discontent, or Love of Faction and Change of Government, or for not being continued, or preferred to the highest and most honourable Places therein, have endeavoured all they can to breed Dis-

ferences between the two Houses of Parliament, by throwing in a little Matter with a Ball of Contentation at the End on't, purposely to hinder the Prosecution of what should tend to the Advancement of the Publick Weal; and what can be more plain, than that such Designs since were like those of 1641? Because the Bishops would not herd with Commonwealth's-men's Interests. Yet, my Lord, I do believe the Bishops are as prudent Men, and can as well tell the Nature of an Oath, together with the Design as well as the Consequence thereof, as any States-men I know of in the Kingdom, let them pretend to what they will; and besides, I am sure their Interest is so interwoven in the Monarchy of *England*, that neither Popery, nor any other Interest besides that of their own Church as established by Law, can any Ways preserve them, unless they will all as one Man fall down and worship the great Image, and be all Things to all Men, that they may be sure to get something, as many, my Lord, pretended famous States-men have done in the several Changes of Government in these Kingdoms; but that is not to be supposed of them, since they would not, nor did ever join with any such Interest as opposed Church or State; and thus did both City and Country, Clubs, and Coffee-houses ring, that the Bishops were the only Opposers of the true Interest of the Kingdom, and the great Occasion why Justice could not be done on Capital and Notorious Offenders. This, my Lord, is a true Spice of old 1641, and your Lordship cannot but observe, that it hath brought the Bishops into Suspicion with the vulgar Sort, that they are driving on the Popish Design, and that there are not above two Protestant Bishops amongst them all, as they give out.

Well, but this will not do yet; 'tis not so long since *Laud* was murdered, and *Strafford*: People sufficiently smarted under Covenanting Reformers, and Army Saints, and 'tis not easy to play the same Game over again the same Way; and this the designing Men see, and so are fain to have other Artifices to rend the Government in Pieces, and reduce it to its former Chaos or designed Commonwealth; so that if neither disquieting or dividing Parliaments, nor secret combining Clubs against great Ministers of State, nor a seeming Weariness of the Monarchy of *England*, nor Disgracing the Governours of the Church, nor

Suspicion

Suspicion of Popery, and the Introducing thereof, will do the Business to exasperate the People, as in 1641: Why truly then comes forth a Plot full of Treason and Popery; then forsooth the Duke must needs be the Foundation of this damnable Plot, and the Discoverers (who no Doubt have been blessed Instruments to save us at this Time from the Paw of Antichrist) must be revered as Demy-Gods among the Vulgar, but more especially among the precious Independent and Anabaptist Faction; but not to reflect on the King's Evidence, for no Doubt deservedly did those suffer who were condemned by the Justice of our Laws, and many more deservedly may that have a Hand in that pernicious and bloody Design against his Majesty's Sacred Person and Government. In this Hurly-burly what a Confusion did it bring the Kingdom into? How did it necessitate the King to prorogue and adjourn, yea, and dissolve Parliaments from Time to Time? When he could not but so do for the Preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Defeating the Designs both of Popish and Self-designing Men who sought to disturb it; and so apparent this was, that no loyal Heart but trembled at it. Then again forsooth all Miscarriages of this Nature must be attributed to the Duke and his Party, and given out by the designing Men, that no Parliaments should ever sit again, but all would be Arbitrary, and accordingly Guards must be doubled to defend us from Jesuits, and Popery, and this Bugbear of Arbitrary Government. Now in the Name of *Machiavel* where are we going next? Oh! cries the First and Deepest among the Designers, let us keep off the King from Parliaments till his Revenue will not answer the Charge of the Crown, and put him into the Condition his Father of Blessed Memory was, that he will be necessitated to call one; then he shall be obliged to redress all the Grievances, hang all Plotters (provided they be none but such as are Popishly inclined) punish Church Offenders, and Saint Persecutors; then shall he be obliged to hearken to every Thing we shall propose about Succession; then we shall be able to make our own Terms with him, either we will have *Monmouth*, or we will know why: We will have one Black-Box or other found, wherein the Writing is, that will prove what we would have Legitimate, and Successor to the Crown, in Opposition to Royal

Word, and whatever Demonstrations shall be the Contrary, provided it effectually hinders and deprives the known, true, and lawful Successor that is Popishly affected; and we will never leave Clubbing nor Meeting, till we have effected this, maugre all former Designs by Popish Counsels, or Protestants whatsoever.

Indeed, my Lord, it were to be wished for the Quiet and Welfare of the Nation, that these, and such like Designs, were laid aside, and every one studied to do his own Business, to obey wholesome Laws, rather than to trust again to new Law-makers: For my Part, my Lord, I wonder what it is these Men would have. If they think that ever Popery or Arbitrary Government can govern in this Kingdom, then they have Reason to be thus concerned: But, my Lord, though I am a plain old *Englishman*, I can see as far it may be as one that sees less; and I protest, my Lord, that after having read over abundance of such Ware as little *Andrew Marvel's* unhoopable Wit and Policy, and the Independent Comment amongst it, together with the Growth of Popery, &c. as also the Naked Truth, Treatises about *French* Interests, and the Succession of the Crown, and all this Bustle they have made amongst us: To say the Truth, my Lord, I am *Tom Tell-truth*, and, between your Lordship and I, I do not believe there's any Need of such Books, or any such Jealousies; for, in God's Name, what can preserve us, but being zealous for our Religion, and obedient to our Superiors? And what can preserve them, but the Love of their Subjects, and Governing according to the Laws they have made, and are obliged to maintain? And, for my Part, I don't see any Invasion of Liberty and Property as they term it; I see indeed a Sort of Men, who will be always restless and buzzing the vulgar Ear with strange Fears and Jealousies, which tend to nothing but Destruction both of Prince and People. Truly, my Lord (your Lordship being a Person of such eminent Parts, and having known most of the publick Humours of this Land and People these forty Years) I think your Lordship would do well to find out some of these Underminers of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, that meet at Taverns, and other publick Houses, and by your strong Arguments convince them, that this is not the Way to bring about their Designs, whatsoever Mixture of

of Counsels they may have; and, since your Lordship lives in that great City wherein these Persons are said to reside, your Lordship would send them such unquestionable Rules to walk by, as may tend to the Securing of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Rooting out all Jealousies and Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Government: As also to fix them to the old Ways of Loyalty and Obedience, which are the only Paths of Peace to dwell in. Then shall we see that it will be our Interest (whatever we imagine Liberty and Property to be) to promote the Honour of God, and the Religion of the Kingdom as established by Law; to

honour and obey the King according to the Laws, to love one another as Men and Christians, and to lay all our Heads, Hearts, and Hands together to support the same. My Lord, I shall now conclude this long Epistle without any other Compliment, than that I am,

Wilts, the 9th of
July, 1680.

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant,

Tom Tell-troth.

Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long-Parliament and Assembly of Divines, in 1641. Omitted in his other Works, and never before printed, and very seasonable for these Times. *London*, Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun at the West-end of *St. Paul's*, 1681. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages.

TO THE READER.

THE Reader may take Notice, That this Character of Mr. Milton's was a Part of his History of Britain, and by him designed to be printed: But out of Tenderneſs to a Party [whom neither this nor much more Lenity has had the Luck to oblige] it was struck out for some Harſhneſs, being only ſuch a Digreſſion, as the History itſelf would not be diſcompoſed by its Omiſſion; which I ſuppoſe will be eaſily diſcerned, by reading over the Beginning of the Third Book of the ſaid History, very near which Place this Character is to come in.

It is reported, and from the foregoing Character it ſeems probable, that Mr. Milton had lent moſt of his Perſonal Eſtate upon the Publick Faith; which when he ſomewhat earneſtly and warmly preſſed to have reſtored [obſerving how all in Offices had not only feathered their own Neſts, but had enriched many of their Relations and Creatures, before the Publick Debts were diſcharged] after a long and chargeable Attendance, met with very ſharp Rebukes; upon which at laſt deſpairing of any Succeſs in this Affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendleſs, having ſpent all his Money and wearied all his Friends. And he had not probably mended his worldly Condition in thoſe Days, but by performing ſuch Service for them, as afterwards he did, for which ſcarce any Thing would appear too great.

OF these, who sway'd most in the late Troubles, few Words, as to this Point, may suffice. They had Arms, Leaders, and Successes to their Wish ; but to make Use of so great an Advantage was not their Skill.

To other Causes therefore, and not to the Want of Force, or warlike Manhood in the Britons, both those, and these lately, we must impute the Ill-husbanding of those fair Opportunities, which might seem to have put Liberty, so long desired, like a Bridle into their Hands. Of which other Causes equally belonging to Ruler, Priest, and People, above have been related ; which, as they brought those ancient Natives to Misery and Ruin, by Liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy ; so brought they these of late, after many Labours, much Bloodshed, and vast Expence, to ridiculous Frustration ; in whom the like Defects, the like Miscarriages notoriously appeared, with Vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

For, a Parliament being called to redress many Things, as it was thought, the People with great Courage, and Expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their Behoof in Parliament such as they thought best affected to the Publick Good, and some, indeed, Men of Wisdom and Integrity ; the rest, to be sure the greater Part, whom Wealth or ample Possessions, or bold and active Ambition, rather than Merit, had commended to the same Place.

But, when once the superficial Zeal and popular Fumes, that act'd their new Magistracy, were cooled, and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the Commonwealth behind, his private Ends before, to do as his own Profit or Ambition led him. Then was Justice delayed, and soon after denied : Spight and Favour determined all : Hence Faction, thence Treachery, both at Home and in the Field : Every where Wrong, and Oppression : Foul and horrid Deeds committed daily, or maintained, in secret, or openly. Some who had been called from Shops and Warehouses, without other Merit, to sit in supreme Councils and Committees, as their Breeding was, sell to huckster the Commonwealth. Others did thereafter as Men could sooth and humour them best ; so he who would give most, or, under Covert of hypocritical Zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the

Rewards of Learning and Fidelity ; or escaped the Punishment of his Crimes and Misdeeds. Their Votes and Ordinances, which Men looked should have contained the Repealing of bad Laws, and the immediate Constitution of better, resounded with Nothing else, but new Impositions, Taxes, Excises ; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the Offices, Gifts, and Preferments bestow'd and shared amongst themselves : They, in the mean While, who were ever faithfullest to this Cause, and freely aided them in Person, or with their Substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted, and bereaved after of their just Debts by greedy Sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable Attendance from one Committee to another with Petitions in their Hands ; yet, either missed the Obtaining of their Suit ; or, though it were at length granted (mere Shame and Reason oftentimes extorting from them at least a Shew of Justice) yet, by their Sequestrators and Sub-committees Abroad, Men for the most Part of insatiable Hands, and noted Disloyalty, those Orders were commonly disobeyed ; which, for certain, durst not have been, without secret Compliance, if not Compact with some Superiors able to bear them out. Thus were their Friends confiscate in their Enemies, while they forfeited their Debtors to the State, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening Seizure of innumerable Thieves in Office ; yet were withal no less burthened in all extraordinary Assessments and Oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected : Nor were we happier Creditors to what we called the State, than to them who were sequestered as the State's Enemies.

For that Faith, which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any Thing holy, the Publick Faith, after infinite Sums received, and all the Wealth of the Church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private Gulph, was not before long ashamed to confess Bankrupt. And now, besides the Sweetness of Bribery, and other Gain, with the Love of Rule, their own Guiltiness, and the dreaded Name of just Account, which the People had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own Number, who secretly contrived and fomented those Troubles and Combinations in the Land, which openly they sat to remedy ; and would continually find such Work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that terrible Stand, of laying down

their

their Authority for Lack of new Business, or not drawing it out to any Length of Time, though upon the Ruin of a whole Nation.

And, if the State were in this Plight, Religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain Number of Divines were called, neither chosen by any Rule or Custom Ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either Piety or Knowledge above others left out; only as each Member of Parliament in his private Fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most Part of them were such, as had preached and cried down, with great Shew of Zeal, the Avarice and Pluralities of Bishops and Pluralities; that one Cure of Souls was a full Employment for one spiritual Pastor; how able soever, if not a Charge rather above human Strength. Yet these conscientious Men (before any Part of the Work done for which they came together, and that on the Publick Salary) wanted not Boldness, to the Ignominy and Scandal of their Pastor-like Profession, and especially of their boasted Reformation, to seize into their Hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best Livings) Collegiate Masterships in the Universities, rich Lectures in the City, setting Sail to all Winds that might blow Gain into their covetous Bosoms: By which Means these great Rebukers of Non-residence, amongst so many distant Cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly Pluralists and Non-residents themselves, to a fearful Condemnation doubtless by their own Mouths. And yet the main Doctrine for which they took such Pay, and insisted upon with more Vehemence than Gospel, was but to tell us, in effect, that their Doctrine was worth Nothing, and the spiritual Power of their Ministry less available than bodily Compulsion; persuading the Magistrate to use it, as a stronger Means to subdue and bring in Conscience, than Evangelical Persuasion: Distrusting the Vertue of their own spiritual Weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full Warrant of Sufficiency to pull down all Thoughts and Imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But, while they taught Compulsion without Convincement, which not long before they complained of, as executed unchristianly, against themselves, these Intentions are clear to have been no better than Antichristian; setting up a spiritual Tyranny by a secular Power, to the Advancing of their own Authority above the Magistrate, whom they

would have made their Executioner, to punish Church-delinquencies; whereof Civil Laws have no Cognisance.

And well did their Disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their Teachers, trusted with Committeeships, and other gainful Offices, upon their Commendations for zealous and (as they flicked not to term them) *godly* Men, but executing their Places, like Children of the Devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly; so that, between them the Teachers, and these the Disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal Wound to Faith, to Piety, to the Work of Reformation; nor more Cause of Blaspheming given to the Enemies of God and Truth, since the first Preaching of Reformation.

The People, therefore, looking one While on the Statists, whom they beheld without Constancy or Firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the Weight of their own too high Undertakings, busiest in petty Things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers Ways their Disaffection, some despising whom before they honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then, looking on the *Church-men*, whom they saw, under subtle Hypocrisy, to have preached their own Follies, most of them not the Gospel; Time-servers, covetous, illiterate Persecutors, not Lovers of the Truth; like in most Things, whereof they accused their Predecessors: Looking on all this, the People, which had been kept warm a While with the counterfeit Zeal of their Pulpits, after a false Heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, some turning to Lewdness, some to flat Atheism, put beside their old Religion, and foully scandalised in what they expected should be new.

Thus they, who of late were extolled as our greatest Deliverers, and had the People wholly at their Devotion, by so discharging their Trust, as we see, did not only weaken and unfit themselves to be Dispensers of what Liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the People, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive, or to digest any Liberty at all. For Stories teach us, that Liberty, sought out of Season, in a corrupt and degenerate Age, brought *Rome* itself into a farther Slavery: For Liberty hath a sharp and double Edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous Men;

to bad and dissolute it becomes a Mischief unwieldy in their own Hands ; neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy Skill to know what is Grievance and unjust to a People, and how to remove it wisely ; what good Laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good Men may enjoy the Freedom which they merit, and the bad the Curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite Proportions, the heroick Wisdom, which is required, surmounted far the Principles of these narrow Politicians : What Wonder, then, if they sunk, as these unfortunate *Britons* before them, entangled and oppressed with Things too hard, and generous above their Strain and Temper ? For *Britain*, to speak a Truth not often spoken, as it is a Land fruitful enough of Men stout and courageous in War, so is it, naturally, not over-fertile of Men able to govern justly and prudently in Peace, trusting only in their Mother-wit ; who consider not justly, that Civility, Prudence, Love of the publick Good, more than of Money or vain Honour, are, to this Soil, in a Manner outlandish ; grow not here, but in Minds well implanted with solid and elaborate Breeding, too impolitick else, and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the Industry and Virtue either of executing, or understanding true Civil Government ; valiant, indeed, and prosperous to win a Field, but, to know the

End and Reason of Winning, unjudicious and unwise ; in good or bad Success alike unteachable. For the Sun, which we want, ripens Wits, as well as Fruits ; and, as Wine and Oil are imported to us from Abroad, so must ripe Understanding, and many civil Virtues be imported into our Minds from foreign Writings, and Examples of best Ages, we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the Attempts of any great Enterprise. Hence did their Victories prove as fruitless, as their Losses dangerous, and lest them, still conquering, under the same Grievances, that Men suffer, conquered ; which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless Men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the Knowledge of ancient and illustrious Deeds, invincible against many and vain Titles, impartial to Friendships and Relations, had conducted their Affairs ; but then, from the Chapman to the Retailer, many, whose Ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted, with all their sordid Rudiments, to bear no mean Sway among them, both in Church and State.

From the Confluence of all their Errors, Mischiefs, and Misdemeanors, What in the Eyes of Man could be expected, but what befell those ancient Inhabitants, whom they so much resembled, Confusion in the End ?

But on these Things, and this Parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the Story which gave us Matter of this Digression.

An Essay on the Theatres : Or, the Art of Acting. In Imitation of *Horace's* Art of Poetry. *MS.* Never before Printed.

Ex Noto Fictum Carmen.

HOR.

TO THE READER.

Although I have ventured to call this Poem, *The Art of Acting in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry*, yet I must observe, that I have rather made a Paraphrase on his Rules and Thoughts, than kept to a strict literal Imitation of them : I am sensible therefore, I shall be highly censured by those who are acquainted with those happy Imitations of this Part of Horace, Dr. King's Art of Cookery, and Mr. B——n's Art of Politicks. All I can say to such an Objection, is, that a more close Confinement to
the

the Text would not suit my Subject, which I found was not foreign enough from the Original to make it by such a Method any Way entertaining; yet I have endeavour'd to keep as strong an Analogy to the Sense and Manner of Horace as I could possibly. Perhaps, this Intention of Imitating the Method of Horace has led me into a Conduct, which may be imputed to me as an unpardonable Error, and that Negligence in the Numbers, which will often appear, may not be forgiven on my Pleading, that in the Versification I have been often negligent by Design: How far I am wrong in my Judgment in this Respect, I willingly submit to those who are acquainted with the Original.

SHOULD HOGARTH, with extravagant Conceit,
Make a strange Group of contrast Figures meet,
Beneath a Plume that nods with Tragic Grace

Limn the quaint Drollery of *H—p—y's* Face;
Then to that Face add *Chloe's* Neck and Breast,
Beauteous as Thought e'er form'd, or Tongue exprest;

Amass the Properties of Motley Scenes,
Of Gods, of Kings, of Devils and of Queens,
Strike out a Form that Nature cannot brag on,
With Crest of *Cæsar* and with Tail of *Dragon*,
Part Male,—Part Female,—Devil Part,—Part God,

Who could restrain a Smile at Sight so odd?
But, odd as such a Figure might appear,
It is the just Resemblance of a Play'r,
Who rashly will depart from Nature's Rule,
And rather Wonder raise, than touch the Soul;
Whose Storms and incoherent Actions seem,
Like the wild *Prattlings* of a sick Man's Dream,
Which, while the Fev'rish Phrenzy may prevail,
Flow unconnected, without Head or Tail.

Actors and Poets have an equal Right,
By bold Attempts, our Pleasure to excite;
New Talents still in pointed Wit to show,
And make the Stream of Humour stronger flow;
Or in the tender, or the lofty Scene,
Form a new Harmony of Words and Mein;
Leave dull *Theatrical* Precedents of Art,
And with peculiar Judgment catch the Heart.
Bold are these Liberties that Actors claim,
And great their Freedom in Pursuit of Fame:
Yet a just Licence cannot give Pretence,
To break the steady Rules of *Common-Sense*;

To strain the Voice and storm with frantic Air;
When * *Oedipus* appeals in moving Pray'r;
Nor yet a slow soft whining Tone assume,
When † *Peals* of Thunder shake the conscious Room.

Some, when grave Scenes should rise with awful State,
And all the Heroe be divinely Great,
Studios in Vain, exert an idle Care,
To please the Eye, or gently sooth the Ear:
In Senate or in Camp, in Joy, or Woe,
The Plume must wave, the Voice must sweetly flow:

High Character by Length of Train be shown,
And Dignity by drawing out the Tone.
Justly the Plume may grace an Actor's Mein,
And the Imperial Robe adorn the Scene;
Justly the Numbers, flowing o'er the Tongue,
May warble sweet as *Philomela's* Song,
While Vales, and Dales, and murmur'ing Streams, which rove,

Gently mæandring through the flow'ry Grove,
The Subject are:—But, if ill-judg'd the Choice
Of pompous Dress, and modulated Voice,
The ‡ Shape though rich, the Voice though soft and clear,

Will all a dull Extravagance appear.
Both sometimes please; but this is not their Place;
Consult *Propriety* alone for Grace.

Hayman § by Scenes our Senses can controul,
And with creative Power charm the Soul;
His easy Pencil flows with just Command,
And Nature starts obedient to his Hand:
We hear the tinkling Rill, we view the Trees
Cast dusky Shades, and wave the gentle Breeze:
Here shoots through leafy Bow'rs a sunny Ray,
That gilds the Grove, and emulates the Day:

There

* In Allusion to these Lines in Mr. Dryden's Play of *Oedipus*.

To y—u, ye Gods, I make my last Appeal, &c.

† Clasp'd in the Folds of Love: I'll wait my Doom,
And act my Joys, though Thunder shakes the Room.

‡ The Theatrical Term for a Roman Habit.

§ A young Gentleman, a Painter, very excellent in his Art, whose Scenes at *Drury-Lane* Theatre have always met with the greatest Approbation from the Spectators.

There Mountain Tops look glad; there Val-
lies sing;
And through the Landſchape blooms eternal
Spring :

But what's this Art, ſhould he ſuch Art perform,
And join it to the Horrors of a Storm :

Where quick fork'd Lightnings gleam, loud
Thunders roar,

And foaming Billows laſh the ſounding Shoar :
Where driv'n by Eddies with impetuous Shock,
The whirling Veſſel bulges on a Rock ;
The hopeleſs Sailor rearing high his Hand,
And Corſe on Corſe come rolling on the
Strand :

In Storm and Landſchape we might Beauties
find,

But wonder how they came together *join'd*.

Art rul'd by *Nature* muſt direct the Soul,
And ev'ry Geſture, Look, and Word controul :
Deceiv'd by *ſpecious* Right, moſt Actors
run

Into the contraſt Errors they wou'd ſhun :
Some, who wou'd Gaiety or Paſſion ſhow,
With ſmart, liſp'd, Catch make half-form'd
Words to flow ;

Swift Rolls of jargon Sound, a rapid Flood,
With not one Word diſtinctly underſtood :
Thus, lab'ring to avoid a drawing Tone,
An equal Impropriety is ſhown.
Others, to ſeem articulate and clear,
With dull, loud, ſlow, plain Sound fatigue
the Ear ;

All Words, all Lines, the ſame grave Cadence
keep,

And drowſy lull inſenſibly to Sleep :
While theſe, to prove that they no Spirits want,
Out-bawl *Drawcanfir* in the Tragic Rant.

Some few, who fear what Critics may explode,
With plodding Pace jog on the beaten Road :
Content in Acting juſt with common Senſe,
Ne'er dare to deviate into Excellence :

Who never charm, yet never much offend,
Who with the Merit they began will end :
But yet a brisker Genius of the Stage
Will try all Arts, all Methods, to engage :
Buſſoonly drefs, affect a monſtrous Tone,
Strike out the Poet's Wit, inſert his own :
As Sailor, or as Clown, as Beau, or Play'r,
No Matter what, or how, or when, or where,
Will Scenes, will Times, will Characters con-
found,

To hear of falſe Applauſe the Vulgar Sound :

Thus more they err who would their Errors
hide,

If they want ſolid Judgment for their Guide:

Near *Covent-Garden* does a Painter live,
Whoſe Pencil can moſt wond'rous Likeneſs give
To the ſoft Ringlets of the flowing Hair,
Be they or red, or brown, or black, or fair:
Nor in this only does his Art prevail,
He hits the Finger, and the Finger's Nail :
Yet of the Dolt how wretched is the Caſe ?
Who cannot give to half the Picture Grace, }
Nor touch a ſingle Feature of the Face. }
Rather than act as ſuch a Man would paint,
Some trifling Parts by meer Luck repreſent ;
But when a Strength of Genius ſhould appear,
Still bound to grovel in my narrow Sphere,
I would no more be ſuch than noted be,
Alike for Beauty, and Deformity :

Than have *Lothario's* manly Form and Grace,
Topp'd with the ſhocking Sneer of *Clody's* Face.

All you who feel a gen'rous Thirſt of Fame,
And from the Stage a juſt Applauſe would claim,
From the firſt Moment you commence a Play'r,
And ſtrut at *Smithfield* or at *Southwark* Fair,
Long as you ſhall a better Fortune wait,
And ſtrolling know Variety of Fate ;
Juſt as the Gods direct the Chance of Things,
Are this Day *Cobblers*, and To-morrow *Kings* ;
Your Genius try'd, conſult the Head and Heart,
Dare not at Flights ; be equal to your Part ;
Damn'd you may be attempting *Wildair's* Eaſe,
When in the * *Buffoon Doctor* you might pleaſe :
On Parts adapted to your Talents dwell,
And be your only Study to excell.
Hence they who Judgment to their Choice ad-
mit,

When caſt to Parts which will their Genius hit,
Such Eaſe with ſuch expreſſive Force is ſhown,
They make the Poet's Sentiments their own ;
Into the Character ſo ſtrong they fall,
It ſeems no longer *Art* but *Nature* all.

This muſt the Method be, or much I err,
To gain juſt Credit in a Theatre ;
To judge what Parts may now, what then be
play'd,

What to ſome future happier Time delay'd ;
Whoſe Manner, or whoſe Action they ſhou'd like,
How far at Imitation they may ſtrike,
What to improve, what ſhun, muſt well be known
To riſe a Fav'rite Actor of the Town.

Be cautious, though it long has practis'd been,
To add your own Wit to the Poet's Scene :

Now to your written Parts be strictly true,
Nor to the old insert one Sentence new:
For ev'ry Sentence new must *licens'd* be,
Nor are the *Actors* more than *Poets* free.
Yet it will shew a Quickness of the Mind,
And from the Audience sure Applause wou'd
find,

If as by Accident, and not by Art,
You cou'd add something new, and timely smart;
When some keen Satire on some antient Crimes,
You mark'd as levell'd at our modern Times:
A new chance Phrase, unknown an Age ago, }
Might strongly point out Vices acted now, }
And *Licensers* will Slips of Tongues allow— }
But be those *Slips* most careful, for they hate
One Word that marks a *Minister of State*.
Hence such Attempts thou'd with great Caution
be,

And almost with the *Prompter's* Book agree. —
—'Tis said: Shall modern *Actors* be refus'd
What all the old with Liberty have us'd?
Why shou'd old *Pinkey's* Jestings, and Grimace,
Excell young C——r's Witticisms or Face?
Why shou'd our merry Sires commend so high,
In their old Droll, what we our new deny?
Pinkey cou'd raise much Laughter we admit,
Yet equal C——r is in *Phiz*, or *Wit*:
But *Pinkey* cou'd his Jokes secure invent,
Poor *The's* restrain'd by *Act of Parliament*;
Who wou'd not, C——r, at such Act repine,
When it embargoes Wit, — and Wit like
thine?

There are peculiar Manners of the Stage,
And various Modes which vary with the Age:
Why are they envy'd then, who dare pursue
Where *Genius* leads to strike out something
new?

In the last Age gay * *Mountford* charm'd the
Town

With Comic Art peculiarly her own:
Shall not our *Clive* as just an Honour claim,
Who fix'd on inborn Excellence her Fame?
Our Sires to *Mountford* great Encomiums raise,
Shall we not *Clive* with equal Ardour praise?

We great *Originals* must both allow,
For all that *Mountford* cou'd be, *Clive* is now.

It ever pleas'd the Town, and ever will,
To see old Parts play'd with new Humour still:
They who preceding *Actors* will pursue, }
And strive to bring a *Sameness* to the View, }
By the dull Copy all our Loss renew. }
But when we see young Players, justly bold,
Rise to Perfection, we forget the old:
As in a Play Scenes vary by Degrees,
And, though the various Prospects change, they
please;

So, when a Band of antient *Actors* die,
Another Set the Theatres supply;
Blooming with Pride, they flourish, and are gay,
Then withering droop, and still to new give
Way.

Actors are mortal; and, at Death's dire Call,
Beaus, Misers, Rakes, Coquettes, and Coblers,
fall:

He rules despotic, as o'er meaner Things,
O'er *Green-Room* Heroines, and *Buskin'd* Kings:
Their mighty *Empires* mighty Changes know,
And various Revolutions undergo.
Even their *Seas* and *Heavens* have their Date,
For—*Paint* and *Pasteboard* must submit to
Fate.

What will not change in Time? That
† noble Square,

To which each Morning many Nymphs repair,
And o'er whose Confiness every Evening rove,
Famous all Day for *Greens*, all Night for *Love*:
Though nigh *D—ve—l*, there sam'd *Piazzas*
give

Whores, Gamesters, Pickpockets, a Means to
live:

There *R—ch* of a new Empire fix'd his Seat,
And wanton'd indolent in gay Retreat;
Till the calm *Monarch* into Dangers fell,
And had, to save his Realm, Recourse to *Hell*:
—Strange Fate of Things!—† A Serpent
curs'd Mankind,

But *R—ch* can Blessings in a Serpent find:

* Mrs. *Mountford*, afterwards Mrs. *Verbruggen*, was esteem'd a most excellent Actress in Comedy, and so great a Judge of Acting in General. that Mr *Verbruggen*, who was a very good Tragedian, was said to have received his chief Perfections from her Instructions: How great her Excellence must have been, may be imagin'd from her acting *Bayes* in the *Rehearsal*, with a Judgment and Vivacity equal to any who had ever performed it.

† *Covent-Garden*. † These four Lines allude to the Entertainment of *Orybous* and *Eurydice*, performed at *Covent-Garden* Theatre, to crowded Audiences. The Serpent, which is to kill *Eurydice*, with a Kind of spontaneous Motion, is mov'd about the Stage, to the great Admiration and Emulment of the Spectators: To view this Serpent, the Scenes of *Hell*, &c. Ladies send their Servants to keep Places for them, at Three o'Clock, every Time it is performed.

Hell to his Bosom can true Comfort give,
Him *Poyson* cures, and *Devils* make him live;
But this theatric Realm, that noble Square,
Shall fall in Time, and change from what they
are;

When not a * *Burlington* shall *Jones* restore,
And *R—ch* and *Pantomimes* shall be no more.

If such Piles perish, and such Realms decay,
The Modes of Acting change as well as they.

As Acting is to represent Mankind,
Actors new Method in each Age must find;
As Fashions vary, or as Humours change;
Attempt this Year what they might last think
strange:

For so the Player in Esteem is plac'd,
Who hits with most Success the reigning *Tasse*.
Be what it will to hit that wins the Heart,
Supposes Judgment, and it shews an Art.

To shew old Heroes, and make Armies
fight,

Gave in *Eliza's* warlike Reign Delight:
Then *Shakespeare* wrote of Battles, Wars, and
Kings,

And sung in noble Numbers noble Things;
From him what Deeds have tragic Heroes done!
And on a six Foot Stage what Empires lost and
won!

Beaumont and *Fletcher* with great Spirit drew
The gay and genteel Character to View:
Shew'd how warm Youth to Gallantry cou'd
rove,

And taught the pleasing Dialogue of Love:
Such Parts we saw *Wilks* hit with sprightly Ease,
And, hap'ly catching Nature's Foibles, please:
Here *Oldfield* gave an Excellence of Art,
Who in these antique Scenes cou'd fire the Heart:
Her Elegance of Judgment made all new,
That Wit e'er spirited, or Nature drew.

Greatly endow'd with Knowledge of Man-
kind,

Ben † first the Humour of the Stage refin'd:
Gave to the Play'rs new Plans of Comic Wit,
Which wou'd of great Variety admit;

Requir'd the Actors utmost Skill and Care,
For he drew *Men*; and drew them as they
were.

To represent his Characters, must be
A Knowledge of Mankind through each De-
gree:

He left such Drama for the modern Stage,
In which, who most excel, in all will most
engage.

Dave'nant ‡ in Opera's gave the tuneful Song,
And to the Drama made new Arts belong:

He first, instead of *Arras* painted Scenes,
And Heroes shou'd descending in *Machines*;
Join'd *Musick's* Power to the Actor's Art,
By double Charms to captivate the Heart:

But thus to please imperfectly he taught;
Dalton ** this Art to full Perfection brought;

Whose happy Skill made *Milton's* noble Strain
Inspire the Soul, and dignify the Scene;
With Awe the Poet's lofty Sense we hear,
Then Notes with sweetest Graces charm the Ear.
Now Virtue's Praise affects the gen'rous Mind,
Now still new Joys by *Musick's* Aid we find:
Two great alternate Arts our Passions move,
Sway'd with the Force of Virtue and of Love.

By whom were Scenes of *Harlequin* begun,
By some *French* Dancer, or our native †† *Lun*?
Though they dispute, no *Connoisseurs* can fix:
Some say *Lun* brought, some say improv'd the
Tricks:

But who in mottled Coat first charm'd the Rout,
Theatric Hist'ry leaves us Room to doubt.
Through all this various Drama of the Stage,
In any Part whoever wou'd engage,
To gain Applause from Judges must excell:
'Tis wretched to be tolerably well.

Why as just Actors shou'd we those admit,
Who will appear in Characters unfit?
In other Parts be pleasing as they will,
Whene'er they fail, they shew their Want of
Skill:

Why should the greatest Player not be told,
Of glaring Faults, and be by Sense controul'd?

* The Earl of *Burlington*, at his own Expence, repaired *Covent-Garden* Church, which was built by Sir *Inigo Jones*, and is reckoned as fine a Structure as any in *England*. † *Ben Johnson*.

‡ In this Account of Sir *William Dave'nant* I follow Theatrical Tradition; but cannot reckon him the first who introduced Singing, Scenes, and Machines on the Stage; for in *Ben Johnson's* Masques there is very pompous Machinery and Scenery described, which are often said by the Poet to be the Designs and Performances of Sir *Inigo Jones*.

** The Gentleman who adapted the Masque of *Comus* to the Stage, and by a judicious Disposition of the Scenes, and some Collections from *Milton's* Writings, has given the Publick one of the noblest Performances that was ever seen on the *English* Theatre. †† *Lun*, a fictitious Name which Mr. *R—b* assumed on his first performing the Character of *Harlequin*, and which he has ever since retained.

Better it were by decent Hints be taught,
Than one Night lose the Fame, in five they
got.

A happy Genius for low-humour'd Farce,
Ill wou'd attempt the Sound of Tragic Verse :
A mottley Tone wou'd break through all the
Style,

And dangling, awkward Action make us smile.

Shou'd *Nell** turn Heroine, as *Pistol* deigns,
On *Buskin's* too Foot high, to fill the Scenes,
All wou'd, as *Jobson's* Wife had a new Change,
Pity a Metamorphosis so strange :

But when the little Heroe we behold,
In burlesque Pomp, self-confident, and bold,
Roll round his goggling Eyes with awful Grin,
And thump his Heart,—to show it touch'd
within :

His Tragi-comic Countenance, and Stride,
With hearty Laughter shakes our quav'ring
Side.

Some, not content their Excellence to show,
Strive to reveal their Imperfections too.

Confin'd to proper Walks wou'd Actors be,
All wou'd appear with more Propriety.

Yet I allow that, in the Comic Scene,
Some who excel, excel in Tragic Strain :

And some, who justly reach the Tragic Style,
In Comic Scenes as justly make us smile :

He who, in *Rule a Wife*, can hit the Part
Of idiot Folly, must then rouse the Heart,

Lose in becoming Dignity the Fool,
And prove with tragic Grandeur he will rule.

Nor do th' *Othello's* of the Stage disdain,
In hum'rous Guise, to touch the Comic Vein,

To change the Heroe for the fat old Knight,
And with *Jack Falstaff's* Drollery delight.

Fame gives this Rule, if we to Fame may
trust,

Tragedians only act a *Falstaff* just :

In this, indeed, long famous have they been,
For *Betterton* was matchless, now is *Quin*.

'Tis not sufficient to repeat a Part

With proper Accent ; it must reach the Heart :

The Actor to the Audience must reveal,

He has the *Will*, and *Faculty* to feel :

Mov'd in himself, all others he controuls,

Commands their Thoughts, and agitates their
Souls.

When *CATO* gives his little Senate Laws,
What Bosom pants not in his gen'rous Cause ?

But shou'd, while we the Character revere,
See the great Patriot sink into the *Play'r* ;

See him look round Box, Gallery, and Pit,
Nor the least seeming Thought of *Rome* admit ;
Who wou'd not laugh to think that this Survey
Was to mark out some Friend, as, who shou'd
say,

' Pox o' this Stuff—Let *Rome* be lost or won,
' We'll drink our Bottle when the Play is
done'.

All Actors are to seem what they are not ;
Which to perform, *themselves* must be forgot :
Their Mind must lost in Character be shown,
Nor once betray a Passion of their own ;
Must to the Business of the Stage attend,
And Height of Action with their Silence blend :
Or in the *Front*, *Aside*, or back retir'd,
Something to do, or seem, is still requir'd :

This common Rule shou'd practis'd be by all,
From *Jobson* chaunting in the Cobler's Stall,
To *Cesar* thund'ring in the *Capitol*.

'Tis not enough if you can catch the *Cue*,
A strict Attention's to the Audience due ;
Gaze not around on them ; they do not pay
To see you turn Spectators, but to play.
If you are curious, there are other Means,
From the loop'd Curtain, or behind the Scenes.

When in old Parts you venture to pursue
A Manner of your own, to make them new, }
Still to the *Character* be strictly true.

To act *Macheath* more Merit must you bring,
Than thrill a Ballad, and with Quaver sing ;

A manly Gesture and a sprightly Air
Must with a proper Dignity appear ;

The gay mock Heroe must our Passions move,
By Joy, by Courage, in Distress, and Love.

Some Parts 'tis Danger to attempt at all,
When late we've seen a great Original ;

We by the first Impression are so wrought,
All Copies, though well copy'd, have much

Fault :

Nor is this partial Prejudice alone ;
The Author's Sense to the first Actor's shown }
In the full Spirit, and becomes his own :

Hence, *Walker*, though we many *Macheaths*
view,

The standard Excellence remains in you.

Sometimes a Poet, studiously absurd,
Fit for one Person only writes each Word :

Or could Miss *Lucy* the first Night survive,
Had not each Word adapted been for *Clive* ?

Lucy, or *Lapper*, or her fav'rite *Nell*,
May copy'd be — *she* only will excell.

* The principal Character in the Farce, called, *The Devil to pay* ; or, *The Wives Metamorphos'd*.

† Miss *Lucy* : A Character in the *Virgin Unmask'd*.

Some to the Stage unus'd, unskill'd, untaught,
To charm at first Appearance have been brought,
And, of Applause secure, assume a Part
Requires Experience and the nicest Art;
The pompous Bill proclaims it o'er and o'er,
They ne'er appear'd on any Stage before
And when they've once appear'd — appear
no more.

So have I seen large-letter'd Bills proclaim,
(In red Lines *France* was mark'd, in black the
Name)

The celebrated *H——n* was to dance
His first Performance since arriv'd from *France*:
—The House was crowded; — the third Act
was done;
A Chorus figur'd Entry brought him on:
He came; — he caper'd once; — and off he
run.

The Pomp so solemn ended in a Joke,
For, ah! the String that ty'd his Breeches broke.

Vain all the *Puffs* to publick Papers sent;
Vain all the *Arts* ev'n *C--bb--r* could invent;
What Skill do *Bills* or *Advertisements* lend?
On *Merit* only must *Success* depend.
Booth ne'er attempted, in a pompous Way,
To reach Perfection in his first Essay;
Through many Counties had he stroling been,
Trod many Stages, and play'd many a Scene,
Before the *British Roscius* he became;
And fix'd, while *Britain's* Stage shall last, his
Name:

He knew experienc'd Truths must gain his
Cause,
Nor made small Fame to follow small Applause;
Commanding of Respect, his Step, his Look,
Invited all Attention e're he spoke:
With what a Majesty he mov'd along!
How tuneful flow'd the Periods of his Tongue!
Inform'd by Nature, and improv'd by Art,
Speaking, or silent, he won ev'ry Heart,
Or all admiring listen'd with Surprise,
Or on his graceful Form they fed their raptur'd
Eyes;

The Fiction lost, they realiz'd the Scene,
And saw entranc'd a Heroe live again.

'Tis said, as Actors on the Stage make known
All others Foibles, nor reveal their own,
Many there are, who've sat out many ' Play,
Nor went near the twelfth Hour fatigu'd away;
Who on the Stage the Players have admir'd,
Have wish'd to know their Humours, when
retir'd:

They of strange Things behind the Curtain hear,
And wonder what those famous *Green-Rooms* are.
For *Fame* says many go behind the Scenes,
To romp with *Goddesses*, and joke with *Queens*,
With half-drunk *Bishops* talk of smutty Things,
Bow'd to by *Emperors*, and *shook Hands* by
Kings.

These Scenes conceal'd from common Light
arise,
Whose Humour pleases, and whose Themes
surprise:

In all according to their Rank you find
Various Behaviour, and as various Mind;
All with peculiar Oddities engage,
From him who *sweeps*, to him who *rules* the
Stage.

These, *MUSE*, relate: — But why this sud-
den Pause,
Vers'd in their Arts, their Humours, and their
Laws?

When what to think and what to say I know,
Why will not ev'n *Prosaic* Numbers flow?
— Some God indulgent twitches by the Ear,
And kindly whispers, — ' Too rash Bard, for-
bear;

' Enough hast thou traduc'd *Horatian* Rules,
' Indulging Fancy, and describing Fools;
' In Imitation should your Verse succeed,
' When such the Subject, who the Verse will
' read?

' What publick Benefit will it impart
' To know a Player's Humour, or his Art?
' — *Humour* be what it will, if just, is lov'd—,
' E're you write more see what you've wrote
' approv'd:

' Then of the Stage the various Theme prolong,
' Or wisely here for ever close your Song.

The Cuckows Nest at *Westminster* : Or, The Parliament between the two Lady-Birds, Queen *Fairfax* and Lady *Cromwell*, concerning Negotiations of State, and their several Interests in the Kingdom; sadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer and ab-hor'd Husbands.

Who buys a Cuckow's Nest, hatch'd in an Air
That's not far distant from *Westminster-Fair* ?
The Hedge-Sparrow, that fed her t'other Day,
Is, for her Kindness, now become her Prey ;
O 'tis a precious Bird, wer't in a Cage,
'Twould please both King and People; cure this Age
That surfeits with Rebellion, and can have
No Help to keep her from Destruction's Grave.
She cuckows Treasons, Strifes, causes great Stir,
But must pack hence 'twixt this and *Midsummer* :
Though *Goatham* hedge her in with Pikes and Gun,
She shall not 'scape us, though she flies, or runs ;
For all the Birds with one Consent agree,
To spring her for base Disloyalty.

By *Mercurius Melancholicus*. Printed in Cuckow-time in a Hollow-tree, 1648. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

WHO is it amongst us that hath not heard these Cuckows at *Westminster* ? An Ayrie of such ominous Owl-birds, that the like was never before seen in this Kingdom; that have kept a great Cackling, and been long and close Sitters, but have hatched Nothing but Cockatrice Eggs, vile Treasons, addle Ordinances, and the like, to insnare and enslave a free-born People, making of them no better than Hedge-Sparrows, to nurse up, with their Wealth, the bastard Issue of their pernicious Plots against King, Church, and Kingdom; the common People,

that willingly fed them, and lent them not only Hands, but Lives and Estates, being now, for their great Kindness, justly become a Prey to the ravenous and griping Claws of these Cannibal Cuckows, the Parliament and Army, that now are devouring them, after they have pulled and polled them to the bare Skins; are now feeding upon their Flesh, and picking their very Bones, killing, destroying, and robbing them; and, if this be not enough to provoke the People to curse these unnatural Vipers, and to loath all future Parliaments to the World's End, I have lost my Senses; none will fear them, none will love them, none will obey them,

them, all will hate them, all will despise them, all fight against them.

Let us now consider what Manner of Birds these be; and we shall find them not Cuckows only, but other Birds of Prey, as Vultures, Harpies, Puttocks, Ostriches, Owls, Martins, Daws, and such like ominous and unclean Birds, that with their huge Bodies, and baleful Wings, have obscured our King, our Peace, our Happiness, and hid all Joy and Comfort from us; these are all Birds of a Feather, that sit in Council, and conspire together against the Eagle, the Phenix, the Turkey, the Pea-hen, the Turtle, the Swan, the Canary, and sweet-singing Nightingale, who, being all too credulous to believe the feigned Babblings of these State-decoys, are now covered and intangled in their Nets, caught in their Pit-falls, and all their Goods and Feathers pulled from them by Lime-twigg Ordinances.

These Birds of Prey flock together at *Westminster*; and have, for almost eight Years, roosted themselves there, even till they had defiled their very Nests, and were forced to fly Abroad till they were cleaned; and yet sit brooding and hatching their pernicious Plots and Treasons, Cockatrice Ordinances, bald buzzardly Votes, contradicting Orders, and changeling Declarations, both against the Laws of Nature, Reason, Conscience, and Religion; and have usurped all Power and Authority from, and over their lawful and undoubted Sovereign, doing their utmost to deprive both him and his Posterity of their hereditary Rights and Successions, denying to acknowledge him for their Head, forbidding Addresses to be made unto him, or Messages to be received from him; by which they have changed and abandoned the National and Fundamental Laws of the Land (the only Ligaments and Sinews of a Kingdom) being an Act, not only of the highest Treason that can be, but a Crime that divests them of all their Privileges, unparliaments them, and makes them all guilty of the abhorred Sin of Perjury, in breaking Protestations, Oaths, and Covenants, and liable to a just Censure, and Conviction of Theft, Treason, and Rebellion; for which they can no otherwise satisfy the King, Laws, or People, but by the Tribute of their Roundheads, too slight a Recompence for such abhorred and traitorous Crimes.

Therefore the People may now see, without Spectacles, how grossly they have been deceived,

and juggled out of their Lives and Estates; it is true, the Parliament, at the first, convened by Royal Authority, was a lawful, and, for aught I know, a conscientious Parliament, and the whole Body (being aptly and completely united together in the Members, without forceable Dislocation, or false Election) was, unquestionless, the highest Judicature in this Kingdom: But, since *Edgehill* Fight, this Junctio (or pretended Parliament, acting in open Hostility, and fighting against their King) abandoning their Head, are no more a Parliament, but the Body of a Parliament, without a Head, a Monster, a very Cuckow's-nest; a combined Medley of Traitors and Rebels, and far different from the Nature of a Parliament (by Reason of their *Luciferian* Pride, to be flung down to Hell) and to be deserted by all loyal Subjects, as disjointed, fevered, and mangled in its Members; as deficient as their then General, incapable of any just Act, but wading on in Blood (by an usurped, treasonous, tyrannical, and over-awing Power, having no Derivation from the King, but their own Lusts) therefore no Subject whatsoever hath any Warrant, neither can they bind the Conscience of any, to yield either Active or Passive Obedience to any Act or Ordinance, because they illegally act, contrary to all Precedents of former Parliaments, and Parliamentary Power, and are no longer the visible Representatives of the Body Politick, and so must necessarily be guilty of all the innocent Bloodshed these six Years in this Kingdom, and still shedding in most Counties in *England*; these Rebels being so fleshed in Blood and Rapine, they are resolved to go thorough-skitch in their abhorred Rebellion, though they ruin three Kingdoms, by their inhuman Butcheries, being rewarded with a large Sum for shedding Blood in the City, encouraged and rewarded for murdering the *Surry* Petitioners, the *Kentish*, and *Essex* Men, for delivering, in a legal Way, Petitions for Redress of their several Grievances; What can any rational Man think, but that they defer to murder their King, until such Time as they have first murdered and destroyed all his loyal Subjects?

That, when the Army could not have an Opportunity to plunder the City, as Nothing so sure as they intended it, they were hired by *Martin*, *Mildmay*, *Vane*, and the rest of that Nest, to pick a Quarrel with the Country, that they might plunder and undo them, when then they

they had miss'd of their Aim in the City, as now they do in *Essex, Kent*, and all the Kingdom over, killing, plundering, and triumphing over all they are able to conquer; so that between both Parties, Royalists and Roundheads, as between the good and bad Thief, the poor Country must be crucified.

The chief Fomentors that are Regicides, and most active in our Destruction in the Upper House, are the Lords *Say, Pembroke, Manchester, Kent, Warwick, Denbigh, Stamford, Wharton*, and *Grey*; these always cuckow forth one Tune, *No King, no King*; in the Lower House, are a Nest of as evil Birds, as ever hatched at *Tyburn*, and these are *Lentball, Mildmay, Scot, Challoner, Martin, Weaver, Vane, Corbet*, and *Cromwell*, that cannot endure to hear the King so much as named in the House; in the Synod of Time-serving Presbyters, there are *Marshall, Burges, Strong, Sedgwick, Vines, Love, Whittaker*, and *Nye*, that draw altogether in one Yoke, against Monarchy; these teach Rebellion instead of Divinity, more Lyes than Truth, more Blasphemy than sound Doctrine, and will have no King to reign over them, except he be of the Royal Progeny of Mrs. *Parliament*, or the Child of *Reformation*: In the Army, there are another Nest of Birds, but not of the same Feather, and these be the Elect forsooth, the precious Babes that are hail-fellow with God Almighty, see strange Visions, and are possessed with unerring Spirits, that whatsoever they do, though never so impudent and wicked, is lawful; and these are, *Peters, Dell, Erbury, Knowles, Goodwin, Symson*, &c. The first Rank of these are Oxen, and the latter Asses, which the Parliament yoke in their Plough together, because they are forbidden it in the old Law, and, by that Means, avoid Idolatry; but their Drivers are more charitable than these Beasts, for they but kill our Bodies, and rob us of our Goods, but these Wolvish Cattle slay

our Souls, take away our good Names, judge us, and condemn us to Hell; these are the charitable Saints, that have the Mark of their Brother *Cain* in their Foreheads; Vagabonds that have no Abiding-places, but are hurried with every Wind from one Uncertainty to another, and are constant in Nothing but Mischiefs; these are the running Plague-sores that infect the whole Nation, and cause Swellings and Risings in the Body of the Commonwealth; these are those that sow Discord amongst Brethren, and though, like *Samson's* Foxes, they are tied Tail to Tail, yet they carry a Fire-brand amongst them, that burns up both Church and State in the merciless and consuming Flames of an unnatural and bloody War; these are the Disturbers of our *Israel*, and Hinderers of our Peace; old Foxes, and wild Boars, that root up our Vineyards, feeding themselves fat on the Ruins of others; these, instead of expelling out Papacy, but one Faction, have brought in five-hundred damnable Sects, and set them all to devour Episcopacy, to bring in blessed Liberty to pull down Monarchy, and set up Aristocracy, by which Means they have advanced their hypocritical, diabolical, and pernicious Treasons to this very Day: Are not these Cuckows worthy of a Cage? Surely they be: But I shall leave this Nest of foul Birds to the People's Ordering, having told them where it is, only desiring all loyal People to secure their Money from them, to provide Arms for their own Defence, and rather chuse to die like Men, than live like Slaves. But I will, instead of an Epilogue, give you a Dialogue to cure your Melancholy.

Then hie *Tosi*, black *Tom* is dead,
Come aloft *Jack-a-dandy*,
Sir Samuel Luke shall be General,
And that's as good as can be.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Enter Queen Fairfax and Madam Cromwell.

M. Cromwell. **C**HEAR up, Madam, he is not dead, he is reserved for another End, these wicked Malignants reported as much of my *Nell*, but I hope it is otherwise; yet the Profane writ an Epitaph, as I think they call it, and abused him most abominably,

as they will do me, or you, or any of the faithful Saints, if we but thrive by our Occupations in our Husbands Absence; if we but deck our Bodies with the Jewels gained from the Wicked, they point at us, and say, Those are Plunder; but the Righteous must undergo the

Scoffis

Scoffs of the Wicked ; but let them scoff on, I thank my Maker, we lived before these holy Wars were thought on, in the thriving Profession of Brewing, and could, of my Vails of Grains and Yest, wear my Silk Gown, and Gold and Silver Lacetoo, as well as the proudest Minx of them all ; I am not ashamed of my Profession, Madam.

Qu. Fair. Pray, Mrs. Cromwell, tell not me of Gowns or Lace, nor no such Toys ? Tell me of Crowns, Scepters, Kingdoms, Royal Robes ; and, if my Tom but recovers, and thrives in his Enterprize, I will not say, *Pish*, to be Queen of England ; I misdoubt Nothing, if we can but keep the Wicked from fetching *Nebuchadnezzar* Home from Grasse in the Isle of *Wight* ; well, well, my Tom is worth a Thousand of him, and has a more kingly Countenance ; he has such an innocent Face, and a harmless Look, as if he were born to be Emperor over the Saints.

Mrs. Crom. And is not *Noll Cromwell's* Wife as likely a Woman to be Queen of England, as you ? Yes, I warrant you, is she ; and that you shall know, if my Husband were but once come out of *Wales* ; it is he that has done the Work, the Conquest belongs to him ; besides, your Husband is counted a Fool, and wants Wit to reign ; every Boy scoffs at him : My *Noll* has a Head-piece, a Face of Brasse, full of Majesty, and a Nose will light the whole Kingdom to walk after him ; I say he will grace a Crown, being naturally adorned with Diamonds and

Rubies already ; and, for myself, though I say it, I have a Person as fit for a Queen as another.

Qu. Fair. Thou a Queen, thou a Queen ? Udsfoot, Minion, hold your Clack from Prating Treason against me, or I will make Mrs. *Parliament* lay her Ten Commandments upon thee ? Thou a Queen, a Brewer's Wife a Queen ? That Kingdom must needs be full of Drunkards, when the King is a Brewer ? My Tom is nobly descended, and no base Mechanick.

Mrs. Crom. Mechanick ? Mechanick in thy Face ; thou art a Whore to call me Mechanick ; I am no more a Mechanick than thyself : Marry come up, Mother *Damnable*, *Joan Ugly* ; must you be Queen ? Yes, you shall ; Queen of *Puddledock*, or *Billinggate*, that is fittest for thee : My *Noll* has won the Kingdom, and he shall wear it, in despite of such a Trollop as thou art : Marry, come up here, Mrs. *Wagtail* ?

Enter a Servant running.

Serv. O, Madam, cease your Contention, and provide for your Safeties ; both your Husbands are killed, and all their Forces put to the Sword ; all the People crying like mad, *Long live King Charles* !

Omn. We hope 'tis false ; O whither shall we fly,

Left Vengeance overtake our Treachery ?

A Nest of perfidious Vipers : Or, The Second Part of the Parliament's Calendar of black Saints. Pictured forth in a Second Arraignment, or Gaol-delivery of Malignants, Jesuits, *Arminians*, and Cabinet-Counsellors, being the fatal Engineers, Plotters, and Contrivers of Treasons against the Parliament, our Religion, Laws, and Lives. Condemned according to their several Crimes. London, Printed according to Order, for G. Bishop, September 21, 1644. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

WELL, since we must go to work again, and fill up the second Part of our Calendar with *Black Saints*; we first present you with a Nest of the vilest *Vipers* that ever *Africk*, or *Nile*, did produce; a Generation so cursed, that they have rent out the Bowels of their own natural Mothers, and been the abhorred Murderers of their Fathers; such as have made Women Husbandless, Mothers Childless, and two flourishing Kingdoms almost fruitless, whose poisonous Breaths have infected the purer Air, mixing the Clouds with Cries and Groans; made black that glorious Diadem, that should impale the Sacred Brow of Majesty, rendering the Honour glorious to God and Man; whose baneful Stings have turned the Crystal Veins of Earth to Springs of Blood, and dyed the verdant Grass in Crimson Gore, that used to be enamelled with fragrant Flowers: Serpents that have out-done old Satan for Plots and Treacheries against our Religion, Laws, and innocent Lives: Of these there be both Male and Female, of divers Sorts and Kinds, as some Basilisks, some flying Dragons, some Cockatrices, some fiery Serpents, some curled winding Snakes, some dangerous Adders, &c.

And first, for our Basilisks or Bishops, whose Eyes were dangerous, and as full of Pride, as their Hearts of deadly Poison in the Cup of the *Babylonish Harlot*: These Sons of Pride and Vain-glory could at their Pleasure look a poor Protestant dead, through the Pride and feigned Veil of seeming Humility, but indeed Hypocrisy, Ambition, and the cruellest Tyranny that Oppressors could devise to enslave, and dishonour a flourishing Kingdom and a free-born People. These had their Residence in the greatest Courts of Justice, as the *Star-Chamber*, the *Council-Table*, and *High Commission*, &c. And so made a Monopoly of Earth, as before they had done of Heaven, in forgiving Sins, and Hell too, in taking Fees for the most abhorred Villainies, as Adultery, Fornication, and the rest of the Seven, under a glorious Pretence of repairing Cathedrals, and setting up Organ-pipes and Images: These Serpents carried deadly Stings in their long black Tails, borne up by a Company of Proctors, Apparitors, and Informers, *Duck, Lamb*, and the rest, as foul a Nest of the ugliest Vi-

pers as ever Nature did produce: These have stung to death many Godly Ministers, and other Religious Protestants and Professors of the Truth of the Gospel; some imprisoned, some whipped, some hanged, some seared with hot Irons, others pilloried, having their Ears cut off, because they would not endure Popery to be planted in our Churches: These fat Bulls, or dumb Dogs, feed upon their Flocks, when they should have fed their Focks, and so sacrificed to their godless Bellies, when many a poor Member of Christ lay starving at their Gates, as near pined for outward Provision for their Bodies, as their more languishing Souls were for spiritual Instructions.

The First, that we intend to saint in our second Calendar, is a foul Bird of this Nest called *Wren*. Cryer, call *Wren* to the Bar, a right *Basilisk*, that looked to Death near threescore and odd Ministers in one Visit, or Yearly Perambulation over his Diocese at *Ipwich*; little Pope *Regulus* that reigned like a Tyrant, and, though a small Bird, yet sung a scurvy Tune, *Counter Tenor*, Oh *Base*, and, instead of *Treble*, sung *Terrible*: Make his *Mittimus*, let him have Time to consider of the Lawfulness of the Oath *Ex Officio* in *Bridewell*: Let him not want Castigation, and see that none of the Puritan Faction come near him, or relieve him, 'tis the only Way to make him conformable to us. Or, Oh *Base*, let him kiss *Newgate*, lie in the Common Gaol, and be sure to have Chains enough: Make his *Mittimus* to the *Gate-house*, or obtain the Favour of *Long's* Powdering-Tub, which shall powder him soundly, long enough before he come forth: These were the base and terrible Tunes of this Right Reverend Father in God (the God of this World I mean.) Surely his Predecessors the Apostles, that he so much boasteth of, exhort him rather to admonish lovingly, and instruct kindly, than punish so cruelly. I never read that they, in their greatest Passion, committed or imprisoned (yet patiently endured both themselves) those that would not conform themselves to their Truths: Yet you can do all this to those, that will not conform themselves to your Lyes. This *Wren* was so holy, that, if a Stranger should chance to spit on the sanctified Pavement of his Chapel, a Scholar must take his Handkerchief and wipe it up, and duck

duck three Times to the Altar, and yet, for all this, was so profane and un sanctified in his Heart (that should have been more holy than the Chapel, or Altar, or Pavement) that he kept another Man's Wife in *Cambridge*, and, though a *Wren*, yet in that proved himself a very *Cock-Sparrow*. This methinks should be a great Spot in his *Lacon Sleeves*, and put him in Mind of a Brother of his in *Ireland*, that was hanged for such a holy Business; *Finch* of *Christ-Church* was another Bird of the same Feather, and might well be thy Chaplain, that had been so apt a Scholar under thee, in the School of *Lust*: Those at *Ipswich*, that devised the Engine to take thee in the little House over the Water, pull thee into a Litter, and carry thee into *New England*, would have done *Old England* a great Courtesy, that is fain to feed so foul a Bird in a Cage all this While: If we should have Bishops to reign over us, as 'tis unlikely we should, thy Crimes are so great and enormous, that thou must expect a Halter rather than a Mitre; therefore, being undeserving and incapable of a Bishoprick, expect to take new Orders, and commence at *Tyburn*. Take him, Derrick.

Call *Mountague* to the Bar, a *Roman Basilisk*, whose Head fitted the Windmill better than the Mitre, and mounted up *Arminianism* till he had endangered his Lungs again, and made his Voice more hoarse, than his Reverend Kinswoman, with crying *New Wainfleet Oysters*. King *James*, being as wise as religious, seeing the spreading infectious Issue of thy Quill, quashed it in the Egg, knowing that Heresy, once hatched, was soon brooded, and would quickly grow into numerous Swarms (being always frightful enough) both disallowed, condemned, and forbid thy Heretical Books the Press, and would not let thy poisonous Wings over-cloud the bright though humble Beams of Truth, issuing from the pure Sun of the Gospel: Though like an impudent Magpy, with all thy Chattering, thou couldest not blind that bright-eyed Eagle, that could out-look the Sun, apparelled with his brightest Beams and Glory; yet still wouldst strive with that old Serpent, whose Pride could not prevail with God, to extend his Malice by tempting his Son. *All this will I give thee, &c.* The Kingdom of *Spain*, the Empire of *Germany*, *France* and all, all shall be thine, if thou wilt but worship me, turn Catholick, and, like an obedient Son, destroy thy Puritan Subjects;

'tis no Matter how, I can forgive thee, or, to make thy Way sure, make Use of Protections, call Heaven and Earth, and Hell to Witness, all the Mental Reservations, or Equivocations, thou canst devise, or we devise for thee, so that the Catholick Cause go forward, 'tis good enough. Well spoke *Mountague*, thou shalt have a Mitre, or a Cardinal's Cap in Time; a three-cornered Cap for thee and the rest of thy Faction. Take him, Derrick.

Cryer, Call *White* to the Bar, a dangerous *Basilisk*, of the same Nest, and one that loved any Thing better than a Parliament; one whose poisonous Breath infected the Sanctity of the Sabbath, maintained the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, and writ whole Volumes in Defence of Arch *Arminians*, and defended their Heresy at a packed Conference; this Viper, by the Instructions of the Arch-*Basilisk* of *Canterbury*, would suffer none to be preferred, but those that would prefer and favour those dangerous Tenents, by them urged and maintained: Then *Cosens*, *Regulus*, *Corbet*, *Pocklington*, *Heylyn*, and a little more of Sowers, Planters, and Waterers of the Seeds of Superstition and Popery, were sent out to infect the Kingdom of *England*, which took admirably, and quickly brought forth an excellent Crop of Popery: Then long-tailed Clokes were in Fashion, the Jesuits Garb right, worn by a Company of Priests, the merriest Fellows, boon Lads: Let the Devil preach, quoth one, give me the other Quart of Sack: Lie there Divinity, says another to his Gown. Come, my Girl, let me embrace thy lovely Corps; Dost think I am good for Nothing but to preach, &c? These rare Divines would preach against Spiritual Whoredom, yet be arrant Monks at the other; that was, when their precise Parishioners, termed Round-heads, would seek out for some Spiritual Comforts, because they could have none at Home, sometimes not in a Month together, yet must be excommunicated, derided by uncivil Names, and termed Puritans, Round-heads, Spiritual Whoremongers, &c. Was not this excellent Sport indeed? And surely, such Priests, such People, though, God be blessed, not all. These *Basilisks* could suffer the Sabbath to be profaned, by Drunkards, Players, Wakes, Morrice-dancers, May-poles, and what not, and by Authority too: Much more might be spoken

on this Subject; but enough of these Vipers, and too much too: I have others as bad to shew you, and will leave these to the Justice and Prudence of the Parliament. *Take them, Derrick.*

The next we present you, are a Crew of Flying Dragons, that have many Wings, right Wings, and left Wings, and double Faces, that can soon face about, be here and there, and every where to do Mischief, plunder, ravish, fire, and the like.

Cryer. Call Prince *Rupert* to the Bar, Thou hast been a right Flying Dragon Prince, and hast flew strangely up and down in this Island, and hast stung to Death those that formerly preserved thy Life. O ungrateful Viper, far worse than that in the Fable! Dost not thou think to be fainted for this? Yes, thou shalt in this Black Calendar: The Commons of *England* will remember thee, thou Flap-Dragon, thou Butter-Box; whose Impieties draw, like the powerful Load-stone, speedy Vengeance on thy cursed Head? How many Towns hast thou fired? How many Virgins hast thou deflowered? How many godly Ministers hast thou killed? How much hast thou plundered from his Majesty's best and most obedient Subjects? How many Innocents hast thou slain? How many cursed Oaths hast thou belched out against God and his People? How hast thou surfeited with the good Things of our Land, and undone whole Counties? Why camest thou hither? Could not thy Uncle's evil Counsel infect our Kingdom enough, unless thou hadst a Share in it. Thou hadst a Dukedom already, and wouldest thou have a Kingdom too? Is it that thou aimest at? King of *Ireland*, or King of his Majesty's best Subjects the *Irish* Rebels, the Papists, Jesuits, and others: Yes thou shalt have a Kingdom, and Pimps instead of Preachers, Wenches for thy Privy-counsellors, a black Pot for thy Scepter, or a white Pot for thy Crown; and shalt make Laws accordingly, wholesome Laws I'll warrant you. Thou hast had but scurvy Luck lately, I cannot pity thee, at *Marston Moor*, where thy Highness was soundly cudgelled into the Bean-field, and hadst Time to write the Elegy of thy Dog in direful Tears, Curses, and Execrations: Prince, have a Care, thou mayest be next, Ingratitude never speeds better, and so farewell, and be—*Take him, Garret.*

Call Prince *Maurice* to the Bar, a Dancing Dragon, that hath danced fairly after the lewd Measures of his ungodly Brother, in firing Houses, and killing of Godly Ministers, deflowering of Virgins, murdering his Majesty's best Subjects, and plundering and undoing the Kingdom; these Jiggs are now become Court-dances; though 'tis an unusual Thing to use Jiggs and Dances in Tragedies, yet now 'tis the Court-fashion, which makes *Inigo Jones* fret himself into a Consumption, and wish thy Highness might dance in a Halter, or dance thy Head from thy Shoulders, that hast thus altered the Property, and turned the Scene into Sin, and such horrid Sin, that it can scarce be paralleled in any Story, except in the highest Story. *Take him, Garret.*

Call Marquis *Hartford* to the Bar, one that has more Wit, than to fight for the Protestant Religion: Does not *Endymion Porter* fight for the Protestant Religion? Does not *Digby* fight for the Protestant Religion? Yes, Papists do fight for the Protestant Religion, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject; they fight for all these, as our's, to fight them away from us, as they fight away our Estates, or as the Thief fights for the true Man's Purse. Did the Cabinet-Council invent this Fighting? And would not they have King *Charles* fight thus? Does not *Brainsford* fight thus? *Cottington*, *Hopton*, *Hurrey*, and the rest fight thus; and *Legge* and *Lumford* fight thus, with *Capel*, *Hastings*, and all that godless Crew? And this is the War these Men maintain, withal, to preserve their Persons and Estates from the Justice of the Law, when themselves are above Religion, or the Law either.

Call the Duke of *Richmond* to the Bar. His Father was truly noble, and loved Parliaments, though he was unfortunately stung to Death by one of these poisonous Vipers, because he did so; but the Son loves the Murderers the better, and hates the Parliament he should love, and hath in Exchange a living Lady for a dead Father. *Take him, Greg.*

Call *Littleton* to the Bar, Lord Keeper. His Predecessor, *Finch*, paid a good large Sum for the Place, and had more Reason to run away with the Great Seal, than *Littleton*, that paid nothing for it: Little Honesty in that, to deal so dishonestly, and fly from them that had dealt so well with him; little Justice too, to steal

steal away and divorce that Spouse, that had been so long married to the Parliament, and hath put that Great Council to no little Trouble in making a new one; therefore expect as little Mercy from me. *Take him, Derrick.*

Lindsey, stand to the Bar. Thou understandest already what it is to fight against the true Protestant Religion, the Parliament's Privileges, and the Subject's Rights, under a feigned Pretence of Maintaining them; *Edgehill* put the Period to thy Days; and, though thou wert valiant, yet, in that Cause, thy Valour was but a Crime, a valiant Crime; and so is the Valour of all Rebels valiant Crimes; but thou hast thy Reward.

Huntingdon, hold up thy Hand. Thou art one of these Valiants too, valiant in a bad Cause, that differ much from *David's* Valiants; there be many such Valiants, that are valiant to do Mischief, valiant to undo your Country, though you undo yourselves. A List of these Valiants followeth, *viz.* The Earls of *Cumberland, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Northampton, Devonshire, Bristol, Berkshire, Monmouth, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Newport, Caernarvon, Mowbray, and Montreviers*; Lords *Rich, Newark, Paget, Chandos, Faulconbridge, Paulet, Lovelace, Saville, Mobun, Dunsmore, Seymour, Hopton, Capell, Jermyn, Faulkland, Banks, Nicolas, Gardiner*, Comptroller, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, &c. enough of all Conscience, besides *Irish* Rebels. These all fight valiantly for the Protestant Religion, as it stood established in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth's* Sister.

I trust, every true Protestant sees this, and acknowledgeth Parliaments the finest Expounders of the Law, and Judges of Offenders, either to acquit, or condemn them; and will, so soon as it shall please God to deliver up these Vipers into their Hands, pull out their infectious Stings, and deliver them up to the Justice of the Law, that thus vilely have betrayed Religion, and Law both.

Call the Cockatrices to the Bar, the old *French* Madam; nay, and the young one too, little inferior. Who went with *Jermyn* into *Holland*, because *England* was so unworthy of her, as *Digby* says? Who went to the Brokers with the Jewels of the Crown, and the Cup-board of gold Plate? Who bought Pocket-pistols, Barrels of Powder, and many such pretty Toys to destroy the Protestants? Was

it Queen *Mary*? The very same who is gone into *France* to do the like? Queen *Mary*, a happy Instrument to destroy the Protestants! There is another Cockatrice, I forget her Name, a Kind of Harlotry belonging to the Cabinet-Council, one that married the Fox-headed *Irish* Rebel, and was once Duchess of *Buckingham*; a prime Piece of Mortality, and worthy Sainting in our Calendar; her Faults would make a whole Volume. *Take her, Devil.*

The next are curled winding Snakes, Court-parasites, and corrupt Judges, that could make his Majesty believe any Thing, and screw and wind themselves, as they do the Law, into his Majesty's Favour, and tell him fine Tales to little Purpose: Such were *Noy, Windebank, Hyde, Mallet, Bartlet, &c.* a Brood of dangerous Vipers, with baneful Stings, to poor *England's* Cost.

The last are dangerous Adders; and those are the Commissioners of *Array*, that would arm the Subjects to kill themselves, or those whom themselves have chosen and intrusted with their Religion, Laws, and hereditary Rights, and the King acknowledged to be his great and faithful Council: Surely, they ought then to defend his Royal Person, as well as their own Rights, or their own Persons, being all in apparent Danger. The Law allows rather to kill, than to be killed; *David* was not restrained to defend himself against *Saul*, much less against his evil Counsel; if *Saul* would obstinately thrust himself into Danger amongst his evil Counsellors, and wilfully perish, *David* is guiltless. *David* took up Arms in his own Defence, the Parliament and Kingdom in Defence of the true Religion, and to rescue the King from Traitors and Rebels, not against the King: God forbid. If we make Choice of Men, and trust them with our Rights (the King acknowledging them his great Council) it questionless behoves them, according to that Trust, to defend his Person and Posterity equal with their own Rights: With what unwearied Labours, even to the Loss of Lives and Estates, the Parliament hath discharged this Trust, no Eye can be so blind; but must needs see and confess, with a thankful Heart, That they have done as much, as in them lay, to redeem his Majesty from evil Counsellors, to preserve the true and pure Gospel, and to rescue our Laws and hereditary

tary Rights from the Violence of Malignants, Delinquents, Papiſts, and others; and ingenuouſly confeſs, That we ſtand juſtly bound by Conſcience, Religion, and Law, to aſſiſt them

with our Eſtates and Lives; which with all Willingneſs let us reſolve to do, and rather chuſe to die like Men, than live like Slaves.

Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, during the Reigns of King *Henry VIII*, *Edward VI*, and Queen *Mary*: Wherein are ſeveral material Paſſages, omitted by other Hiſtorians, concerning the Manner how that Kingdom was firſt converted to the Proteſtant Religion; and how, by the ſpecial Providence of God, Dr. *Cole*, a bloody Agent of Queen *Mary*, was prevented in his Deſigns againſt the Proteſtants there: Set forth in the Life and Death of *George Browne*, ſometime Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, who was the firſt of the *Romiſh* Clergy in *Ireland* that threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and forſook the Idolatrous Worſhip of *Rome*; with a Sermon of his on that Subject. Printed at *London*, and ſold by *Randal Taylor*, 1681. Quarto containing twenty Pages.

The Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the Life and Death of George Browne, ſometime Archbiſhop of Dublin, &c.

GEORGE BROWNE, by Birth an *Engliſhman*, of the Order of *St. Auguſtine* in *London*, and Provincial of the *Friars* of the ſame Order in *England*, being a Man of a meek and peaceable Spirit, was preferred to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Dublin* by King *Henry the Eighth*, and conſecrated, before his Arrival into *Ireland*, by *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, two other Biſhops aſſiſting him, viz. *John*, then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Nicholas*, then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, on the 19th of *March*, Anno 1535.

The Reverend *James Uſher*, late Primate of *Armagh*, amongſt his Memorials of *Ireland*, gives this holy Father this Deſcription: *George Browne* was a Man of a chearful Countenance, in his Aſts and Deeds plain downright, to the Poor merciful and compaſſionate, pitying the State and Condition of the Souls of the People,

adviling them, when he was Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Order in *England*, to make their Applications ſolely to *Chriſt*; which Advice coming to the Ears of *Henry the Eighth*, he became a Favourite, and upon the Deceafe of *John Allen*, late Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, became his Succeſſor: Within five Years after he had enjoyed that See, he (much about the Time that King *King Henry the Eighth* began to demolish the Pories, Abbies, and Monafteries, formerly built by the *Romiſh* Clergy within theſe his Maſteſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*) cauſed all ſuperſtitious Relicks and Images to be removed out of the two Cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of the reſt of the Churches within his Dioceſe; he cauſed the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be placed, being gilded and in Frames, about the Altar in the Cathedral of *Chriſt-Church* in *Dublin*. He was the firſt that

that turned from the *Romish* Religion of the Clergy here in *Ireland*, to embrace the Reformation of the Church of *England*; for which Fact he was by Queen *Mary* laid aside, and his Temporality taken from him; yet he patiently endured Affliction for the Truth to the End.

Upon the Reformation of King *Henry the Eighth* in *England*, and at his Renouncing the Papal Power or Supremacy of *Rome*, the Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, then Lord Privy-Seal, wrote unto *George Browne*, then Archbishop of *Dublin*, signifying from his Highness (then terming the King by that Title) that he was fallen absolutely from *Rome* in spiritual Matters, within his Dominion of *England*, and how it was his Royal Will and Pleasure to have his Subjects there in *Ireland* to obey his Commands as in *England*, nominating the said *George Browne*, Archbishop, one of his Commissioners for the Execution thereof, who in a short Space of Time wrote to the Lord Privy-Seal, as follows :

My most Honoured Lord,
YOUR humble Servant receiving your Mandate, as one of his Highness's Commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the Danger and Hazard of this temporal Life, to procure the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation to due Obedience, in owing of his Highness their supreme Head, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and do find much Oppugning therein, especially by my Brother *Armagh* *, who hath been the main Oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most of his Suffragans and Clergy within his See and Jurisdiction. He made a Speech to them, laying a Curse on the People whosoever should own his Highness's Supremacy; saying, that Isle, as it is in their *Irish* Chronicles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but to the Bishop of *Rome*, and that it was the Bishop of *Rome's* Predecessors gave it to the King's Ancestors. There be two Messengers by the Priests of *Armagh*, and by that Archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of *Rome*. Your Lordship may inform his Highness, that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this Nation, to pass the Supremacy by Act; for they do not much matter his Highness's Commission which your Lordship sent us over. This

Island hath been for a long Time held in Ignorance by the *Romish* Orders; and, as for their Secular Orders, they be in a Manner as ignorant as the People, being not able to say Mass, or pronounce the Words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the *Roman* Tongue. The common People of this Isle are more zealous in their Blindness, than the Saints and Martyrs were in Truth at the Beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, my very good Lord, these Things, that your Lordship and his Highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared *O Neal* will be ordered by the Bishop of *Rome* to oppose your Lordship's Order from the King's Highness; for the Natives are much in Numbers within his Powers. I do pray the Lord *Christ* to defend your Lordship from your Enemies.'

*Dublin, 4 Kalend.
 Decembris, 1535.*

The Year following a Parliament was called in *Ireland*, the Lord *Leonard Grey* being then King *Henry's* Viceroy of that Nation, in which *George Browne*, then being not many Months above a Year in his Archiepiscopal Chair in *Dublin*, stood up and made this short Speech following :

My Lords and Gentry of this his Majesty's Realm of Ireland,

BEhold, your Obedience to your King is the Observing of your God and Saviour *Christ*; for he, that High-priest of our Souls, paid Tribute to *Cæsar*, though no Christian; greater Honour, then, surely, is due to your Prince's Highness the King; and a Christian one: *Rome*, and her Bishops, in the Fathers Days, acknowledged Emperors, Kings, and Princes to be supreme over their Dominions, nay, *Christ's* own Vicars; and it is as much to the Bishop of *Rome's* Shame to deny what their precedent Bishops owned; therefore his Highness claims but what he can justify the Bishop *Eleutherius* gave to *St. Lucius*, the first Christian King of the Britons: So that I shall, without Scrupling, vote his Highness King *Henry* my Supreme over Ecclesiastick Matters as well as Temporal, and Head thereof, even of both Isles, *England* and *Ireland*, and that without Guilt of Conscience, or Sin to God; and he,

* *George Gremer*, then Archbishop of *Armagh*.

* who

‘ who will not pass this Act, as I do, is no
‘ true Subject to his Highness.’

This Speech of *George Browne* startled the other Bishops and Lords so, that, at last, through great Difficulty, it passed; upon which Speech Justice *Brabazon* seconded him, as appears by his Letters to the Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, then Lord Privy-Seal of England; which Original is in that famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*, out of which Sir *James Ware*, that learned Antiquary, transcribed the same.

Within a few Years after that the Act of Supremacy had passed in *Ireland*, we do find a Letter, written by *George Browne* to the Lord *Cromwell*, complaining of the Clergy, how they fell off from what had passed, and how the Bishop of *Rome* had contrived Matters against the then Reformation. Collected by Sir *James Ware*, out of an old Register some Time in the Custom of *Adam Loftus*, *Hugh Corwin*’s Successor, and also Archbishop of *Dublin*.

To the Lord Privy-Seal’s honourable good Lordship. *Ex Autographo.*

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,
‘ I Acknowledge my bounden Duty to your
‘ Lordship’s Good-will to me, next to my
‘ Saviour Christ’s, for the Place I now pos-
‘ sess; I pray God give me his Grace to exe-
‘ cute the same to his Glory and his High-
‘ ness’s Honour, with your Lordship’s In-
‘ structions. The People of this Nation are
‘ zealous, yet blind and unknowing; most of
‘ the Clergy, as your Lordship hath had from
‘ me before, being ignorant, and not able to
‘ speak right Words in the Mass, or Liturgy,
‘ as being not skilled in the *Latin Grammar*;
‘ so that a Bird may be taught to speak with
‘ as much Sense, as several of them do in this
‘ Country. These Sorts, though not Scho-
‘ lars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor com-
‘ mon People, and to dissuade them from fol-
‘ lowing his Highness’s Orders. *George*, my
‘ Brother of *Armagh*, doth underhand occasion
‘ Quarrels, and is not active to execute his
‘ Highness’s Orders in his Diocese.

‘ I have observed your Lordship’s Letter
‘ of Commission, and do find several of

‘ my Pupils leave me for so Doing. I will
‘ not put others in their Livings, till I do
‘ know your Lordship’s Pleasure; for it is
‘ meet I acquaint you first, that the *Romish*
‘ Relicks and Images of both my Cathedrals
‘ in *Dublin*, of the *Holy Trinity*, and of St.
‘ *Patrick*’s, took off the common People from
‘ the true Worship; but the Prior and the
‘ Dean find them so sweet for their Gain,
‘ that they heed not my Words: Therefore
‘ send in your Lordship’s Next to me an Or-
‘ der more full, and a Chide to them and
‘ their Canons, that they might be removed.
‘ Let the Order be, That the Chief Govern-
‘ nors may assist me in it. The Prior and
‘ Dean have written to *Rome* to be encour-
‘ aged; and, if it be not hindered before
‘ they have a Mandate from the Bishop of
‘ *Rome*, the People will be bold, and then
‘ tug long, before his Highness can submit
‘ them to his Grace’s Orders. The Country
‘ Folk here much hate your Lordship, and
‘ despitefully call you, in their *Irish* Tongue,
‘ *The Blacksmith’s Son*.

‘ The Duke of *Norfolk* is, by *Armagh* and
‘ that Clergy, desired to assist them not to
‘ suffer his Highness to alter Church Rules
‘ here in *Ireland*. As a Friend, I desire your
‘ Lordship to look to your noble Person, for
‘ *Rome* hath a great Kindness for that Duke
‘ (for it is so talked here) and will reward him
‘ and his Children. *Rome* hath great Favours
‘ for this Nation, purposely to oppose his
‘ Highness; and so have got, since the Act
‘ passed, great Indulgences for Rebellion;
‘ therefore my Hope is lost, yet my Zeal is
‘ to do according to your Lordship’s Orders.
‘ God keep your Lordship from your Enemies
‘ here and in *England*.

Your Lordship’s at Commandment,

*Dublin, 3 Kalend.
Apr. 1538.*

George Browne.

Soon after this Letter had been written, News came to the Castle of *Dublin*, That the Bishop of *Rome* had sent over a Bull of Excommunication of all those who had, or shall own the King’s Supremacy within the *Irish* Nation; which caused the Archbishop to write accordingly:

To the Lord Privy-Seal with Speed.

Right Honourable,

MY Duty premised, it may please your Lordship to be advertised, since my last, there has come to *Armagh* and his Clergy a private Commission from the Bishop of *Rome*, prohibiting his Gracious Highness's People here in this Nation to own his Royal Supremacy, and joining a Curse to all them and theirs who shall not, within forty Days, confess to their Confessors, after the Publishing of it to them, that they have done amiss in so doing; the Substance, as our Secretary hath translated the same into *English*, is thus:

I *A. B.* from this present Hour forward in the Presence of the holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin Mother of God, of *St. Peter*, of the holy Apostles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy Host of Heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy See of *St. Peter* of *Rome*, and to my holy Lord the Pope of *Rome* and his Successors, in all Things as well Spiritual as Temporal, not consenting in the least that his Holiness shall lose the least Title or Dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother-Church of *Rome*, or to the Regality of *St. Peter*.

"I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just Laws, Liberties, and Rights of the Mother Church of *Rome*.

"I do likewise promise to confer, to defend and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in Ability able, either by Advice, Skill, Estate, Money, or otherwise, the Church of *Rome* and her Laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same.

"I further vow to oppugn all Hereticks, either in making or setting forth Edicts or Commands contrary to the Mother-Church of *Rome*; and, in Case any such to be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my Power, with the first Con-
venience and Opportunity I can possibly.

"I count and value all Acts made or to be made by Heretical Powers of no Force or Worth, or be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other Son of the Mother-Church of *Rome*.

V O L. V.

"I do further declare him or her; Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, Son or Daughter, Husband or Wife, Uncle or Aunt, Nephew or Niece, Kinsman or Kinswoman, Master or Mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest Relations, Friend or Acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the Time to come, any Ecclesiastical or Civil Power above the Authority of the Mother-Church, or that do or shall obey, for the Time to come, any of her, the Mother of Churches, Opposers or Enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so God, the Blessed Virgin, *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and the holy Evangelists help, &c."

"His Highness, Viceroy of this Nation, is of little or no Power with the old Natives, therefore your Lordship will expect of me no more than I am able: This Nation is poor in Wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them: It is observed, that, ever since his Highness's Ancestors had this Nation in Possession, the old Natives have been craving Foreign Power to assist and rule them; and now both *English* Race and *Irish* begin to oppose your Lordship's Orders, and do lay aside their National old Quarrels, which I fear will, if any Thing will, cause a Foreigner to invade this Nation: I pray God I may be a false Prophet, yet your good Lordship must pardon my Opinion, for I write to your Lordship as a Warning."

Dublin,
May 1538.

Your humble and true Servant,

George Browne.

Upon the Feast of *St. John Baptist* following, the said *George Browne* seized one *Thady O Brian*, one of the Order of *St. Francis*, who had Papers from *Rome*, as follows, being sent to the Lord Privy-Seal by a special Messenger:

My Son O Neale,

THOU and thy Fathers were all along faithful to the Mother-Church of *Rome*: His Holiness *Paul*, now Pope, and the Council of the holy Fathers there, have lately found out a Prophecy, there remaining, of one *St. Lacerianus*, an *Irish* Bishop
4 F of

of *Casbell*; wherein he saith, *That the Mother-Church of Rome faileth, when in Ireland the Catholic Faith is overcome*: Therefore, for the Glory of the Mother-Church, the Honour of *St. Peter*, and your own Security, suppress Herefy and his Holiness's Enemies; for, when the *Roman Faith* there perisheth, the See of *Rome* falleth also; therefore the Council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your Country of *Ireland*, as a sacred Island, being certified, whilst the Mother-Church hath a Son of Worth as yourself, and of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that she will never fall, but have more or less a Holding in *Britain*, in spite of Fate. Thus having obeyed the Order of the most sacred Council, we recommend your Princely Person to the holy Trinity of the Blessed Virgin, of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and of all the heavenly Host of Heaven. Amen.

Romæ 4. Kalend.

May 1538.

Episcopus Metensis.

Upon further Examination and Searches made, this *Thady O Brian* was pilloried, and confined a Prisoner until his Highness's further Order for his Tryal; but, News coming over that he must be hanged, he made himself away in the Castle of *Dublin*, on the Eve of the Feast of *St. James*; yet his dead Corpse was carried to the *Gallows-Green* and hanged up, and after there buried: But it was said, by the Register of *St. Francis's Monastery of Dublin*, that they brought him from thence and buried him in that Monastery.

George Browne having enjoyed the See of *Dublin* seven Years or thereabouts, King *Henry the Eighth*, upon the Dissolution of the Abbeys, Priories, and Monasteries here in *Ireland*, changed the Priory of the *Blessed Trinity of Dublin* into a Deanery and Chapter, since which Mutation, it hath generally bore the Name of *Christ-Church*.

Upon this Alteration, as it appears upon Record, this Cathedral consisted of a Dean and Chapter, a Chanter, a Treasurer, six Vicars Chorals, and two Singing Boys, al-

lowing to them Two forty-five Pounds six Shillings *English*, durante *Benelacito*; which Sum his Daughter Queen *Mary* confirmed for ever, having confirmed the Deanery, yet with Alterations, as she was a *Romanist*.

This Cathedral continued after this said Form, though not in Popery, even until King *James's Days*, who then altered all what King *Henry* and his Daughter had done; and, upon this second Alteration, he constituted a Dean, a Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, three Prebends, six Vicars Chorals, and four Singing Boys; ordering likewise, that the Archdeacon of *Dublin* should have a Place in the Choir, and a Vote in the Chapter. As for a further Description of this Cathedral, we shall omit it; having reserved the same for a large Narrative of the said Cathedral, in a Book which is ready for the Press, intitled, *The Antiquities of the City of Dublin*.

King *Henry the Eighth* deceasing, and his hopeful Offspring, King *Edward the Sixth*, succeeding within a short Space after his Royal Father's Death, that hopeful Prince, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, began to consider what good Effects the Translation of the Holy Bible had done, also how much it had enlightened the Understanding of his Subjects; they altered the Liturgy-Book from what King *Henry* had formerly printed and established, causing the same to be printed in *English*, commanding the same to be read and sung in the several Cathedrals and Parish Churches of *England*, for the common Benefit of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty; and, that his Subjects of *Ireland* might likewise participate of the same Sweetness, he sent over Orders to his Viceroy Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, then being Lord Deputy of that Nation, that the same be forthwith there in *Ireland* observed within their several Bishopricks, Cathedrals, and Parish Churches; which was first observed in *Christ-Church at Dublin*, on the Feast of *Easter 1551*, before the said Sir *Anthony*, *George Browne*, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Dublin*, *John Lockwood* being then Dean of the said Cathedral.

The Translation of the Copy of the Order, for the Liturgy of the Church of England to be read in Ireland, runs as follows :

' To our trusty and well-beloved Sir *Anth. St. Leger*, Knight, our Chief Governor of our Kingdom of Ireland.

' Edward by the Grace of God, &c.

' **W**HEREAS our gracious Father, King *Henry the Eighth* of happy Memory, taking into Consideration the Bondage and heavy Yoke that his true and faithful Subjects sustained under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, as also the Ignorance the Commonalty were in; how several fabulous Stories and lying Wonders misled our Subjects in both our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, grasping thereby the Means thereof into their Hands, also dispensing with the Sins of our Nations, by their Indulgences and Pardons, for Gain, purposely to cherish all evil Vices, as Robberies, Rebellions, Thefts, Whoredoms, Blasphemy, Idolatry, &c. He, our gracious Father King *Henry* of happy Memory, hereupon dissolved all Priories, Monasteries, Abbies, and other pretended Religious Houses, as being but Nurseries for Vice or Luxury, more than for sacred Learning: He therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the World, that those Orders had kept the Light of the Gospel from his People, thought it most fit and convenient, for the Preservation of their Souls and Bodies,

' that the Holy Scriptures should be translated, printed, and placed in all Parish Churches within his Dominions, for his faithful Subjects to increase their Knowledge of God, and of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. We therefore, for the general Benefit of our well-beloved Subjects Understandings, whenever assembled or met together, in the said several Parish Churches, either to pray, or to hear Prayers read, that they may the better join therein, in Unity, Heart and Voice, have caused the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church to be translated into our Mother-Tongue of this Realm of *England*, according to the Assembly of Divines lately met within the same, for that Purpose. We therefore will and command, as also authorize you, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Knight, our Viceroy of that our Kingdom of *Ireland*, to give special Notice to all our Clergy, as well Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, as others our Secular Parish Priests within that our said Kingdom of *Ireland*, to perfect, execute, and obey this our Royal Will and Pleasure accordingly.

' Given at our Mannor of *Greenwich*, *Febr.* 6, in the Fifth Year of our Reign.

' E. R.

Several Collections from Anthony Martin, formerly Bishop of Meath.

BEfore Proclamations were issued out, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, upon this Order, called an Assembly of the Archbishops and Bishops, together with others of the then Clergy of *Ireland*; in which Assembly he signified unto them as well his Majesty's Order aforesaid, as also the Opinions of those Bishops and Clergy of *England*, who had adhered unto this Order, saying, That it was his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, consenting unto their serious Considerations and Opinions, then acted and agreed on in *England*, as to Ecclesiastical Matters, That the same be in *Ireland* so likewise celebrated and performed.

Sir *Anthony St. Leger* having spoken to this Effect, *George Dowdall*, who succeeded *George Cromer* in the Primacy of *Armagh*, stood up;

who, through his *Romish* Zeal to the Pope, laboured with all his Power and Force to oppose the Liturgy of the Church, that it might not be read or sung in the Church; saying, Then shall every illiterate Fellow read Service, or *Mass*, as he in those Days termed the Word *Service*.

To this Saying of the Archbishop's, Sir *Anthony* replied, no your Grace is mistaken, for we have too many illiterate Priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the *Latin*, nor know what it means, no more than the Common People that hear them; but, when the People hear the Liturgy in *English*, they and the Priest will then understand what they pray for.

Upon this Reply, *George Dowdall* bade Sir *Anthony* beware of the Clergy's Curse.

Sir *Anthony* made Answer, I fear no strange Curse, so long as I have the Blessing of that Church which I believe to be the true one.

The Archbishop again said, Can there be a truer Church, than the Church of St. *Peter*, the Mother-Church of *Rome*?

Sir *Anthony* returned this Answer: I thought we had been all of the Church of Christ; for he calls all true Believers in him his Church, and himself the Head thereof.

The Archbishop replied, And is not St. *Peter* the Church of Christ?

Sir *Anthony* returned this Answer: St. *Peter* was a Member of Christ's Church, but the Church was not St. *Peter*'s; neither was St. *Peter*, but *Christ*, the Head thereof.

Then *George Dowdall*, the Primate of *Armagh*, rose up, and several of the Suffragan Bishops under his Jurisdiction, saving only *Edward Staples*, then Bishop of *Meath*, who tarried with the rest of the Clergy then assembled, on the Calends of *March*, according to the old Stile, 1551; but, if we reckon as from the *Annunciation of our Lady*, which was the Twenty-fifth of *March*, it was 1550.

Sir *Anthony* then took up the Order, and held it forth to *George Browne*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, who, standing up, received it, saying: This Order, good Brethren, is from our gracious King, and from the rest of our Brethren, the Fathers and Clergy of *England*, who have consulted herein, and compared the holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as *Jesus* did to *Cæsar*, in all Things just and lawful, making no Questions why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful King.

After this, several of the meeker, or most moderate of the Bishops and Clergy of *Ireland* cohered with *George Browne*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*; amongst whom, *Edward Staples*, Bishop of *Meath*, who was put out from his Bishoprick, for so Doing, in *Queen Mary*'s Days, on the Twenty-ninth of *June*, 1554; *John Bale*, who, on the Second of *February*, 1552, was consecrated Bishop of *Osford* for his Fidelity, and afterwards, by *Queen Mary*, expelled: Also *Thomas Lancaster*, Bishop of *Kildare*, who was at the same Time put from his Bishoprick, with several others of the Clergy, being all expelled upon *Queen Mary*'s Coming to the Crown.

When these Passages had passed, Sir *Anthony* was in a short Time after recalled for *England*,

and Sir *James Crofts* of *Hersfordshire*, Knight, placed Chief in his Stead; who began his Government from the Twenty-ninth of *April*, 1551.

Sir *James Crofts*, upon his Coming over, endeavoured much for the Persuading of *George Dowdall* to adhere to the Order aforesaid; but, *Dowdall* being obstinate, his Majesty, and the learned Privy-Council then of *England*, for his Perverseness, upon the Twentieth of *October* following took away the Title of *Primate* of all *Ireland* from him, and conferred the same on *George Browne*, then Archbishop of *Dublin*, and to his Successors, by Reason that he was the first of the *Irish* Bishops, who embraced the Order for Establishing of the *English* Liturgy and Reformation in *Ireland*; which Place he enjoyed during the Remainder of King *Edward*'s Reign, and for a certain Time after, as you shall know further in its due Course and Place.

Alterations following one after another, even upon this Reformation of the Church of *England*, and the Title of Primacy being disposed of, as we have already mentioned, unto *George Browne* aforesaid, some Writers saying, that *George Dowdall* was banished, others, that he was not, but went voluntary of his own Will; yet, not to dispute the Case, another Archbishop was consecrated in Lieu of him, though then living; by which it was then held lawful; as also that Constituting of Archbishops and Bishops was in the Power of Kings, and not in the Power of Popes, or of the Bishop of *Rome*; which would be much to the Abatement of the Powers of the Crown of *England* ever to resign, or to acknowledge to the Contrary.

Hugh Goodacre, Batchelor of Divinity, was consecrated Archbishop of *Armagh* by the said *George Browne*, together with *John Bale*, Bishop of *Osford*; already mentioned, in *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*, on the Second of *February*, Anno 1552, *Thomas*, Bishop of *Kildare*, and *Eugenius*, Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*, assisting him; yet, notwithstanding *Hugh Goodacre*'s Consecration, *George Browne* then held the Title of Primacy of all *Ireland*.

This Reformation and Alteration having not Time to settle, or to take Root, it was soon quashed and pulled down by that lamentable Loss of that hopeful Prince, King *Edward the Sixth*, who died at *Greenwich*, the Sixth of *June*, 1553.

Upon

Upon King *Edward's* Decease, the Council having met to consult together upon the Affairs of these Dominions, as also how they might confirm and establish what they had already ordered and enacted, as well in Ecclesiastical Matters as Temporal, a Division soon sprung up, some being for the Choice of the Lady *Jane Grey*, others for Queen *Mary*; at last, upon Conclusion, *Mary*, the King's Sister, was voted Queen, upon the Proposals and Promises, which she made to the Council, to confirm all that had been perfected by her Father King *Henry the Eighth* and her Brother King *Edward*, and his honoured Council.

After she had been crowned and introned, she, for the Space of three or four Months, seemed moderate to the Protestant Reformers, yet all that While combined with *Rome* and her emissaries; but, having accomplished her Designs, she revoked her fair Promises (which with Papists is a Rule) esteeming it no Sin to break Contracts or Covenants with Hereticks and Protestants, numbered with such sort of People, especially with Papists, these Promises vanished; and then began the *Romish* Church not only to undo what King *Henry*, and his Son King *Edward* had reformed, but to persecute the Reformers and Reformed with Fire and Faggot.

But to our Purpose: Upon the Eleventh of *November*, Anno 1553, she recalled Sir *James Crofts*, and sent over Sir *Anthony St. Leger* Lord-Deputy into *Ireland*. This Sir *Anthony* had not been half a Year Chief Governor of *Ireland*, before Queen *Mary* revoked the Title of Primacy from *George Browne*, expelling *Hugh Goodacre* out of the Archbishoprick of *Armagh*, and recalling *George Dowdall* to his See, and restoring him to the Primacy of all *Ireland*, as formerly; which Title hath ever

since stood firm in *Armagh*, without any Revocation either by Queen *Elizabeth*, or by any of her Successors.

George Browne, upon this Revocation, was by *George Dowdall* expelled, and not thought fit to continue in his See of *Dublin*, as being a married Man; and it is thought, had he not been married, he had been expelled, having appeared so much for the Reformation, in both these former Kings Days. Upon the Expelling of this *George Browne*, all the Temporalities belonging to the Archbishoprick were disposed of unto *Thomas Lockwood*, then Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*; it having been an ancient Custom ever, upon the Translation, or Death of any of those Archbishops, to deposit the Temporalities into the Hands of the Priors formerly of that Cathedral, when it was a Priory, and called by the Name of *The Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity*: And it is observable, the last Prior became the first Dean, upon the Alteration as aforesaid.

The See of *Dublin*, after this Expulsion, lay vacant for two Years or thereabouts, until *Hugh Corrin*, alias *Corwin*, was placed therein: This *Hugh* was born in *Westmoreland*, a Doctor of the Law, being formerly Archdeacon of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Hereford*; he was consecrated Archbishop of *Dublin* in the Cathedral of *St. Paul's* in *London*, on the Eighth of *September*, Anno 1555. He after, upon the Thirtieth of the same Month, was by Queen *Mary*, made Chancellor of *Ireland*; and, upon the Twenty-fifth of the said *September*, he received this Letter from the Queen, directed to *Thomas Lockwood*, the Dean of *Christ-Church*, it being an ancient Custom formerly, to recommend the Archbishop, whensoever constituted for that See, to the Prior of that said Cathedral.

Queen Mary's Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church in Dublin, to receive the Archbishop of Dublin honourably, and with due Respect. Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sanctæ Trinitatis Dublinii.

‘ To our trusty and well beloved the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of *Christ-Church*, within our Realm of *Ireland*.

‘ *Mary the Queen*,

‘ **T**Rusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well; and soasmuch as the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty, and

‘ well-beloved Counsellor the Archbishop of *Dublin*, being lately chosen for that See, repairerth speedily to that our Realm of *Ireland*, as well to reside upon the Cure of his Bishoprick, which now of long Time hath been destitute of a Catholick Bishop, as also to occupy the Office of our High Chancellor of that our Realm; albeit we have good Hopes

'ye will, in all Things of yourselves, carry
'yourselves towards him, as becometh you ;
'yet, to the Intent he might the better govern
'the Charge committed unto him, to the Ho-
'nour of Almighty God, and for the Remain of
'our Service, we have thought fit to require
'and charge you, that for your Part ye do
'reverently receive him, honour, and humbly
'obey him in all Things, as appertaineth to
'your Duties tending to God's Glory, our
'Honour, and the Commonweal of that our
'Realm ; whereby ye shall please God, and
'do us acceptable Service.

' Given under our Signet at the Mannor of
' *Greenwich*, the Twenty-fifth of *Septem-*
' *ber*, in the Second and Third Years of
' our Reign.'

I have here inserted this Letter, upon two Accounts : First, As being a Record remaining in the Cathedral : Secondly, Because there hath been some Discourse of late, whether the Archbishop of *Dublin* had Power herein, or whether it was upon King *Henry's* Mutation made a Deanery, as *Whitehall* Chapel is, and no Cathedral ; but, by this Letter, it shews it is both still a Cathedral, and subject to the Archbishop of *Dublin*.

George Browne lived not long after the Consecration of this *Hugh Corwin* ; yet I have, amongst my Manuscripts, a Writing of a Papist, who would fain have persuaded the World, that this *George Browne* died through Joy, having had a Bull from the Pope to be restored to his See of *Dublin*, which must needs be false, upon this Account of Sir *James Ware*, who writeth these very Words of him, in his Book, entitled, *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, Pag. 126, 1554, *Circa tempus Georgius Browneus (quod conjugatus esset) per Dowdallum Archiepiscopum Armachanum & alios Delegatos exauthoritatus est* ; otherwise the Pope, if he had granted such a Bull, must likewise have dispensed with his Marriage, it being contrary to the *Romish* Tennets for Bishops to marry. Having related thus much of *George Browne*, and of Ecclesiastical Matters, during his Life, we shall proceed a little further concerning a short Sermon of his, preached unto the People in *Christ-Church*, upon the First Sunday after *Easter*, Anno 1551, being a Copy of the same given to Sir *James Ware*, Knight, by *Anthony Martin*, late Bishop of *Meath*, who formerly was Tutor to the

said Sir *James Ware*, when he was a Student of *Trinity-College, Dublin*.

THE TEXT, Psal. cxix. Ver. 18.

Open mine Eyes, that I may see the Wonders of thy Law.

THE Wonders of the Lord God have for a long Time been hid from the Children of Men, which hath happened by *Rome's* not permitting the common People to read the holy Scriptures ; for to prevent you, that you might not know the Comfort of your Salvation, but to depend wholly on the Church of *Rome*, they will not permit it to be in any Tongue but in the *Latin*, saying that *Latin* was the *Roman* Tongue : But the wonderful God inspired the holy Apostles with the Knowledge of all Languages, that they might teach all People in their proper Tongue and Language ; which caused our wife King *Henry*, before his Death, to have the holy Scriptures transcribed into the *English* Tongue, for the Good of his Subjects, that their Eyes may be opened to behold the wondrous Things out of the Law of the Lord. But there are false Prophets at this Instant, and will be to the End of the World, that shall deceive you with false Doctrines, expounding this Text, or that, purposely to confound your Understandings, and to lead you captive into a Wilderness of Confusion, whom you shall take as your Friends, but they shall be your greatest Enemies, speaking against the Tenents of *Rome*, and yet be set on by *Rome* ; these shall be a rigid People, full of Fury and Envy.

But, to prevent these Things that are to come, observe *Christ* and his Apostles : Let all things be done with Decency, with Mildness, and in Order ; fervently crying unto God, Open thou mine Eyes, that I may behold the wondrous Things out of thy Law ; then should you rightly keep the Law and the Prophets. It is the Part of a Prince to be wise, for he hath a great Charge to rule and govern a Nation : Your late King foreseeing *Rome* and her Pope's Intentions, how that he intended to enslave his Subjects, and to keep them in the State of Ignorance, consulted with the Learned of his Realm, knowing that Youth might quickly be wrought on ; therefore he prepared, before his Death, a wise and learned Sort of Counsellors for his Son's Overseers ; not trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might

might the better rule his People ; whose Eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened betimes, to behold his wondrous Works.

Though the Words of my Text be plainly thus (*Open thou mine Eyes*) the meanest of you that hear me have Eyes, but the true Meaning of the Words is, Endue us with Understanding ; for a Fool hath Eyes, and sees Men, Women, Beasts, Birds, and other Things, but yet wants Understanding : So, when we say, *Open thou our Eyes*, we desire the Lord God to instruct and teach us the Knowledge of his Laws.

When you were lately led in Blindness, your Eyes beheld the Images that then stood in several of the Monasteries and Churches, until they were removed ; yet all this While were your Understandings blinded, because ye believed in them, and placed your Trust in them.

Suppose an Artift or Workman make an Image either of Man or Woman, and at last a Clergyman of Rome give it such a Name, calling it St. *Peter*, or St. *Paul*, or St. *Mary*, or St. *Anne* ; Must not that Man, though he behold his own Handy-work, and knows in his Heart that it was his own Work, be blind, and void of Reason and Understanding of the Law of God, and of the wondrous Things that are contained in the Law of the Lord ? Yes, surely, he must be blind, and void of Reason, and of the true Faith, that would worship the same.

The Workman carved the Eyes, but these Eyes see not ; he likewise carved the Ears, but they hear not ; the Nose, and it smells not ; the Mouth, and it neither breathes nor speaks ; the Hands, they feel not ; the Feet, but they stand stock still.

How therefore can your Prayers be acceptable unto this Image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet Smells, be they of Myrrh or Frankincense burning before it ? How can it absolve you, when the Mouth is not able to say, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee* ? And if you place a certain Sum of Money in the Palm of the Hand of that Image ; come you again To-morrow, the Money, it is true, shall find a Customer, but the Image never the wiser, who took it ; and, if you desire to have it come unto you, it cannot without Help ; therefore the Workman, that made this Image, is as blind, as

deaf, as dumb, and as void of Sense as the Image itself, and so be ye all that put your Trust in them.

Therefore of late new Artificers by Springs have made artificial ones, which for a certain Time shall move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain : But beware, good People, for they be but lying Wonders, purposely that ye may break the Law of God. And thus hath the Devil devised a lying Wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the Law of the Lord, which is, *Thou shalt not make unto thyself any Graven Image*. O Lord, open thou our Eyes, our Ears, and our Understanding, that we may behold the wondrous Things that are in thy Law. The Law of God is an unde-filed Law. Oh ! why should we be so wicked then as to defile that Law, which the Almighty God hath made so pure without Blemish. *Jesus came to fulfil the Law, and not to abolish the Law*. But there are a new Fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees Manner : Amongst the *Jews* they shall strive to abolish the Truth, and shall come very near to do it ; for these Sorts will turn themselves into several Forms, with the Heathen, an Heathenist ; with Atheists, an Atheist ; with the *Jews*, a *Jew* ; and with the Reformers, a Reformade ; purposely to know your Intentions, your Minds, your Hearts, and your Inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the Fool that said in his Heart there was no God. These shall spread over the whole World, shall be admitted into the Councils of Princes, and they never the wiser ; charming of them, yea, making your Princes reveal their Hearts, and the Secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it ; which will happen from falling from the Law of God, by Neglect of fulfilling of the Law of God, and by winking at their Sins ; yet in the End, God, to justify his Law, shall suddenly cut off this Society even by the Hands of those who have most succoured them, and made Use of them ; so that at the End they shall become odious to all Nations : They shall be worse than *Jews*, having no Resting-place upon Earth, and then shall a *Jew* have more Favour than a Jesuit. Now, to arm you all good Christians against these Things that are to come, lest ye be led into Temptation : Cry unto the Lord your God,

God, and heartily pray that he would be so merciful unto you as to *open the Eyes of your Understanding, that you may behold the Wonders and Pleasantness that is in his Law.* Which God of his Mercy grant that you may all do.

Thus concluding with the Acts and Deeds of this Reverend Father, we shall end with Queen *Mary's* Designs, how she intended to have persecuted the Protestants in *Ireland*, but was by Providence prevented; as you shall further know by this following Relation, being averred by several sufficient Persons as well Ecclesiastical as Civil:

Queen *Mary*, having dealt severely with the Protestants in *England*, about the latter of her Reign, signed a Commission for to take the same Course with them in *Ireland*, and, to execute the same with greater Force, she nominates Doctor *Cole* one of the Commissioners, sending the Commission by this Doctor, who in his Journey coming to *Chester*, the Mayor of that City, hearing that her Majesty was sending a Messenger into *Ireland*, and he being a Churchman, waited on the Doctor, who in Discourse with the Mayor taketh out of a Cloke-bag a Leather Box, saying unto him, *Here is a Commission that shall lash the Hereticks of Ireland*, calling the Protestants by that Title: The good Woman of the House, being well affected to the Protestant Religion, and also having a Brother named *John Edmonds* of the same, then a Citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the Doctor's Words; but watching her convenient Time, whilst the Mayor took his Leave, and the Doctor complimented him down the Stairs, she opens the Box and takes the Commission out, placing in Lieu thereof a Sheet of Paper with a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs faced uppermost, wrapped up. The Doctor coming up to his Chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the Box as formerly. The next Day, going to the Water-side, Wind and Weather serving him, he sails towards *Ireland*, and landed on the Seventh of October, 1558, at *Dublin*; then coming to the Castle, the Lord *Fitz-Walters*, being Lord

Deputy, sent for him to come before him and the Privy-Council; who coming in, after he had made a Speech relating upon what Account he came over, he presents the Box unto the Lord Deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the Secretary might read the Commission, there was nothing save a Pack of Cards with the Knave of Clubs uppermost; which not only startled the Lord Deputy and Council, but the Doctor, who assured them he had a Commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the Lord Deputy made Answer, *Let us have another Commission, and we will shuffle the Cards in the mean While:* The Doctor being troubled in his Mind went away, and returned into *England*; and coming to the Court obtained another Commission; but, staying for a Wind at the Water-side, News came unto him, that the Queen was dead, and thus God preserved the Protestants in *Ireland*.

This being a Copy of *Richard Earl of Cork's* Memorials, as also of *Henry Usher*, sometime Lord Primate of *Armagh*, being also entered amongst Sir *James Ware's* Manuscripts, who hath often heard the late *James Usher*, Nephew to the said *Henry*, and also Primate of *Armagh*, aver the same, and wondered that Mr. *Fox* had not inserted it in his *Acts and Monuments*; there is yet living a Reverend Father of the Church, *Henry* now Lord Bishop of *Meath*, who can affirm this Relation from the said *James Usher*, late Lord Primate of all *Ireland*.

Upon the Recalling of the Lord *Fitz-Walters* into *England*, Queen *Elizabeth*, who succeeded her Sister, discoursing with the said Lord, concerning several Passages in *Ireland*, amongst other Discourses he related the aforesaid Passage that had happened in *Ireland*; which so delighted the Queen, that her Majesty sent for the good Woman, named *Elizabeth Edmonds*, but by her Husband named *Mattershad*, and gave her a Pension of forty Pounds *durante Vita*, for saving her Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*.

A Word for the Army. And two Words to the Kingdom.
To clear the one, and cure the other. Forced in much
Plainness and Brevity from their faithful Servant, *Hugh
Peters.*

— *Nunc nunc properandus & acri
Fingendus sine fine rotā.* —

London, Printed by *M. Simmons*, for *Giles Calvert*, at the
Black Spread-Eagle, at the West End of *Paul's*, 1647.
Quarto, containing fourteen Pages.

THOUGH I have looked upon
the Scribblings of this Age as the
Fruits of some Men's Idleness,
and most Men's Folly, and there-
fore should not willingly have
owned myself, if found among that Rabble:
Yet, when it grows so unlimitedly high, and
impudently brazen, that some Men I know,
Men even above Flattery, and so sleek and
smooth, in their Uprightness (among whom I
place the present General and his Second) that
I had thought nothing of that Kind could
stick, and yet these befieared by uncircum-
cised Pens.

I. Two Things I resolved, which now I
offer to the World. The First is an humble
Petition to the Parliament, that they would
please to try their now well-backed Authority,
that some one faithful discreet Man may be
chosen to divulge Gazettes, Courants, or
News, who shall be accountable to the State,
for what he prints or communicates to the
Kingdom; and that two of each Party (for
Parties there are) shall undertake for what is
printed on the Behalf of either, that so all
scandalous and slanderous personal Affronts
may be avoided, and Matters worth Time
and Reading may be published: Or, if none
of these may be gotten, at least Men may
put their Names to their Papers, that honest
Men may know where to find an Accuser;
for, *si sat sit accusare, quis erit innocens?* I
list not to answer Objections may be made

hereunto; since this boundless Kind of Bold-
ness were better curbed to some Inconveni-
ence, then continued to a Mischief, even the
Poisoning the whole Nation: It should not be a
wise Man's Quære, What Strength, Wit,
Acuteness, &c. runs through such a Paper?
But, *cui bono?*

II. My Second Resolve is, Though not to
answer every late Pamphlet punctually, which
rather than do, I might undertake to cleanse
the Stable in the Story: Yea, though my
Share lies so much in them, that it would be
costly to purchase clean Handkerchiefs to wipe
off every Spattering on my Face, and I could as
shortly, and more truly, answer all, as he did
Bellarmino, with, *Thou lyest*; knowing no pub-
lick Instrument, in no Age, in no Place, can
travel without others dashing and Dogs bark-
ing: Yet, to prevent Stones from speaking,
and Graves from opening, or some horrid un-
heard of Thing from appearing, to satisfy the
wide-mouthed World, and the black-mouthed
Pamphleteers; I shall, in Plainness and Faith-
fulness, shew you the Army's Wounds since
they put up their Sword, and, with them, the
State's Disease; and, in Humility, offer the
Cure, and leave all to a Wonder-working
God.

First, Let me tell you, Negatively, the
Evils, commonly charged upon the Army, are
not the Army's Evils. We have generally
Causam pro nan causa, in which Mr. Pryme was
wont to exceed, who spoke much more than

he meant to stand to: The Sum of all his is the Army's Rebellion: Another Pedantick founds a Retreat, who, being nameless, will not endure a Charge; the Marrow of his Divinity, Non-obedience. Another brings the Army to the Bar, where he pleads with a Company of balled Threatenings, and would fright *Fairfax* with a Sight of a King at *White-hall*. One cries, they run against *Cæsar*; another, they have deflowered the Parliament; another, they have ravished the City; another, they are Sectaries, Enemies to Government, false to God, to Man, Friends, Enemies to themselves. They have lost *Ireland*, ruined *England*: Oh! Taxes and Free-quarter: Oh! this Trinkling with the Court, cries one: Oh! their doubtful Carriage with the Court, cries another: Cavaliers shall up, cries one: We shall never see good Day, says another. I do not think *Paul* heard such a confused Noise, when himself could hardly get Leave to speak: That the Word *Army* must answer all the doubtful mischievous deadly Questions in the World: For Example;

Who brings Famine? The Army.
 Who the Plague? The Army.
 Who the Sword? The Army.
 Who hinders Trade? The Army.
 Who incenseth *Scotland*? The Army.
 Who hardens the King? The Army.
 Who confounds all? The Army.

And if it should be asked the Cavaliers and Malignants, Who conquered you? They would answer, The Army: If the Presbyters, Who disappointed you? The Army: If the Independents, Who leaves you in the Dark? The Army: And if *Homan* were asked, What he would do with these *Jews*? We know the Answer: Alas, poor Army: *Qualis de te narratur Fabula*? But to my Purpose; the grand Complaint (which, as most insisted upon, so is most likely to have vulgar Acceptance) is the Army's Disobedience to the Parliament, by which the State was endangered to lose all Consistency; in Respect of which, the Apprentices Routing the House is but Duty or Innocency; or, at worst, a parallel Practice.

To which this is my plain and full Answer.

It is confessed they were not willing to disband at *Walden*, being urged thereunto, and

denied in *Essex*, when expected and pressed: But consider, 1st, It was required but conditionally, with Regard to their Security, Indemnity, and Arrears, and none of these performed; it was not such a *Monstrum horrendum*.

2^{dly}, They were free *Englishmen* as Soldiers, and must maintain their Obligation to the State, as well as answer the Major and more corrupt Votes of the House.

3^{dly}, Nature commanded their Self-preservation, when such Instruments were sent to disband them, and command them for *Ireland*, of whose Non-Integrity they had good Experience.

4^{thly}, When not long before they could not have Leave to petition their faithful General, how should they expect any Thing, being disbanded?

5^{thly}, This Piece of Disobedience was not new unto them, when the same Practice was familiar from Men more mercenary in the North, and their Denial never counted Rebellion, but glibly swallowed.

6^{thly}, I answer, and I desire it may be observed: The first Force ever put upon the Parliament was long before this, and that nearer Hand: Did not the City Remonstrance hang like a Petard upon the Parliament Door Week after Week, and every Ward in Course, to attend and fire it? Speak, Gentlemen of the House, how you were accosted and saluted, and in what Language, till you were forced to speak pure *London*.

7^{thly}, I do here offer to make good upon Oath, that the Commanding Party, in the House, had more Force upon them to disband us, than we put upon the House in Refusing. For Proof whereof, Master *Anthony Nicholls*, lately with us at *Kingston*, before his Flight, being urged by myself, before another sufficient Witness, to speak to this Point, calling for a Testimony from Heaven, professed, that, when the Army offered at first to go for *Ireland*, he with the other impeached Members fully condescended to it, and they gave him the Agitation thereof; but, as he protested, the Ministers in *London* came to them with Violence, pressing the Contrary upon this Ground: That this Army would soon conquer *Ireland*, fill it with Schisms, and not only command it, but in a short Time give Law to *England*; and therefore would hear of nothing but the Disbanding it, which, quoth he,

he, put us upon that violent Course: Now who forced these Ministers? I do not say; but you see who forced those Parliament-men, and we know they would force the Army; and upon Denial the Army are the Forcers. And, if the City Remonstrators durst speak, they can tell you who forced them to force the Parliament: And, if the Apprentices would break Silence, they could tell you who spit in their Mouths, and clapped them on the Back.

In all this I speak not my Delight, but my Grief, that so many Pulpits should plainly witness this Force, as History tells us who poisoned King *John*. And though we have not been ignorant of this Kind of Violence (which I had rather attribute to my Brethren's Zeal, than their Malice) yet you see how tenderly we have dealt with those: We knowing many Godly amongst them, who have not yet declared against them, complained of one of them; nay, though this Army, from first to last, never had any of these Brethren to offer one Sermon to us to encourage us in Dangers, to rejoice with us in our Success; nay, though they know we want Helps, and have been forced to use such Help, as they have reviled us for, and so would have us make Brick without Straw; nay, though we know most hard Measure met us; I do profess I conceive even *Gangrana* himself might have marched through the Army unmolested, though we are not ignorant, *hinc nostri fundi calamitas*. The Lord pity and pardon, the Army doth.

8thly, *Lastly*, The Army durst not disband, not seeing a suitable Power to stand betwixt honest Men and their Dangers; the Garisons not possessed by Men of Trust, and the Five-thousand Horse intended not in such Hands as to be wished; and the best of them might be soon disbanded, when the Foot scattered.

No, no, this is not the Army's Wound or Sore; and, to answer the Retreater's grand Question, Whence are Wars? I answer with the Apostle *James*, and add: 'Peace begets Plenty, Plenty Pride, and Pride War, and War begets Peace, and so round again. The School-boy, that helped him to so many *Latin* Ends out of *Tully*, can answer a harder Query; but, since he pretends to Religion, I wonder this offended Brother doth not attend the Rule, *Matth.* xviii. Why cannot he as well speak to a

Brother offending, and so tell him, as to tell all the World of him? I have been satisfied in my own Spirit, that the Godly could not be much offended with us, since none have taken the Liberty of speaking to us; which, I dare say, from the General to the meanest Officer professing Godliness, had not been unwelcome.

But I look upon that Author to be as great a Stranger to the Army, as he is often to his own Principles, and his whole Course to be a Trade of Retreating, and leave him to another Pen. Nor is a general Toleration the Army's *Gangrana*, whenas they never hindered the State from a State-religion, having only wished to enjoy now what the Puritans begged under the Prelates; when we desire more, blame us and shame us. Neither was it the Evil of the Army, that, being modelled, they suddenly closed, and marched at that Time, when the boldest Complainer now would have given them two Parts of what they had, to have secured the third. Friends, it was not their Evil to divide Part of their Force to *Taunton*, and, with another Part, to fight at *Naseby*, and after that, by God's Blessing, to deliver up a free Kingdom to an ungrateful Inhabitant, and to an envious cruel Piece of a Parliament; nor did those honest-hearted, so much aspersed, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* sin in owning the Army at *New-market*; nor in their March from thence towards *London*; nor in their Respects to those noble Commissioners of Parliament sent to them; nor in their Courtesy to those discreet Citizens from *London*, who deserve much; nor their Condescending to their Desires to march off upon Promise of two Things: *First*, That they would put out the imperious Reformadoes. *Secondly*, In securing the House, though neither performed; nor in scattering their Forces at two-hundred Miles Distance, and providing for *Ireland*; nor in their Return upon those confessed Insolencies; nor in marching unto and through the City, to shew their harmless Intentions; nor in securing the King in that Juncture; nor in hearkening to their Agitators in their just Proposals; nor in asking Money to avoid free Quarter, and other Burdens; nor in bringing those of the House, that fled to them, Home again; nor in desiring a sound Parliament, and clearing it from such Persons as had shaken their publick Inte-

rest; nor in propounding wholesome Means to the House, and leaving them to their Feet, to be enlarged, altered, or explained, to the Kingdom's Advantage; nor, *lastly*, are Complaints against private Soldiers the proper Evil of the Army, since, when I speak of the Army, I mainly intend their Counsel and Conduct; for you know, in such a Body, that Sickness in Pay causeth Death in Discipline. But positively we will turn up our Lap, and shew you our Nakedness, *Et habebitis confidentes reos*. We acknowledge, we are reaping the ill Fruits of our Want of Action, *Servior armis luxuria incubuit, victosque ulciscitur*.

It may be, some of us have had our lordly Dish in *Isaiah's* Tent, and our Head may be nailed to the Ground; we may think, the War being ended, we may begin to look to our own Comforts and Subsistence; and we are apt to plead, Who shall enjoy Honour, and other Advantages, but those that have won them through Hazards? And think they may be confided in. It may be, some of us look upon our Shops and Trades, as Things below us. We want that Communion with God, and one with another, which we had in sad Hours; we are forgetful of our Mercies; we may be apt to quarrel one with the other, for Want of an Enemy.

We may have such a Neighbour of the Court, that some of us may be Planet struck, yet I hope not Principle-shaken; we may wander too much from our own first Undertakings, in the Opinion of others.

We are not without Varieties of Thoughts about the Matters of God, which never appeared when we had no Time for Talking, having so much to do and act. We cannot, we confess, live beyond our Frailties, in many Kinds: To be short, we have prayed more, loved more, believed more, than we do. We are grown effeminate with Ease, and are more cowed with a dead Dog, than we have been with a living Lion; we are less in Heaven, and more on Earth; and these, truly, are our Wounds, dear Friends.

Some other Diseases there are as much considerable amongst others, which may be of greater and stranger Influence, as,

1. All Men's Unbelief in God for the Caring on his Work; he is not minded in the whole Business.

2. Our not Designing a Government from first to last.

3. Our general, proud, and careless Carriages towards the present Differences, which make so much Noise amongst us.

4. A Selfishness and Negligence in Committees, and Men intrusted, behaving themselves as if they could keep their painted and well-stuffed Cabbins when the Ship is sinking.

5. A general Want of the Fear of God, and that Spirit of Trembling before him, which, whilst it was upon *Ephraim*, he was a glorious Tribe.

6. An oftentant and untrussed Kind of Deportment in all Men towards publick Affairs; the Truth is, the Want of a publick Spirit threatens Ruin very much.

7. Unwarranted Jealousies of all Men, and all Actions; yea, though convinced of each others Faithfulness.

8. Common Unthankfulness and Ingratitude to God and Man; I fear, shortly, the greatest Error, in the Kingdom, will be the Famine of Love.

9. Delay to the Distressed, making them more miserable than the Matter of their Complaints doth.

10. A Spirit of Lying and false Witness-bearing, reaching to the Undervaluing of our Enjoyments; to say *England* is grown so poor by the War, is false; excepting what is blasted by some Northern Winds, our Treasure is yet in the Kingdom: *London* as rich as before; witness Cloaths and Diet; witness Marriages and Disposing of Children, where Piety, Proportion, and Parentage take little Place, unless mingled with much red Clay; witness the ready Money for Purchases, if cheap, though shaken Tides in tottering Times.

The Cure may lie in these.

The Army, you say, must yet be maintained, and we have thought of Establishments, &c. to take off all Offences occasioned by the Army; either you must find Action for it, which will answer much, or repartite it upon several Counties, according to Proportion, that every County may know their own Men and their Charge, by which the *Hollanders* have kept their Army these seventy or eighty Years: I have formerly answered all Objections may be made against it. The immediate Pay of the Soldier in every County, as it will cut off many unnecessary Charges, so it will be easy and contentful to both Parties, I mean the Soldier and the Landlord.

2dly, Good Men, not good Laws, must save Kingdoms; not that I would separate them; therefore, I think that the first Work to be attended: For, as the *Venetians* live upon their curious Elections, so the *Netherlands*, by keeping their Government in such Hands as they do, though Perpetuating Offices to them hath proved dangerous. Good Justices, good Mayors, &c. had it been our first Work, it would have been our best, and *Englishmen* can as soon conform to just and honest Government, as any other People. See it in the Army, how serviceable the worst impressed Men have been under Example; and Characters to be given out for the Elector, and Elected, and for the Managing of chieftain Burgesses. What if every fifty, in every County, chose one to choose for them, &c. most Men being ignorant of the worthiest of Men.

3dly, That all Men, from the highest to the lowest, may know what they may trust to without Delay, and to trust God with the Management of it, if according to his Will.

4thly, Tythes, or something of Analogy to them, brought into a common Stock in every County, will do two Things, viz. Keep a good Proportion of Money ready in every County, and content the Preacher and his Widow better; when in Towns Two-hundred Pounds, or One hundred and Fifty Pounds *per Annum*, and in the Parish One-hundred Pounds shall be certainly paid, and Forty Pounds to the Widow, &c. as in other Countries they do; and hence raise a Stock to set the Poor on Work in every County, the Want of which hath been so much complained of.

5thly, That Salaries may be appointed to all Places of Trust, that Temptations to Deceit take not Hold of Officers.

6thly, A Committee for Union betwixt all Men truly godly; that we may swim in one Channel (which is in Hand) with free and loving Debates allowed in every County, that we may convince, not confound each other: Two or three itinerary Preachers, sent by the State into every County; and a Committee of godly Men, Ministers, Gentlemen, and others, to send out Men of Honesty, Holiness, and Parts, into all Countries, recommended from their Test.

7thly, Three Men yearly chosen in every Parish, to take up Differences, which may be called Friend-makers, as they do in other Places with good Success.

8thly, That the Customs (by which great Sums come to Hand) may be in very choice Hands, and their Under-officers, in all Parts, may be presented from those Parts to them; and out of Two or Three, so presented, they choose one, if not just Exception against him.

9thly, That my former Model for the Navy may be reviewed and accepted, which was presented about two Years since; whereby the Navy's Debts may be paid, and two Parts of three in the Charge saved for the Future, and the Work better done.

10thly, That Merchants may have all Manner of Encouragement; the Law of Merchants set up, and Strangers, even *Jews*, admitted to trade, and live with us; that it may not be said, we pray for their Conversion, with whom we will not converse, we being all but Strangers on the Earth.

11thly, That Foreign Nations may have due Respect by all fair Correspondences with them, and Intelligencers kept among them; especially that *Scotland* may be used in all Things as Neighbours and Friends, though not as Masters and Commanders.

12thly, That Academies may be set up for Nobility and Gentry, where they may know Piety and Righteousness, as well as Gallantry and Courtship (we commonly fetch over the Dirt of *France*, rather than their Excellencies) and that shorter Ways to Learning may be advanced; and that Godliness in Youth give them Place in Colleges before Letters and Impertunity of Men.

13thly, That the Work of *Ireland* may not thus still be made a Mock-work; but that the Business may be carried on strenuously and vigorously by Men to be confided in; who may take it upon them by the Great, or Day-Work, either of these; there are good Men will undertake it upon them, if fully countenanced with a good Magazine and some Money; for what we send now is but like a Worm in a hollow Tooth, it takes up no Jaw.

14thly, That no Magistrates in Matters of Religion meddle further than as a nursing Father, and then all Children shall be fed, though they have several Faces and Shapes.

15thly, That all Men intrusted may have set Time, Place, and Persons appointed, to give up their Accounts unto of their Employments.

16thly,

16thly, Since the vast and even incomprehensible Affairs of this Kingdom, by the present Council, must have so many Agitations and so many Varieties pass upon them; two Ways it may be cured:

1. If nothing be taken into the House's Consideration but *res vere arduæ*, wherein the Heart-blood of the Kingdom runs, and no petty Matters.

2. If a Council of State of ten or twelve honest and godly well-biassed Men might sit near the House, and these, not invested with Power, might commend Matters of high Concernment to the House, and receive their Scruples, and those to state also Government of Churches.

17thly, That Burgesses of Parliament may be better proportioned, six, four, or two for Shires, and some for great Cities; that they give Monthly some Account to the Places intrusting them, and that some Laws may be Probationers for a Month or two.

18thly, That some of the Parliament may be appointed to receive such Suggestions from Friends for the Good of the Whole, which they cannot constantly bring in by Way of Petition.

19thly, That Prisoners, especially for Debt, may have Dispatches, and not lose Heads, Hearts, and Hands as well as Heels, in Gaols; and that the Creditor may maintain them in Prison: That poor Thieves may not be hanged for thirteen Pence Half-penny; but that a Gally or two may be provided to row in the River or Channel, to which they may be committed, or employed in draining Lands, or banished.

It were also to be wished, that our Gentry find out Callings, and that younger Brothers may be better provided for by their Parents, that some of them fall not on Learning and the Ministry as a Shift, and some, which is worse, take up their Employments in Highways, or, at best, peester *Ireland*, or foreign Plantations; and all to maintain the Paintry and Glister of the Family, and too often to keep up the Name and Honour of it in a sottiſh and luxurious Hire.

20thly, Quick Justice makes quiet Commonwealths; I look upon that as contenting the *Hollanders*, under their vast Taxes, and Excises; what they have they can keep, where,

in every Town, you may get Justice as often and as naturally, as their Cows give Milk: The few Advocates in *Amsterdam* will tell you what little Use they make of Lawyers, where I have known a Merchant dealing for thirty-thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and in seven Years not spend twenty Shillings in Law.

And, if I might not offend the Court and Gentry, I would say the Wrapping up of so many of them in Gowns, and scuffling at *Westminster*, is rather a Mark of their Meanness and Jejuneness, and our Slavery and Folly, than of any National Glory: That, to this Day, we can neither buy nor sell, convey nor make Testaments, without great and questionable Parchments: And for Law must *jurare in verba*, either of *Littleton*, *Cook*, or a *Casuist*, *ejusdem farinae*, which would find a Cure in keeping Records in all Counties of all Men's Estates and Alienations, &c. and those transmitted to a grand or leiger Record at *Westminster*; the Strength and Time, spent in Term Quarrels, were better bestowed upon the *West-Indies*, to which we have been so often called, and would soon make an End of *Europe's* Troubles by drying up that *Euphrates*.

I know not what Engagements the King hath upon any, nor how the Intercourse lies; but, before the Close of new Addresses, I wish the People might have two Things granted them, *viz.*

1. To understand by some wise Statist what the true *English* of Prerogative, Privilege, and Liberty is. If these three bawling Children were well brought to Bed, the whole House would be quiet.

2. That a certain Time might be appointed to chuse their Burgesses undeniably, if they please to make Use of it, with Writs or without; what Year this shall begin I say not; but, if not granted, you shall hardly keep Tyranny out of Doors.

To close all and cure all; would this Nation but follow the plain Footsteps of Providence in one Thing, the Work were done.

Let us but consider, whether the Lord hath not pointed out his Work unto us, *viz.* putting righteous Men into Places of Trust, making Way thereunto; as if the Fulfilling of the many Prophecies, and the Expectation of the Just, were now to be answered. Witness the first and now second Gaubling the Parliament,

ment; the like in the City, the same in the Army, no less in the Ministry, as in the Choice of *Jesse's* Sons: Neither this nor that must serve but the least, that the whole Kingdom hath been in the Refiners Fire. The Lord would do us Good against our Wills: But we content ourselves to give him a Female when we have a Male in the Flock: This

broke the Axle-tree of the Jewish State and Church, and that bought *Aceldama*.

However I am confident, God will carry on this Work, which is his own; and to that End I look above all present Agitations, knowing if we enter into our Chambers, and shut our Doors for a little Moment, the Indignation shall be overpast.

The Character of *Holland*. London, Printed by T. Mabb for Robert Horn, at the *Angel* in *Pope's-Head-Alley*, 1665. Folio, containing eight Pages.

HOLLAND, that scarce deserves the Name of Land,
As but th' Off-scowring of the *British* Sand;
And so much Earth as was contributed

By *English* Pilots, when they heav'd the Lead;
Or what by th' Ocean's slow Alluvion fell
Of shipwreck'd Cockle and the Muscle Shell;
This indigested Vomit of the Sea
Fell to the *Dutch* by just Propriety.

Glad then, as Miners that have found the Ore,
They with mad Labour fish'd the Land to Shore;

And div'd as desperately for each Piece
Of Earth, as if 't had been of *Ambergris*;
Collecting anxiously small Loads of Clay,
Less than what building Swallows bear away;
Or than those Piles which sordid Beetles roul
Transfusing into them their Dunghill Soul.

How did they rivet with Gigantick Piles
Thorough the Center their new-catched Miles:
And to the Stake a struggling Country bound,
Where barking Waves still bait the forced Ground;

Building their wat'ry *Babel* far more high
To reach the Sea, than those to scale the Sky?

Yet still his Claim the injur'd Ocean laid,
And oft at Leap-Frog o'er their Steeples play'd;
As if on Purpose it on Land had come
To shew them what's their *Mare Liberum*.
A daily Deluge over them does boil:
The Earth and Water play at Level-coil.

The Fifth oft-times the Burgher dispossest,
And sat not as a Meat, but as a Guest:
And oft the Tritons and the Sea-Nymphs saw
Whole Sholes of *Dutch* serv'd up for *Cabillau*.
Or, as they over the new Level rang'd,
For pickled *Herring*, pickled *Heaven* chang'd.
Nature, it seem'd, asham'd of her Mistake,
Would throw their Land away at Duck and Drake.

Therefore Necessity, that first made Kings,
Something like Government among them brings.

For as with Pygmies, who best kills the Crane;
Among the Hungry, he that treasures Grain;
Among the Blind, the one-ey'd Blinkard reigns;

So rules, among the Drowned, he that drains,
Not who first sees the rising Sun commands,
But who could first discern the rising Lands,
Who best could know to pump an Earth so leak,

Him they their Lord and Country's Father speak.

To make a Bank was a great Plot of State,
Invent a Shovel and be Magistrate.
Hence some small Dyke-grave, unperceiv'd,
invades

The Power, and grows as 't were a King of Spades:

But for less Envy some joint State endures,
Who look like a Commission of the Sewers.
For these *Half-anders*, half wet, and half dry,
Nor bear strict Service nor pure Liberty.

'Tis probable Religion after this
Came next in Order, which they could not
miss:

How could the *Dutch* but be converted, when
Th' Apostles were so many Fisher-men?
Beside, the Waters of themselves did rise,
And, as their Land, so them did re-baptise.
Though *Herring* for their God few Voices
mist,

And *Poor John* to have been th' Evangelist.
Faith, that could never Twins conceive before,
Never so fertile, spawn'd upon this Shore:
More pregnant than their *Marg'et*, that laid
down

For *Hans-in-Kelder* of a whole *Hans-Town*.

Sure, when Religion did itself embark,
And from the East would Westward steer its
Ark,
It struck; and, splitting on this unknown
Ground,
Each one thence pillag'd the first Piece he found:
Hence *Amsterdam Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew*,
Staple of Sects, and Mint of Schism grew;
That Bank of Conscience, where not one so
strange

Opinion, but finds Credit and Exchange.
In vain for Catholicks ourselves we bear,
The Universal Church is only there.

Nor can Civility there want for Tillage,
Where wisely for their Court they chose a
Village:
How fit a Title clothes their Governors!
Themselves the *Hogs*, as all their Subjects
Boors.

Let it suffice to give their Country Fame,
That it had one *Civilis* call'd by Name,

Some fifteen-hundred and more Years ago,
But, surely, never any that was so.

See but their Mermaids, with their Tails
of Fish
Reeking at Church over the Chafing-dish.
A Vestal Turf, enshrined in earthen Ware,
Fumes through the Loop-holes of a wooden
Square;
Each to the Temple with these Altars tend
(But still do place it at her Western End)
While the fat Steam of Female Sacrifice
Fills the Priest's Nostrils, and puts out his Eyes.

Or what a Spectacle the Skipper gross,
A Water-*Hercules*, Butter-*Coloss*,
Tunn'd up with all their several Towns of
Beer;
When, stagg'ring upon some Land, *Snick and*
Sneer,
They try, like Statuaries, if they can
Cut out each other's *Attos* to a Man;
And carve in their large Bodies, where they
please,
The Arms of the *United Provinces*.

Vainly did this Slap-Dragon Fury hope
With sober *English* Valour e'er to cope;
Not though they prim'd their barbarous Morn-
ing's Draught
With Powder, and with Pipes of Brandy
fraught;
Yet *Rupert*, *Sandwich*, and, of all, the *Duke*,
The *Duke* has made their Sea-sick Courage
puke,
Like the three Comets sent from Heaven down,
With fiery Flails, to swinge th' ungrateful
Clown.

The End of the Fifth Volume.

N. B. The Publication of this Fifth Volume, without an Index, is occasioned by the sudden Illness of the Gentleman, who had promised to compile it; and, as this is an unforeseen and unavoidable Accident, it is humbly hoped, the Subscribers to the *Harleian Miscellany* will be so good as to excuse the Omission; especially as they may be assured, that particular Care will be taken to have the said Index printed at the End of the next Volume.

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